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A CONCISE HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

FROM ITS

FIRST ESTABLISHMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME;

CONTAINING

A General View of Missions,

AND

EXHIBITING THE STATE OF RELIGION IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD.

COMPILED FROM THE WORKS OF DR. G. GREGORY,
WITH NUMEROUS ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

By MARTIN RUTER, D. D.

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PREFACE.

The rise, progress, establishment, corruption, and reformation of the Church, are subjects of deep interest to mankind, and especially so to the friends of Christianity. But the voluminous works in which these subjects are exhibited, are to the great mass of community inaccessible. The want of means to purchase, or of time to read them, has restricted their use to a comparatively small number of readers. Hence the spread of the gospel, and the condition of the Church in different ages since the establishment of Christianity, are by many very imperfectly understood.

The object of this work in its original form, as prepared by Dr. Gregory, was to furnish a comprehensive abridgment of ecclesiastical history; and thus to place this important branch of knowledge within the reach of multitudes that could not obtain it from larger works.

In revising and preparing it in its present form, the same object has been kept in view. The work might have been swelled to a size much beyond its present limits; but a general history of the Church in a small compass was deemed preferable, especially in view of the use that may be made of it by the young and rising generation.

The history by Dr. Gregory does not extend to the close of the last century. Although this is compiled principally from that, it is extended to the present time; has numerous additions and improvements, and is enriched with a view of missions, and other subjects of moral enterprise, exhibiting the present condition and prospects of the Christian world.

In this compendious form it is offered to the public, with the hope that it may be found, in some degree, useful in advancing the great interests of the Redeemer's kingdom.

M. Ruter.

Pittsburgh, Pa., March 3, 1834.

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THE FIRST CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGION PREVIOUS TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

Two systems of religion prevalent from the early ages—Origin of paganism—Mistakes concerning the ancient traditions—Worship of the heavenly bodies—Applying the titles of the gods to the early monarchs—Local deities—Idolatry—Nature of the Jewish religion—State of the world at the birth of Christ—Social genius of polytheism—Grecian philosophy—Epicurean—Peripatetics—Stoics—Platonics—Oriental philosophy—Religious state of Judea—Pharisees—Sadducees—Essenes—Civil state—Herod—Profligacy of the nations.

In the great chain of history, every event is so closely connected with that immediately preceding, and so much governed by the contingent circumstances of manners, time, and place, that an account of any given period, with no retrospect whatever to past transactions, would afford a detail frequently unintelligible, and in general dry and uninteresting. It appears necessary, therefore, on the present occasion, to lay before the reader a short statement of the progress of religion from the first periods of society, in order to enable him to judge properly of the great importance of the Christian dispensation, and of the causes which impeded or accelerated its progress.

The exuberance of human folly and superstition has branched out into innumerable ramifications; but it would be neither useful nor convenient to pursue, with a minute attention, all the meanders of absurdity. Such a history would be little more than a catalogue of names, or a dull recital of correspondent rites, and similar ceremonies. In this short abstract of religious history I shall, therefore, consider the subject under two divisions; the religion of the pagans, and that of the Jews. The former will serve to convey a general idea of the natural deviations of the human mind from reason and truth; the latter will exhibit the miraculous foundations of that majestic structure which was completed in the Christian dispensation.

The first principles of religious knowledge, imparted to the fathers of the human race, were few and simple. They were unsupported by the knowledge of letters, and were such as would easily admit of corruption, from the timid and credulous nature of man. One of the first deviations from the truth was, certainly, the worship of the heavenly bodies

The first men had been accustomed to a direct communication with the Supreme Being; it was, therefore, not unnatural in their offspring to expect a continuance of the same indulgence. But, in looking around for the visible manifestation of the great Ruler of the universe, to what object would ignorance and superstition so naturally direct themselves as to that glorious luminary whose nature and phenomena must be necessarily so imperfectly understood, and who is the dispenser of light, of warmth, and of cheerfulness to the whole creation? The sun was, therefore, very early an object of worship with all nations but that singular people to whom the knowledge of the omnipresent God was revealed. From the adoration of the sun, the transition to that of the moon was the most natural that possibly could be imagined. Thus the Egyptians worshipped the SUN and MOON by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis;* the former of which, in the Egyptian tongue, signified *many eyed*, from the sun's overlooking all that passes in the world; the latter signified *the ancient:* Isis, moreover, was generally painted with horns, in allusion to the lunar crescent.

When the traces of ancient tradition were become faint in successive generations, the human imagination sported in the wantonness of fiction. From the broken fragments of true history, the want of combination in hieroglyphic representations, and the mutilated remains of ancient records or language, innumerable superstitions were fabricated, and received with all the avidity of popular credulity. The deluge proved a most fertile source of error. The venerable patriarch Noah, from being revered as the father of men, came at last to be worshipped, under different names, as their creator. He is evidently the Saturnus, the Janus, the Poseidon or Neptune, the Thoth, Hermes, Menes, Osiris, Zeuth, Atlas, Prometheus, Deucalion, and Proteus of all the ancient fables.* Not only the patriarch himself, but all the circumstances of his history, have been strangely metamorphosed into divinities. The dove, the ark, even the raven and the olive branch, have all occupied different places in the mysteries of paganism, and with direct allusions to their derivation. (*Bryant's Mythology*, vol. ii.)

In the same manner *Men* or *Menes*, one of the Egyptian divinities, (originally the patriarch Noah, ibid.,) was the same with the celebrated Minos of Crete, upon which island there was a temple or tower to this divinity, called *Mentor*, or the tower of Menes. To this temple the Athenians were annually obliged to send some of their youth to be sacrificed, in the same manner as the people of Carthage sent their children as victims to Tyre. (*Diod. Sic.* l. xx.) From these circumstances arose the fable of the Minotaur; and as there was a *Men-tor* in Crete, there was a *Tor-men*, now Taormina, in Sicily, where the same brutal rites were also performed. These towers were commonly situated on the seacoast; they were peculiarly dreaded by mariners; wherefore, the same author supposes, with much probability, that the tremendous Scylla was no other than one of those fatal temples, where the shipwrecked stranger was inhospitably sacrificed. In the same temples the rites of fire were performed. Hence arose the celebrated fable of the Furies: as the term *Furia* is evidently derived from *Phur*, (fire,) the priestesses of which, being engaged in these inhuman and

* See this decidedly ascertained in the second volume of Bryant's Mythology.

inhospitable rites, were not improperly converted into the tormentors of the damned.

The next grand deprivation of the human mind, with respect to religion, proceeded from confounding the names and characters of the early monarchs with those of the gods. Perhaps the first legislators might be ambitious of asserting the Divine origin of their institutions; perhaps they might assume to themselves a celestial character, and might find it no difficult matter to persuade their ignorant countrymen that the immortals had condescended to visit the earth in a human form. Or, perhaps, with more probability, they might only appropriate to themselves the appellations of the deities; and the mistakes of future ages may have fabricated a mythology from this confusion of names. The names of Isis and Osiris, which I have already noted as the first of the Egyptian divinities, were soon applied to the early monarchs of that mythologic region; and thus the original applications of these titles were soon forgotten. The history of these divinities is no longer that of the two heavenly bodies which they originally denoted, but that of a succession of princes, who assumed those high denominations, and whom the unfaithful records of tradition have strangely converted into two celestial potentates, who continued to direct the affairs of men, but who formerly condescended to visit that favoured people in a human form. Where there is no exact register of time, facts or histories traditionally preserved will naturally recede, and the distance of time be enormously increased. The tradition was, in the time of Herodotus, that no god in the form of man had reigned in Egypt for upward of 11,340 years—a period which the active genius of their priests had taken care to fill up with events suited to the capacity and the taste of their disciples. During that period of miracles, the sun had no less than four times altered his course; twice rising where he now sets, and twice setting where he now rises. When, according to the same tradition, the gods reigned in Egypt, they reigned by turns, nor were they all at once upon earth. Orus, the son of Osiris, was the last who reigned among them; and this Orus was the Grecian Apollo.

From these sources each nation, after the dispersion of mankind, came, in process of time, to have its peculiar gods; for after such concessions, the establishment of national and local deities seems no very difficult effort of the mind; and if a plurality of gods be once admitted, it is an easy method of accounting for the suggestions of our own minds, to assign the different passions and emotions of their tutelary deities; hence a god of love, a god of war, &c. The social genius of polytheism admitted to a free participation of celestial honours the gods of all nations, whether inimical or friendly. Hence, at the period of our Lord's appearance, almost the whole civilized world acknowledged the same divinities, and the religion of Greece and Rome composed a bulky system, which embraced all the false deities that human folly or mistake had ever invented.

Idolatry was the natural concomitant of such a system as this. The gods of the ancients were only men; their fabulous history was wholly fabricated from the transactions of men who had assumed the names and titles originally appropriated to the heavenly bodies: to exhibit them therefore, in a human form, or by an allegorical application, in the form of that animal to whose nature their peculiar functions were

supposed to bear the strictest analogy, was natural and easy. And if the idea of local deities be once generally admitted, it is no harsh supposition to imagine, that the spiritual being might occasionally visit the shrine which was dedicated to his glory; and thus adoration might easily be transferred from the Deity himself to his image or resemblance.

Whoever attentively and seriously considers the religion of the Hebrews will find it totally different in every circumstance from that which has been described. By successive revelations, the knowledge of the one true God was carefully preserved among them. The abominations of paganism were frequently, indeed, introduced, but their progress was constantly retarded by some fresh interposition of miraculous power. The abstract and metaphysical notions of the Divine attributes, so repugnant to human reason in an uncultivated state, were always regarded with veneration by this singular people. He is represented as infinite, eternal, unchangeable, invisible; as omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent—characters which agree with none of the heathen deities. This was indeed the first revelation made to man; it was the foundation of the Jewish institutions, and appears to have been consistent with no other system of religion.

There is no part of the Hebrew theology which can be traced from the perversions or misapprehensions of the human imagination. No part of their theology can be resolved into a mistaken history, a corruption of names, or a puerile allegory.

That at a period when the rest of the world was immersed in barbarism and the grossest idolatry; at a period when even the Jewish nation themselves appear to have made but little progress in human science, the most refined theological notions should prevail among them, united with a milder and more spiritualized system of morals* than was to be found in any other nation, can only be accounted for from a superior and more recent revelation. In such a state of civilization, or rather of barbarism, the peculiar providence of God was indeed ever necessary to preserve them in the path of rectitude. The miraculous interpositions of the Deity were, therefore, frequent; and a number of inspired men appeared, from time to time, who served to recall the people to the knowledge of their God, and to invigorate the debilitated system with fresh portions of spiritual information.

But not only the general scheme of the Hebrew theology and ethics differed from those of the heathen, and were superior to them; but even those institutions which are accounted peculiar to the Israelites will admit of a rational and consistent intepretation. The rites and mysteries of paganism were either corrupt and absurd allusions to the patriarchal history,† or they were profligate and unmeaning.

The religious institutions of the Hebrews may all of them be consistently explained upon two principles only. They had either a retrospect to the past, or a reference to the future. They were intended either to preserve in the memories of the people the religion of their ancestors, and to fortify them against the contagion of idolatry; or they bore so clear and decisive a reference to that great object of the whole

* See the decalogue, the laws concerning slavery, the treatment of other animals, &c.

† See that incomparable treasury of ancient learning, Bryant's Mythology, passim.

Mosaical dispensation, the coming of the Messiah, that a considerable part of the Jewish ceremonies have been ever regarded by the learned of that nation as a great and standing prophecy; and the application of them to the circumstances of Jesus Christ, by himself and his apostles, was so striking and unanswerable, that it served to confound, to silence, and even to convert their most obstinate opponents.

Much might be added upon this subject; but it is more the business of the divine than of the historian. I shall, therefore, hasten to exhibit a short sketch of the state of the two prevailing systems of religion at the time of our Lord's appearance; from which I doubt not but it will evidently appear, that the period described by the Hebrew prophets as the *fulness of time*, was now arrived; in other words, that such a revelation as that by Christ Jesus was then absolutely necessary; and farther, that this was the only proper season which apparently had occurred since the patriarchal ages for the promulgation of such a dispensation.

The victorious arms of Rome had, at the time of our Lord's descent upon earth, subjected to its sway a considerable part of the known world. Distant nations had either silently submitted to a power too mighty to withstand, or had been compelled to acknowledge the strength and the authority of their triumphant conquerors; and governed either by Roman proconsuls, invested with temporary commissions, or indulged by the republic with the continuance of their own princes and laws, they were reduced to own its claims to supreme sovereignty, and all to enrol themselves in the number of its sons and subjects. The power, indeed, of the Roman people was at this time much abridged. The senate retained little of authority but the name, while the empire was in reality governed by the victorious, the crafty, the accomplished Augustus. This extensive empire, so extremely favourable to the civilization of barbarous and remote nations, together with the general diffusion of the Greek language, was particularly conducive to an easy propagation of the Gospel; while a cessation from all the calamities of discord and war* tranquillized the mind, and prepared it for the reception of the mild and rational doctrines of Christ.

United in error, those nations which acknowledged not the Roman power agreed with its professed subjects in idolatry and superstition. Every country, as was already intimated, had its peculiar gods; every people their particular manner of worshipping and propitiating their respective deities; and their religious homage, not confined to the natural world, to the memory of departed heroes, or the improvers of elegance or convenience, was extended to things inanimate, and to persons merely ideal. Mountains, groves, and rivers were the objects of religious adoration; and even those vices, or those maladies, which are the most destructive of human happiness, were honoured with temples, and served with trembling awe and devout terror. To avoid the imputation of worshipping inanimate beings, many of the heathens pretended, that the deity represented by the statue was really resident in it; and that every part of the visible creation was the residence of some superior being: but the generality, naturally more impressed with sensible than with invisible objects, easily transferred to the symbol

* Mosheim intimates his dissent from the opinion of general peace then prevailing in the world. The assertion of Orosius, that the temple of Janus was at this time shut, is confirmed by Horace in his 1st Ep. lib. ii.

that homage which should have been offered to the god. The knowledge of what were called mysteries was imparted only to a few, who, previous to their initiation, were compelled to exhibit undoubted proofs of their secrecy, fidelity, and patience, and to conceal, under no less a penalty than the probable deprivation even of life, every circumstance relating to those rites, which were generally subversive of good order, and even of external decorum. The teachers of error, and the base deluders of a wretched and ignorant multitude, the pontiffs or priests, represented the whole of religion as consisting in the performance of certain ceremonies, and the gods as superior to men only in their immortality and power.

Thus their deities, so far from being laudable objects of imitation were rather examples of enormous but successful crimes; unjust capricious, and partial, whose vengeance was in general appeased, or whose protection was ensured, by animal offerings, though some nations supposed these ends could only be attained by the horrible sacrifice of human victims. This absurd system of theology, unsupported by any decided belief of future rewards and punishments, their opinions of which were obscure, licentious, and often more calculated to administer indulgence to vice than incitements to virtue, was regarded by the more enlightened part of mankind as a subject of ridicule and contempt. Nor indeed could any, who were not totally bewildered in error, avoid discovering the absurdity of a religion which presented no discouragement to the most depraved propensities, and the perpetration of the most flagitious actions.

To those who have observed that intolerant spirit, which for a trifling difference in religious belief has persecuted wise and good men, and visited the earth with the calamities of war, it will appear extraordinary, that so great a variety of religious systems, and of objects of religious worship, should produce neither dissensions nor war. This general moderation is not, however, to be ascribed to any superiority in the temper or character, but to a circumstance which has been already intimated,—to their considering the gods who presided over the earth as local deities, whose influence and jurisdiction extended only to certain countries, and their respective inhabitants; who, it would have been absurd to expect, should leave their tutelary divinities for the worship of those whom they considered as affording them neither regard nor protection. The Romans extended their religious moderation so far, as not only to tolerate foreign superstitions, but even to naturalize the gods of every conquered nation: but though they granted to their citizens the right of privately adopting those religious tenets of other nations which were not inimical to their own interests and laws, yet they permitted no innovations to take place in the religion publicly professed, and gently insinuated their own peculiar rites and institutions into the religious worship of those whom they had subdued. Policy, no less than religion, prompted them to a step which added to mutual interest the strong tie of mutual faith. Thus their religion, with their conquests, extended over a considerable portion of the globe, and incorporated with the sacred rites of every vanquished nation.

A ray of light faintly illumined this dark and dreary night of ignorance and error. The northern nations had so far emerged from their state of barbarism, as to have made some progress in curious inventions and

useful arts; but in the polished states of Greece and Rome, philosophy and learning were eagerly sought and pursued by all who aspired to elegance and refinement. The Roman youth, however distinguished for his attainments in those arts which luxuriantly flourished in his own republic, could neither be esteemed an orator nor a rhetorician, without completing his studies in the Grecian schools, and imbibing, from the purest sources, attic grace and elegance. Hence, the philosophy of Greece found easy access into the Roman republic. Oratory, which was publicly taught in all the great cities by those who styled themselves philosophers, was a successful vehicle for conveying the peculiar opinions of its professors into the youthful and credulous heart: those, therefore, who visited Greece unbiased by the opinions of any philosophical sect, were not likely to continue insensible to arguments offered to them with every embellishment of eloquence, acuteness, and wit.

The doctrines of the Epicureans and Academics appear to have been eagerly received at Rome. They were, indeed, peculiarly calculated for that great and luxurious people. The followers of Epicurus asserted the fortuitous origin of the world; the inability and indifference of the gods respecting human affairs; the mortality of the soul; and that the life which was most conformable to nature consisted in *pleasure*, of which they constituted sense the judge. While this sect offered to its votaries a license for the most illicit pursuits, the Academics involved the most important doctrines in infidelity and skepticism, and questioned the existence of the gods, the immortality of the soul, and the superiority of virtue to vice.

Far from having attained to unpolluted knowledge, those sects, which boasted a superior purity of morals, were yet greatly defective, and involved in error. The Aristotelians represented the Supreme Being as indifferent to human affairs, and happy in the contemplation of his own excellence. The Stoics described him, indeed, as governing the world, and asserted, that the perfection of happiness consisted in the perfection of virtue; they peopled the world with gods, genii, and demons,* and supposed that every man had a tutelary genius assigned him, and that all virtue and happiness consisted in acting in concert with this genius, with reference to the will of the supreme director of the whole. But, however plausible and specious these doctrines may appear, several of their leading tenets were not less pernicious than erroneous. The Stoical belief, of the Deity being corporeal in his nature, was highly derogatory of his dignity, and destructive of their reverence; while their opinions of the mortality of the soul removed the strongest incentive to virtue, and the most powerful restraint upon vice. The exalted genius and profound penetration of Plato had enabled him to discover whatever the mere light of nature could reveal. He taught to his followers the pure doctrine of the unity of God, who is perfect, self-existent, and self-sufficient; that he is a being infinitely good, and desirous of rendering all his creatures happy; that the perfection of morality consists in living con-

* The agency of genii, i.e., angels and demons, made an essential part of the Jewish popular creed; and every thing in the administration of their peculiar system, as well as of the whole mundane system, is represented in the sacred writings, and by Jesus Christ himself, as effected through the agency of such existences. It has often surprised me that divines have taken so little notice of this.

formably to his will; that the soul is immortal, and that there is to be a future state of retribution.

These doctrines, however approaching to truth and perfection, were yet at a considerable distance. They were often obscurely expressed, and accompanied with some opinions calculated to cherish superstition, and others injurious to the omnipotence of God. The Platonists taught that the Deity was confined to a certain determinate portion of space, and that there was an *invincible malignity* and corruption of matter, which the Divine power had not been sufficient to reduce entirely to order.

Having noticed the principal sects of the Greek philosophers, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon those who, though called by other names, were separated from them by slight, sometimes imaginary, partitions. The oriental philosophy, though termed *gnosis*, or science, that is, *the way to the true knowledge of the Deity*, was the offspring and the parent of error; the source of those pernicious opinions which in the first three centuries perplexed and afflicted the Christian Church. Its doctrines were fantastic, ignorant, and obscure, founded indeed, in many instances, upon just principles, but its deductions from them were false and absurd. They affirmed, that as the eternal mind must be inaccessible to evil, perfect and beneficent in its nature, therefore the origin of evil cannot reside in him, but must be without him; and as there is nothing without or beyond the Deity but *matter*, matter must be the source of whatever is vicious or evil. They asserted the eternity of matter, which derived its present form not from the will of the Supreme God, but from the creating power of some inferior intelligence who formed the world; alleging that it was incredible that a being perfectly good, and infinitely removed from all evil, should either create or modify matter which is essentially malignant or corrupt, or bestow upon it any portion of his riches or liberality. Divided into many sects, each of which contended for some favourite error, the Gnostics agreed in acknowledging the existence of an eternal nature, in whom dwelt the fulness of perfection; and represented him as a pure and radiant *light* diffused through all space, which they termed *pleroma*, or fulness. The formation of celestial beings they accounted for by supposing the Eternal, after having passed innumerable ages in solitude and happiness, to have produced from himself two minds of a different sex, perfectly resembling their Divine original, who peopled the *pleroma* with their celestial offspring. These they called *Æons*, or an eternal nature. They supposed the world to be created not by God, but by one of the inferior inhabitants of the *pleroma*, whom they described as being in many respects of an exalted character, but haughty and ambitious; and this being they named *Demiurge*, the governor of the world, from the ruling of which they would have the Deity utterly excluded. They believed that man was composed of a soul, which is of celestial origin, and which would aspire to worship the true God, were it not that the other half of his nature, which is a corrupt body, supersedes all its more virtuous desires, and attaches it to the pursuits of sensuality. That the Supreme Being employs various means for the deliverance of his creatures from their bondage to sin, but is opposed by the demiurge, who tempts men to disregard these merciful designs, and to serve him. That those who rise superior to his artifices, and

subdue those corrupt affections which sinful matter excites in them, shall at death ascend into the glorious *pleroma*, while the wicked shall pass from one body into another till they become purified. That the world will at length be destroyed by God, who will overcome all evil, release those souls which have been confined in mortal prisons, and dwell with them and happy spirits in glory and happiness to all eternity.

If we advert to the state of the Jewish nation at this period, we shall find that they had introduced the most absurd superstition, and the grossest corruption into their worship. The whole of religion, according to their ideas, consisted in the rites appointed by their great lawgiver, and the performance of some external acts of duty toward the Gentiles. Uncharitable upon system, they regarded the rest of mankind as excluded from the hopes of eternal life, and treated them with the utmost contempt, rigour, and inhumanity. To these corrupt and vicious principles were added several superstitious notions concerning the Divine nature, magic, invisible powers, &c., which were either derived from the example of neighbouring nations, or imbibed during the Babylonish captivity. The inhabitants of Palestine, divided into Jewish and Samaritan, were rent by intestine commotions, and each regarded the opposite sect with aversion and abhorrence. Even the directors in religious concerns, whose superior knowledge should have exalted them above the ignorant multitude, contributed to their errors, by dividing into a great variety of sects; which, though generally agreed in the ceremonial part of the Jewish religion, were involved in continual disputes.

The principal sects which arose among the Jews, between the time of their return from Babylon, and the advent of Christ, were the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. Of these, the most considerable in number, learning, and influence, was that of the Pharisees.* They asserted the immortality of the body and soul, and a state of future retribution; opinions which, however compounded with prejudice and error, must have tended in no inconsiderable degree to regulate their conduct and purify their minds. Yet were they far from having attained to pure and substantial virtue: they were ostentatious, not devout; they were austere, not virtuous; and concealed their inward pollution under the garb of austerity and devotion. To the *written law* they added another, which had been received by oral tradition; a compound of falsehood, superstition, and absurdity, which they regarded as giving efficacy to the general precept, by pointing out its precise application and extent.

The Sadducees were of opinion, that the rewards and punishments denounced by God were merely temporal; and that they neither wanted nor received any Divine assistance for the performance of their duty. They denied the existence of angels and spirits, and asserted that there was no resurrection, no future state, and that the whole man perished at death. Opinions which were so little calculated to discourage vice, and promote virtue, were the certain and natural associates of immorality and corruption. Opinions so favourable to temporal indulgences were likely to be adopted by most of those who were endued

* St. Paul bears them this honourable testimony: "According to the straitest (the exactest) sect of our religion," says he, "I lived a Pharisee."

with the means and opportunities of gratifying their licentious propensities; and accordingly we find that the Sadducees enjoyed the favour and protection of the great, while the followers of the Pharisees, though more numerous, were generally in a subordinate rank. The Sadducees were the most violent persecutors and oppressors of the apostles who in their preaching constantly insisted upon the doctrines of the resurrection, a day of judgment, and a state of retribution; while the Pharisees were more inclined to protect and support them, and a considerable portion of the first Jewish converts to Christianity appears to have consisted of the latter sect.*

Professedly devoted to contemplation and silence, the Essenes affected the utmost privacy and solitude, observed the most absurd austerities, and practised the most fantastical and superstitious observances. In opposition to the Pharisees, who maintained that the rewards and punishments of the law extended both to the soul and body, and that their duration was prolonged in a future state; and to the Sadducees, who assigned to them the same period that concludes this transitory existence; the Essenes asserted, that future rewards extended alone to the soul, and that the body was a mass of malignant matter, and the prison of the immortal spirit. In process of time they subdivided into sects, each of which was remarkable for the absurdity and folly of its respective tenets; and while by abstinence, mortification, and fanaticism, they affected to raise the soul to God, they regarded piety as incompatible with social affection, and dissolved, by this pernicious doctrine, those bonds which compose the strength and happiness of human life.

Amidst this general corruption, however, both in doctrines and manners, the Jews were in general zealously attached to the law of Moses, and anxious to preserve that respect and veneration which were due to its Divine authority. A number of additional ceremonies had, indeed, by degrees, been introduced into their religious worship;† but still they respected their original institutions.

Public seminaries for the instruction of youth, both in religion and science, were erected in the most populous situations, over which men of professed abilities and learning presided. Equally miserable with their neighbours, the Samaritans, equally the victims of discord and faction, they were still not so totally sunk in corruption as the worshippers upon Mount Gerizim, who had interwoven the errors and idolatry of the pagans with the sacred doctrines of Judaism.

Civil causes concurred with the errors and abuses of religion to complete the miseries of this infatuated people, to convince them of the necessity of a deliverer, and (had they not unhappily mistaken the nature of the Messiah's kingdom) to prepare them for the reception of the Gospel dispensation. Subject to a governor who was himself a

* Jortin's Remarks, vol. i, p. 176, 2d edition. Many weighty reasons have been assigned why our Lord should more frequently censure the Pharisees than the other sectaries. From their numbers and influence, it was expedient that a reform should begin among them. It was also proper that the people should be cautioned against reposing too great a confidence in them. A farther reason was, that many of the errors of this sect insinuated themselves immediately into the Christian religion, and remain in it to this day. On the other hand, the sect of Sadducees soon declined. After the destruction of Jerusalem, most of those who escaped that calamity became apostates and pagans, a change for which they were well prepared.

† Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum, vol. ii, book 4th, p. 1089, edit. Cambridge.

tributary to the Romans, and whose luxury and love of magnificence exhausted their treasures, while his morals and example diffused a general spirit of vice and licentiousness, Judea, at the time of our Lord's appearance, groaned under an accumulated load of misery.—Nor were their sorrows alleviated after the death of Herod. His sons were the heirs of their father's vices no less than of his power. The two younger, Antipas and Philip, had the jurisdiction of one half of Judea, while the other portion was allotted to their elder brother, Archelaus, a profligate and corrupt prince, who harassed the Jews with the most rigorous exactions, and at length impelled them, by his vices and mal-administration, to represent their grievances to Augustus, who punished the oppressor by banishing him from his kingdom. This part of Judea was then reduced to the form of a province, and added to the jurisdiction of the governor of Syria; but its unhappy inhabitants, far from deriving any advantages from this arrangement, found they had exchanged one tyrant for many, and that oppressions and miseries were increased by the avarice and cruelty of the prætors, the frauds and extortions of the publicans,* and the presence of the Romans, whom their religion obliged them to regard as a polluted and idolatrous people. Even their chief priests and rulers were flagitious wretches, who had purchased their places by bribes, or acts of iniquity, and preserved them by the most atrocious crimes. The middle ranks were sunk in profligacy; and the multitude, influenced by these examples, precipitated themselves into an abyss of wickedness, and, by their reiterated crimes, were becoming obnoxious to the justice of God and the vengeance of men.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

Character of the evangelists—Miraculous powers—Inspiration—Fates of the apostles—Time and circumstances in which the evangelical writings were composed—Destruction of Jerusalem—First persecutions; under NERO and DOMITIAN.

To those who, in the writings of the inspired penmen, have had an opportunity of contemplating the life, actions, death, and resurrection of the Redeemer of the world, all accounts of the circumstances attending his abode upon earth must appear superfluous and unnecessary. The pen of inspiration can alone do justice to a character which it could never enter into the human heart to conceive. By that, every circumstance which it was necessary we should be acquainted with, relative to the Saviour of men, is distinctly revealed. He is there exhibited descending upon earth, taking on him the form of a man, by every action of his life affording the most pure and spotless example, and living and dying for the salvation of men, in language so simple, yet so forcible, as to defy imitation. Truth, not ornament, was the object pursued by the first writers of the life and doctrines of Christ; and every circumstance attending the narration attests their veracity. Their works supersede the necessity of any accounts of their Divine Master. The

* See Mosheim, chap. i, sec. 2.

writer of ecclesiastical history, therefore, more properly commences his work by relating the circumstances posterior to the death of Christ, than those which attended his life.

Unaided by those external circumstances which give splendour and dignity to opinions hitherto unreceived or unknown, the establishment of Christianity can only be primarily ascribed to the intervention of an overruling Providence, and to the forcible and satisfactory nature of that evidence which proves the authenticity of the Christian revelation. The pure doctrines of the Gospel were at first propagated by men who were indigent, illiterate, and selected from the lowest classes of mankind. As the constant companions of their Divine Master, they were, indeed, indubitable witnesses of the virtue of his life, of the purity of his doctrines, and of the stupendous miracles which he wrought. But they were utterly incapable of decorating their accounts with studied diction, of enforcing them by the authority of superior rank, or of enriching them with the treasures of human learning and eloquence. This system, so pure, so perfect, so opposite to the corruption and depravity which at the time of Christ's appearance upon earth universally prevailed, addressed itself not to the passions, but to the understandings of mankind; and the simple majesty of reason and of truth triumphed over all the opposition of prejudice and error.

The first professors of Christianity, who were favoured with the opportunities of observing those astonishing powers which demonstrated the great and supernal nature of their Divine Master, must have seen with peculiar delight, that in him were united and centred all those miraculous and apparently irreconcilable circumstances, which were predicted by the prophets of the Messiah. Witnesses as they were of his profound knowledge of the human mind, of the accomplishment of his promise to support those who were called to suffer in the cause of truth, and of the fulfilment of his predictions of events utterly improbable, and far beyond the reach of human conjecture; their reason must have been convinced, and their faith confirmed. These arguments, together with the example of a life devoted by their Master to the interests of religion and virtue; of his death, endured in confirmation of the holy doctrines he had taught; of his ascension into heaven in the presence of numbers, many of whom would neither have deceived others, nor were likely to be deluded themselves; were a few of the evidences in support of the Christian revelation, before which the skepticism of many retired with a blush.

The multitude which continually followed Jesus, and the proselytes in distant quarters, who were, probably, converted by the preaching of the seventy disciples first commissioned to teach the doctrines of Christ, afford us reason to believe, that before the striking event of his resurrection and ascension, very many had already embraced the truths of the Gospel. But Christianity received the most powerful accessions from the gift of the Holy Spirit; which, at a very early period after the ascension of Christ, was conferred upon the apostles, and empowered them to fulfil their high commission of promulgating eternal peace and happiness to the whole human race. Their ability to address their exhortations to every nation in its own language; their performance of the most surprising miracles; their power to confer miraculous gifts upon others; their irreproachable manners: their benevolent actions

and the purity of their doctrines, gained prodigious accessions to the Christian cause. A considerable body of the Jewish people humbly acknowledged Christ as the Messiah sent from God; and the truths of the Gospel were extended by the apostles through a considerable part of the Roman empire.

In addition to the accounts furnished by Scripture, tradition has supplied several circumstances relative to the apostles, and the nations to whom they preached;* but traditional records are imperfect, obscure, and most commonly false. The joint testimony of sacred and profane writers informs us of little more concerning these illustrious martyrs to the truth, than that, after a succession of dangers, difficulties, and distresses, many of them closed a laborious life by a painful and ignominious death. Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, was beheaded at Rome in the reign of Nero; and Peter is generally supposed to have been crucified at the same place, and during the same reign. The Evangelist John was banished, in the persecution by Domitian, to the isle of Patmos, in the year 94. On the cessation of the persecution, however, he returned to Ephesus, and visited the Churches in that province. Though he was too old to preach, yet he was a constant attendant on public worship; and frequently exhorted the people with this parental exclamation—"My little children, love one another." He died and was interred at Ephesus.

Of the other apostles and evangelists still less, if possible, is with certainty known. James, the brother of our Lord, who for his eminent virtue acquired the surname of the Just, continued to exercise his ministry at Jerusalem after the departure of St. Paul. On the death of Festus, a kind of interregnum succeeded in the government of Judea, before the arrival of his successor, Albinus; and the Jews, who were full of resentment at the escape of St. Paul, seized the opportunity to imbrue their hands in the blood of this pious and excellent person. He was sentenced by the council to be stoned as a blasphemer; and after praying for his enemies, being thrown from some part of the temple, he was at length released from his sufferings by a blow from a fuller's pole. (*Euseb. Hist.* lib. ii, c. 23.) Josephus adds, that Albinus on his arrival was so disgusted by this violent proceeding, that he wrote to the high priest, and threatened to punish him for it.

Many stories are related of some other of the apostles. Philip, who resided chiefly in Hieropolis, is said to have raised a person from the dead in that city. Justus, who was surnamed Barsabas, is reported to have drunk poison without receiving any injury from it. Bartholomew (*Euseb. Hist.* lib. iii, c. 39) is believed by Eusebius to have preached in India; Thomas in Parthia, and Andrew in Scythia. (*Euseb. Hist.* lib. v, c. 10; lib. iii, c. 1.) Of the Apostle Jude scarcely any thing is even pretended to be known.

During the time in which Paul was confined at Rome he composed his epistles to his brethren and to the principal churches. The Gospel of Matthew was written for the use of his Hebrew brethren to whom he had preached, when he was about to depart from them, and is gene-

* There are few Christian nations in Europe which have not claimed the honour of embracing Christianity in the apostolic age. Among the rest, Britain, upon the authority of an obscure passage in Theodoret, has asserted her pretensions to the glory of having been converted by St. Paul.

rally believed to have been composed in the Hebrew tongue, and afterward translated into Greek. The Gospel of Mark (who was the friend and companion of Paul) has been thought by some to be only an epitome of that of Matthew. Luke, who is said to have been a physician at Antioch, and, as well as Mark and John, is supposed to have been one of the seventy disciples, and who accompanied Paul in his ministration, composed the Gospel which bears his name and the Acts of the Apostles. These three Gospels were succeeded by that of the Evangelist John, who approved of them; (*Euseb.* lib. iii, c. 24;) but, perceiving that their accounts were posterior to the imprisonment of John the Baptist, thought it expedient to give to the Church some records of the actions and doctrines of his beloved Master, in the beginning of his ministry.—Besides this, John is also allowed to have composed at least one epistle, if not more; but the two latter ones, and the book of the Revelations, have excited some controversy concerning their author. These works were quickly dispersed among the Christian believers, and were collected and read in their religious assemblies for the confirmation and edification of the faithful. Indeed, such a collection, stamped with apostolical authority, soon became necessary, in order to separate the inspired writings from a number of fraudulent and absurd performances, which were circulated as the productions of the apostles.

Besides the assistance which was derived to Christianity from the actions, precepts, and zeal of its first teachers, the virtues of the primitive Christians afforded a powerful support to the doctrines they professed, and formed a striking contrast to the depravity and corruption which almost universally prevailed. Nor were the opposition and persecution they met with prejudicial to their cause. They only served to unite more firmly this small, but intrepid band, well convinced of the importance of those truths for which they contended; and to attract the notice and compassion of all mankind toward a sect distinguished only for its singularity and virtue. Their implacable enemies, the Jews, who saw their own lofty claims to superiority, and their profligate conduct, directly attacked and censured both by the tenets and manners of the teachers of Christianity, assaulted them everywhere with unrelenting fury. Their rancour and animosity, however, toward the Christians, only rendered the accomplishment of those terrible predictions which had been denounced against them by Jesus Christ more apparent and remarkable; and, by these means, rather accelerated than retarded the progress of Christianity. Many of the previous signs and portents which had been foretold concerning the demolition of the temple, had already taken place, and were such as might have instructed a people less obstinate and perverse, that their destruction was at hand, and might have rendered them cautious of any action which could provoke their enemies against them. Great indeed were the oppressions which they experienced from a corrupt government; and, provoked to fury by its rapacity and violence, in the year 66 they commenced hostilities against the Romans, and the flames of war raged throughout Asia to Egypt and the east. Under the reign of Vespasian, Jerusalem was besieged for six months by Titus; during which time every calamity that can accompany that most afflictive of the Divine visitations, war, was endured by the miserable inhabitants. The city and temple were at length taken by storm; the conqueror would

have saved the body of the temple, but a soldier set fire to an adjoining building, and the whole was unfortunately consumed. Eleven hundred thousand of the Jewish people are said to have perished in the siege and in the sack of the city; many by famine, and many in the flames and by the sword. Ninety-seven thousand were exposed to sale as slaves; with which the market was at length so glutted, that no purchasers could be found. Besides these, multitudes were thrown to wild beasts, or sacrificed as gladiators, in the savage sports of the Romans. The Christians at Jerusalem escaped the horrors of the siege by a timely retreat to Pella, a small town beyond Jordan. The remainder of this devoted nation, weakened by their losses, and dispirited by their dreadful calamities, were not, at the close of this century, in a situation to oppose openly a sect which they could not however but secretly regard with even additional rancour.

Though the absurdities of polytheism were openly derided and exposed by the first teachers of Christianity, Acts xix, 26, yet it does not appear that any public laws were enacted against Christianity till the reign of Nero, in the year 64, by which time it had acquired considerable stability and extent. As far the greater number of the first converts to Christianity were of the Jewish nation, one secondary cause for their being so long preserved from persecution may probably be deduced from their appearing to the Roman governors only as a sect of Jews, who had seceded from the rest of their brethren on account of some opinion trifling in its importance, and perhaps difficult to be understood. Nor when their brethren were fully discovered to have cast off the religion of the synagogue, did the Jews find it easy to infuse into the breasts of the Roman magistrates that rancour and malice which they themselves experienced. But the steady and uniform opposition made by the Christians to heathen superstition could not long pass unnoticed. Their open attacks upon paganism made them extremely obnoxious to the populace, by whom they were represented as a society of atheists, who, by attacking the religious constitution of the empire, merited the severest animadversion of the civil magistrate.—The pure and sublime ideas which they conceived of the Supreme Being could not be comprehended by the gross heathen, who required the Deity to be represented by some corporeal figure, or visible symbol, and adored with all the pomp of altars, sacrifices, and libations. The supposed guilt which had been contracted by every Christian, in thus preferring his private sentiments to the national religion, was aggravated in a high degree by the number and union of the criminals; for the Romans were accustomed to regard with jealousy and distrust any associations among their subjects. They became, likewise, farther obnoxious by their cautious method of performing the offices of religion; which, though at first dictated by fear and necessity, was continued from choice, and it was concluded that they only concealed what they would have blushed to disclose. Horrid tales of their abominations were circulated throughout the empire; and the minds of the pagans were, from all these circumstances, prepared to regard with pleasure or indifference every cruelty which could be inflicted upon this despised sect.

Under these circumstances, it is not wonderful that Nero should select the Christians as a grateful sacrifice to the Roman people, and

endeavour to transfer to this hated sect the guilt of which he was strongly suspected, that of having caused and enjoyed the fire which had nearly desolated Rome. With this view, he inflicted upon them the most exquisite tortures, attended with every circumstance of the most refined cruelty. Some were crucified; others impaled; some were thrown to wild beasts, and others wrapped in garments dipped in pitch and other combustibles, and burned as torches in the gardens of Nero and other parts of the city by night. He was far, however, from obtaining the object of his hopes and expectations; and the virtues of the Christians, their zeal for the truth, and their constancy in suffering, must have considerably contributed to the respectability of their sect, and to make their tenets more generally known. Alternate seasons of tranquillity and persecution succeeded this barbarous attempt, which by uniting the Christians firmly in one common cause, and giving them time to recruit their wearied powers, proved extremely favourable to the support and propagation of Christianity. From the death of Nero to the reign of Domitian the Christians remained unmolested, and daily increasing; but toward the close of the century, they were again involved in all the horrors of persecution. The death of Domitian, however, soon delivered them from this calamity; and his successor, Nerva, suffered the Christian Church to enjoy a season of tranquillity, and rescinded the sanguinary edicts of his predecessor.

CHAPTER III.

DOCTRINE, GOVERNMENT, AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

Faith of the primitive Christians—Ecclesiastical government necessary to the support of a visible Church—Bishops, presbyters, deacons, deaconesses—Forms of worship—Sacraments—Excommunication.

THE whole of the Christian religion is comprehended in two great points, of which the first regards what we are to believe, and the other relates to our conduct and actions; or to express the matter more briefly, the Gospel presents to us objects of *faith*, and rules of *practice*. The former are expressed by the apostles by the term *mystery* or the *truth;* and the latter by that of *godliness* or *piety*. The rule and standard of both are those books which contain the revelation that God made of his will to persons chosen for that purpose, whether before or after the birth of Christ. And these Divine books are usually called *the Old and New Testament*, but more properly *Covenants*.

The principal articles of faith regard the nature of the Divine existence, and the person of Jesus Christ. For the original faith of the Christian Church the Scriptures of the New Testament are certainly the only competent authority; and every succeeding testimony acquires weight and importance only in proportion as it harmonizes with them.

The Christians of the primitive Church believed with their ancestors, the Jews, in the eternal unity of the Supreme Godhead, from whom, and dependant on whom are all things that exist. They considered Christ Jesus as the image of the invisible God, as the first-born of

every creature, by whom are all things; by whose ministry the world with all that it contains was created, and by whom the redemption and salvation of mankind were effected.

The union between the Father and the Son they considered as so strict and indissoluble, that in the language of divines they were described as con-substantial and co-equal. The *Word*, or the Son of God, was in the beginning with God, and the *Word* was God. In him (that is, in Jesus Christ) dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily; through him God was said to be manifested in the flesh; 1 Tim. iii, 16; Heb. i, 8; Rev. i, 11, 12, 13; Rom. ix, 5; Acts xx, 28; John xiv, 9; John x, 30; and the different attributes of the Deity were all ascribed to the Redeemer; John v, 19; Rev. i, 18.

The Holy Ghost, though considered as the spirit, or active essence of the all-governing mind, was yet regarded as a distinct person or character; and was particularly described as such in the celebrated miracle on the day of pentecost. This unity and co-equality of the three persons or characters of the Godhead was afterward expressed by the word trinity, or trinity in unity.

The history of the Divine mission of Christ Jesus, as related in the Gospels of his incarnation, death, and resurrection, was of necessity regarded as an essential article of the faith of the Church.

The general resurrection of the whole human race, and the distribution of eternal rewards and punishments, according to the respective deserts of each individual, constituted another most important article of belief; 1 Cor. xv, 22; Matt. xxv, 31; since upon this point rests the whole moral obligation of the Christian system.

Among the direct and positive instructions of Jesus Christ, we find none which describe in specific terms that form of government which in future ages the Church was to assume. Perhaps there is no particular form or regimen which would be applicable to all possible states and circumstances; though some form of government is absolutely necessary, since without it no discipline or order could be preserved, and no religion could long subsist. From the very first, therefore we find in the Church of Christ a regular chain of authority and subordination. In the appointment of the twelve apostles, and in the ordination of the seventy disciples, we plainly discern a regular and delegated authority, a constitution and a connected body.

The authority exercised by the apostles, either collectively, in what may be termed their council or conference, or in their individual capacity, we find from various passages of the New Testament to have been considerable and extensive; Acts v, 1; vi, 2; xv, 6; 1 Cor. v, 5, 13; 2 Cor. xi, 6. It has been disputed whether or not the episcopal form was that which was first adopted in the Church. It has been said that the office of bishop and presbyter was originally the same; and that the name of presbyter or elder was expressive of their age, or rather of their gravity, wisdom, and delegation. Their number was proportioned to the size of their respective congregations. When, by the addition of new converts, the number of churches and ministers necessarily increased, new regulations became necessary: one, therefore, from among the presbyters, distinguished for his wisdom and piety, was chosen to preside in their councils, to allot to the rest their respective offices, and to be a centre of union to the whole society.

This dignity was conferred for life, except it was forfeited by some misconduct; and the presbyter invested with it was generally styled bishop, and sometimes the angel of the church to which he belonged. (*See Mosheim*, Century I.)

The scanty revenues of the ministers arose at first entirely from their share of the *oblations*, or voluntary gifts, which were presented according to the generosity or ability of the congregation. Whenever the episcopal chair became vacant by death, a new president was chosen from among the presbyters, to preside over the ministerial functions.

There was but one bishop in each Church, or rather in each district; but the number of presbyters appears to have been indefinite, probably depending upon the number, the necessities, or other circumstances of the society. Their employments within the church were in general the same with those of the bishops, and they consisted in the administration of the sacraments and the preservation of the discipline of the Church. In many churches, however, preaching was the peculiar office of the bishops. The presbyters were chosen by the united consent of their clerical brethren and the people at large, and ordained by the bishop, assisted by the presbyters.

An inferior order of ministers, called deacons, was appointed from the first institution of the Church, whose office it was to assist in the administration of the Lord's Supper, to carry the elements to the sick and absent, to receive the oblations of the people, to rebuke those who behaved irreverently during Divine service, to relieve the distressed, and to watch over the conduct of the people. In some churches they also read the Gospels, and were allowed to baptize and to preach. The number of these ministers was not limited, but was generally in proportion to the wants of the Church. Some, however, after the example of the Church at Jerusalem, confined their number to seven; and the Church of Rome thought this rule so obligatory, that when the number of presbyters amounted to forty-six, that of the deacons was limited to seven.

The order of deaconesses was likewise appointed in the apostolic age. These were generally widows who had only once been married, though this employment was sometimes exercised by virgins. Their office consisted in assisting at the baptism of women, in previously catechising and instructing them, in visiting sick persons of their own sex, and in performing all those inferior offices toward the female part of the congregation, which the deacons were designed to execute for the men.

Such was the arrangement which appears to have been adopted in the primitive constitution of the Church. The first century had not, however, elapsed, when an additional order became necessary. The bishops who resided in large and populous cities, prompted by the neighbouring converts, whose attendance upon public worship was always inconvenient, and sometimes impossible, erected new churches in the adjacent towns and villages; which naturally continuing under their care and inspection, the districts grew imperceptibly into ecclesiastical provinces, and obtained the name of diocesses. Over the new churches they appointed suffragans to instruct and govern them, who were distinguished by the name of country bishops, and held a middle

rank between the bishops and presbyters. The Christian ministers of every rank still derived their support from the voluntary offerings of the people, which, after providing for the expenses of public worship, were divided between them and the poor.

The first Christian Church established at Jerusalem by apostolical authority, became in its doctrine and practices a model for the greater part of those which were founded in the first century. It may easily be conceived that these churches were not superb edifices, purposely erected for the celebration of Divine worship. Assembling at first in small numbers, the places where the primitive Christians met for pious purposes were doubtless sequestered retirements, or the houses of private individuals, which, from various reasons, and by various means, would in time become the property of the community, and be gradually extended and improved. Select portions of Scripture were publicly read in these assemblies, which were succeeded by a brief and serious exhortation to the people. The preacher usually delivered his sermons sitting, while the people stood; which was, probably, in conformity to the practice of the synagogue. The prayers formed a considerable part of public worship. To this succeeded the *oblations*, and the distribution of the Lord's Supper; and the whole service concluded with a social and friendly repast, denominated Agapæ, or the feast of love; to which all who were able contributed, and of which all who were willing partook. During stated intervals of the time allotted to these services hymns were sung, not by the whole assembly, but by persons expressly appointed for that purpose.

Besides the appointment of the first day of the week, by the apostles, for the public celebration of religious worship, the early Christians are believed to have observed two anniversary festivals; the one in remembrance of the resurrection of Christ, and the other to commemorate the descent of the Holy Ghost. From the earliest periods of Christianity it however appears, that Divine worship was celebrated in a different manner in different places. The external government of the Church was accommodated to the different situations and opinions of the first Christian believers; and in those societies which were totally or principally composed of the Jewish converts, the Jewish Sabbath, as well as the first day of the week, was kept, and much of the Jewish ritual allowed and observed. The first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were all circumcised Jews, and the congregation over which they presided united the law of Moses with the doctrines of Christ.

With respect to the few and simple rites instituted by Christ, it appears, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered by the first Christians, whenever they assembled for the purposes of social worship; and so far from being confined to those who had made the greatest progress in religious attainments, it was equally participated in by the apostle of Christ and the meanest member of the Church. The initiatory rite of baptism was permitted to all who acknowledged the truths of the Gospel, and promised conformity to its laws. The introduction of unworthy and disorderly persons into the Church, from this easiness of admission, naturally narrowed the terms of communion, and baptism was afterward confined to those who had been previously instructed in religious knowledge, and proved the sincerity of their professions by the regularity of their lives. The probationers for

admission into the society of Christians took the humble name of catechumens, while those who were already consecrated by baptism were distinguished by the superior title of believers.

The discipline exercised in the primitive Church was strict, and even bordering on severity. Two kinds of excommunication were practised at this early period. By the first, profligate persons, heretics, and apostates were separated both from the civil and sacred communion of the Church, Rom. xvi, 17; 1 Cor. v, 7, 9; Tit. iii, 10, for a period of thirty days; to be renewed at the discretion of the elders, &c. The other was termed *anathema*, or "the delivering of a convict to Satan," 1 Cor. v, 5; 1 Tim. i, 20, which was a still more complete exclusion; and it appears that it was thus termed, because the offender was in that case supposed to be delivered up defenceless to his spiritual enemy, unprotected by the prayers of the Church, or the benefit of the holy sacrament. This last species of excommunication was reserved for very flagrant and obstinate sinners, generally indeed inflicted upon those who were found incorrigible by the former means.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE SECTS WHICH EXISTED IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

Jewish Christians—Gnostics—Cerinthus—Simon Magus and Menander.

WERE we to expect that so considerable a number of men as those who embraced Christianity in the first century, would be actuated exactly by the same opinions, we should form an expectation not warranted by our own experience, or the conduct of mankind in every age. The doctrines and precepts of Christianity, so easily to be comprehended and understood, were indeed, at a very early period, blended with the most fantastical opinions. The pure stream of religious truth was polluted by error even during the lives of the apostles, 1 Tim. vi, 20; Col. xi, 8. The scrupulous adherence of the Jewish converts to the Mosaical law, occasioned several of them obstinately to contend for the ceremonies of their ancestors, and rendered them desirous of imposing them on the Gentile Christians. A large party separated from the Church, and regarded those whom they had been long accustomed to consider as a people rejected by God with a degree of contempt and hatred, which naturally produced reciprocal dislike; each indulged dispositions inimical to brotherly love, together with certain peculiar religious opinions resulting from former practices and opinions.

These Judaizing Christians were first known by the general appellation of Nazarenes; but a division of them was afterward distinguished, though it is uncertain at what time, by the name of *Ebionites*, which according to Origen and Eusebius is derived from *Ebion*, a poor or despicable man, from the mean opinion they entertained of Christ.—Besides their adherence to the Jewish law, Theodoret ascribes to them other opinions. They contended, it is said, most strenuously for the unity of the Godhead in the person of the Father, and asserted that Jesus was a mere man, born after the common course of nature, of

human parents, Joseph and Mary, but that the Holy Ghost descended upon him at his baptism, and continued to actuate and inspire him till his death. They observed both the Jewish and the Christian Sabbath.

From the imperfections of the Jewish dispensation, the Gnostics (*wise* or *knowing*) hastily inferred that it was not instituted by the Supreme Being; and, assuming that pompous appellation, boasted their ability to restore to mankind that knowledge of his nature which had so long been lost. They blended with the faith of Christ many sublime but obscure tenets, which they derived from the oriental philosophy. The sages of the east had long expected a heavenly messenger, endued with sufficient powers to release them from their bondage to corrupt *matter*, which they held to be the source of all evil. The miracles of Christ and his apostles induced them readily to accept him as this heavenly messenger, and they interpreted all the precepts of Christianity in the manner most agreeable to the absurd opinions they had previously conceived. They introduced among their followers a multitude of absurd legends respecting the actions and precepts of Christ, and of the creation of the world by inferior beings. These opinions were so entirely dissonant to many parts both of the Old and New Testament, that they rejected much of these books, though they admitted the validity of a few parts. From the belief that whatever is corporeal is in itself intrinsically evil, they denied that Christ was invested with a *real* body, or that he really suffered for the sake of mankind. As the Son of the Supreme God, they indeed consented to regard him; but regarded him as inferior in his nature, and believed that his mission upon earth was designed to rescue the virtuous soul from the tyranny of wicked spirits, whose empire he was to destroy, and to instruct men to raise the mind from its corporeal impurity to a blessed union with the Supreme God.

Far removed from the path of truth, it is not surprising that, having no certain rule to guide their steps, they should separate, and wander into the manifold intricacies of error. Accordingly, we find the Gnostic heretics were not only divided into many sects, differing in their various rules of religious faith, but in matters which related to practice. While the more rigid sects rejected the most innocent gratifications, that the body might not be so nourished as to degrade the soul, their more relaxed brethren considered the soul as entirely unaffected by the actions of the body, asserted the innocence of complying with every dictate of nature, and abandoned themselves without any restraint to the impulse of the passions. Their persuasion that evil resided in *matter*, led them to reject the doctrine of the resurrection of the body; and their belief in the power of malevolent *genii*, the sources of every earthly calamity, induced them to have recourse to the study of magic to weaken or avert the influence of those malignant agents. A very considerable sect of Gnostics distinguished themselves by the name of *Docetæ*, but their peculiar opinions are not accurately known.

Cerinthus, by birth a Jew, was one of the earliest and most distinguished seceders from the Church. He allowed indeed that the Creator of the world was the lawgiver of the Jews, and a being endued at first with the greatest virtue, but asserted that he derived his power from the Supreme God, and that he had by degrees fallen from his native dignity and virtue. That in order to destroy his corrupted empire,

the Supreme Being had commissioned one of his *glorious Eons*, whose name was Christ, to descend upon earth; that he entered into the body of Jesus which was crucified; but that the Christ had not suffered, but ascended into heaven.

Cerinthus required his followers to retain part of the Mosaical law, but to regulate their lives by the example of Christ; and taught, that after the resurrection Christ would reign upon earth, with his faithful disciples, a thousand years, which would be spent in the highest sensual indulgences. This mixture of Judaism and oriental philosophy was calculated to make many converts, and this sect soon became very numerous. They admitted a part of St. Matthew's Gospel; but rejected the rest, and held the epistles of St. Paul in great abhorrence.

The oriental philosophy, that baneful source of prejudice, was so deeply rooted in the minds of great numbers, as to afford a wide extent to the exertions of imposition or fanaticism. Either deceived themselves by a heated imagination, or desirous to impose upon others, several represented themselves as celestial beings, sent down upon earth to purify corruption and destroy error. Among the most considerable of these impostors were Simon Magus and his disciple Menander, whose pernicious tenets were similar in many respects. Simon, who taught his doctrines about the year 35, asserted that he was the *great power of God*, that he descended from heaven to deliver man, that he had assumed the human form, and that, though he had apparently suffered death in Judea, he had not in reality. He taught farther, that all human actions are in themselves indifferent, and allowed his followers to indulge themselves in the greatest licentiousness. (*Lardner's Hist. of Heretics. Euseb.* lib. ii, c. 13.) He ascribed to his mistress Helena the production of angels, and to these angels the creation of the world; and composed books for the use of his followers, which he attributed to Christ and the apostles. Ecclesiastical history presents us with an account of several more absurdities which were blended with Christianity at a very early period. But these different modifications of folly would afford a very tedious and unpleasing, as well as a very unprofitable detail.

CHAPTER V.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

Little use made of human learning in this century—Clemens—Barnabas—Papias—Ignatius—Public schools.

THE little assistance derived by Christianity from the wealth or dignity of its first professors has already been observed; nor, if we except the apostolical writings, were the compositions of the Christian writers in the first century so distinguished, either by their number or eloquence, as to force themselves into the notice, or captivate the taste of mankind. The purity of its doctrines, and the virtues of its professors, were the instruments for opening the human heart to conviction and to the truth of this revelation.

Among the writers of this century, the most distinguished place, after the inspired penmen, is due to Clemens, the friend and fellow labourer of St. Paul, who describes him as having "his name written in the book of life." There are extant two epistles to the Corinthians, which are ascribed to him; but the latter is generally reputed not genuine. Clemens Alexandrinus seems to acknowledge only one (*Strom.* lib. i, iv, v, vi.) Eusebius speaks of it in the singular. He is mentioned by Irenæus as the third bishop of Rome. (*Iren.* lib. iii, c. 3.) The epistle, which is accounted genuine, is written in a truly apostolic spirit, and with great simplicity of style. Several spurious compositions were falsely attributed to Clemens. Among others, it was asserted that he assisted the twelve apostles in compiling what are called the apostolic constitutions, and in fact acted as their amanuensis. The constitutions however are, in the judgment of the acute and able Jortin, and in that of other learned men, a despicable forgery.

The epistle ascribed to Barnabas was probably written by an unknown author, who assumed the name of that apostle. Of the writings of Papias, the disciple of the Evangelist John, and the first propagator of the doctrine of a millennium, nothing remains but the fragments of an historical performance.

The Pastor of Hermas is generally allowed to be genuine, and it is also probable that it was the work of that Hermas who is spoken of by St. Paul, though some have ascribed it to a certain Hermas, or Hermes, brother to Pius bishop of Rome, who lived in the succeeding century. The work is entirely allegorical, consisting of visions and similitudes. Like all works of this nature, it is extremely unequal as a composition, and I confess but little satisfactory to my judgment. It was however in high estimation in the early ages, and is spoken of as Scripture both by Irenæus and Tertullian. (*De Pud.* 10.)

One of the most excellent and valuable characters in the latter part of this century was St. Ignatius, the second bishop of Antioch, who, as he is considered as one of the apostolic fathers, is classed in this century, though in reality he did not suffer martyrdom till 107. It is to the disgrace of the otherwise moderate and upright Trajan, that by his sentence this venerable man was condemned to be thrown to the wild beasts at Rome; a sentence which he received without dismay and even with satisfaction. He has left behind him several epistles to the different Churches. It has been thought that the shorter epistles bear stronger marks of authenticity than the larger. They were written in his journey from Syria to the Roman capital, with a spirit and force which never deserted him under the insolent treatment of the band appointed to conduct him, and in the prospect of those cruel sufferings which terminated his existence.

In our account of authors in this century it would be improper to omit noticing two, who however cannot strictly be classed with the Christian writers. The first was Philo, a Jew, who applied the philosophy of Plato to the illustration of Scripture, and was in high repute with his countrymen.

The other was of the same nation, and, outwardly at least, of the same religion, but still more illustrious as an author. The reader will anticipate the name of Josephus, whose history of the Jews is so universally popular. Being taken prisoner by Vespasian, he was treated

with great kindness by that emperor, and seems to have returned the favour by a profusion of flattery. From some slight but respectful allusions to Christianity, however, which appear in his works, Mr. Whiston and other learned persons have conjectured that he was in reality an Ebionite Christian, but cautiously concealed his religion both from the jealousy of his own nation and that of the Romans.

Foundations for securing a succession of advocates for the truth were very early established. Public schools were erected for instructing children in the Christian faith; and several seminaries, upon still more extensive plans, were founded in several cities; in which those who were advanced in years, particularly those who were intended for the ministry, were instructed both in Divine and human erudition. One was erected at Ephesus by St. John; another by Polycarp, at Smyrna; and a third, which far surpassed the rest in reputation, at Alexandria is supposed to have been founded by St. Mark.

THE SECOND CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Causes assigned for the rapid progress of Christianity—Translation of the Scriptures into Latin—Trajan—Platonism—Alexandrian Christians—Origin of Monkery—Persecutions—Adrian—Antoninus—Rebellion of the Jews—Martyrs—Inquiry concerning the ceasing of miraculous powers.

THE Christian religion, during the first century, had acquired considerable stability and extent. In the second, its conquests became still farther expanded. Far from being confined to the poor, the illiterate, or the wretched, who sought in the belief of immortality a refuge from the miseries of life, its truths were received and acknowledged by the rich, (*Plin. Epist.* x, 97,) the accomplished, (*Aristides,*) and the learned, (*Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus.*) Paganism lamented the desertion of her temples, the neglect of her victims, and the increase of a power which threatened her with unavoidable destruction.

Among the secondary causes for the success of Christianity, none could be more persuasive, none indeed equally powerful with the marked virtues and distinguished purity of its early professors. Relinquishing the delights and the splendour of vanity, they voluntarily renounced their possessions for the relief of their indigent brethren; but these renunciations, unlike those of the heathen philosophers, were not sacrifices of sensuality at the shrine of pride; they proceeded from the purest motives, and were performed with the sublimest views. This propriety of conduct, so necessary to the credit and support of a rising sect, was attested by their governors, witnesses of indisputable authority, since they regarded the doctrines of this new religion with abhorrence, and its professors with contempt. The contrast between their resigned and devout manners, and the conduct of the other subjects of the Roman empire, during a season of peculiar calamity, is strongly marked by the discriminating and unprejudiced pen of Marcus Aurelius. (*Marcus Aurelius rescript. Euseb.* lib. iv, c. 13.) No pretext, except their confirmed abhorrence for the popular superstition, was afforded by them for the persecutions in which they were involved. They could assert with confidence, and the assertion was uncontroverted before the tribunal of their judge, that far from being engaged in any unlawful conspiracy, they were bound by a solemn obligation to abstain from those crimes which disturb the private or public peace of society, from theft, sedition, adultery, perjury, or fraud. To their freedom from these vices they added a warm and active charity—charity not confined to the particular society to which they belonged, nor even to the whole Christian community, but extending to all, however different in religious opinions. (*Plin. Epist.* x, 97.)

The validity of the Gospel revelation was, even before the end of the first century, submitted to the genéral consideration of mankind. Nearly the whole of the Scriptures was before that period translated into Latin, a language so well and so extensively known as to be understood even in the remotest parts of the Roman empire. The reception of these sacred books at a period when from their recent dates the truth of every circumstance might be without difficulty ascertained, is one among the numerous proofs of the truth of the Gospel. Nor were the errors of the first sectaries without a beneficial influence upon the Christian Church. The Gnostics, who denied any revelation antecedent to that by Christ Jesus, opened a door of communion to the pagan converts, who, with that pride inherent in man, could not at once be made to conceive that they had haughtily rejected a revelation so long and so fully established.

The conduct of the Roman emperors toward the Christians in the second century, though sometimes harsh and cruel, yet upon the whole was mild and tolerant. The decrees of Trajan respecting them were softened by the counsels and influence of the mild and beneficent Pliny. Their enemies were forbidden to produce any anonymous accusations against them, and they were left at liberty to retire from observation. The number of Gentile converts was greatly augmented, and the Christian Church was established in very remote parts of the Roman empire.

It is to be lamented, but must not be concealed, that all the members of this communion were not worthy of the advantages they enjoyed. Greatly enlarged in its numbers, it is not indeed wonderful that some should have been admitted into the Christian communion whose virtue melted in the intense heat of persecution, or whose piety had been the transient effect of a momentary impression; nor could the defection of such of its votaries have materially injured the Christian cause. But the simple and majestic fabric reared by Christ and his apostles was in some degree undermined in its foundation by the prevalence of an opinion which was disseminated in this century, that the whole duties of religion were not equally incumbent upon all, but that a sublimer degree of virtue was to be pursued and attained by those who in solitude and contemplation aspired to an intimate communion with the Supreme Being, while inferior attainments were sufficient for men who were engaged in the active employments of life. In consequence of this absurd opinion, the moral doctrines of Christianity were divided into *precepts* and *counsels*, the former of which distinguish those laws which are of universal obligation, and the latter those which relate to the conduct of Christians of superior merit and sanctity. These opinions were propagated with great reputation, toward the close of the second century, by Ammonius Saccus, who taught in the school of Alexandria. This person, a professed follower of the Platonic philosophy,* maintained not merely with the primitive Eclectics, that truth and falsehood were blended in the opinions of every sect, but that the great principles of all truth, whether philosophical or religious,

* The Platonic philosophy took its rise, not from the doctrines of Plato, but from the belief of its professors, that the sentiments of Plato respecting the Deity and the invisible world were much more sublime and rational than those of the other philosophers.

were equally discoverable in all sects; and that the only difference between them consisted in a different mode of expression, and in some points of little or no importance. By a proper interpretation of these sentiments, he contended that all sects, whether philosophical or religious, might easily coalesce in this universal philosophy, which, however then perverted, was the great source of all the religious opinions that prevailed in the world; but that in order to this the fables of the priests were to be removed from paganism, and the comments and interpretations of the disciples of Jesus from Christianity. He asserted that the errors of paganism proceeded from the symbols and fictions under which, according to the eastern manner, it had been inculcated by the ancients; that in time these were erroneously understood in a literal sense, whence the invisible beings who were placed by the Deity in different parts of the universe, as his ministers, were converted by the suggestions of superstition into gods, and worshipped as such, though in fact deserving only an inferior kind of homage. Jesus Christ he considered as an excellent being, the friend of the Deity; but supposed that his design in descending upon earth was not to abolish the worship of demons, but to purify the ancient religion and restore the true philosophy—the great path of truth from which all had wandered, but that his disciples had manifestly corrupted the doctrines of their Divine Master.

Ammonius adopted the doctrines of the Egyptians concerning the universe and the Deity, as constituting one great whole; the *eternity of the world*, the *nature of souls*, the *empire of providence*, and the *government of the world by demons*. These sentiments he associated with the doctrines of Plato, by adulterating some of the opinions of that philosopher, and forcing his expressions from their obvious and literal sense; and to complete his conciliatory scheme for the restoration of true philosophy and the union of its professors, he interpreted so artfully the doctrines of the other philosophical and religious sects that they appeared closely to resemble the Egyptian and Platonic systems.

This philosophical system was soon embraced by those among the Alexandrian Christians who were desirous to unite the profession of the Gospel with the dignity, the title, and the habit of philosophers. The school of Ammonius* extended itself from Egypt over the whole Roman empire, but its disciples were soon divided into various sects; a certain consequence of that fundamental law which all who embraced it were obliged to keep perpetually in view, *that truth was to be pursued with the utmost liberty, and to be collected from the different systems in which it lay dispersed.* Hence the Athenian Christians rejected the opinions entertained by the philosophers of Alexandria. But all who aspired to rank with the new Platonics agreed in their opinion of the *existence of one God, the source of all*, the *eternity of the world*, the *dependance of matter upon the Supreme Being*, the *nature of souls*, the *plurality of gods*, and the *method of interpreting the popular superstition.* The rules prescribed by this sect were extremely austere; the people at large were indeed permitted to live conformably

* The credit of this school was highly advanced by the profound and inventive genius of Plotinus, who disseminated its doctrines in Persia, at Rome, and in Campania.

to the laws of their country, and the dictates of nature; but the *wise* were enjoined to extenuate by mortification the sluggish body which confined the activity of the immortal spirit, that in life they might enjoy communion with the Deity, and ascend after death, alone and unincumbered, to dwell in his presence for ever.

This philosophy, which involved the truth of the Gospel in subtlety and obscurity, and added to the doctrine of Christ the commandments of men, became in time extremely prejudicial to the Christian cause. It will be easily conceived that these opinions produced in time those voluntary seclusions from the world which confined or destroyed the utility of a considerable portion of mankind. But its tendency, however injurious, was still less pernicious than an opinion derived from those philosophic sects,* who affirmed that it was not only lawful but laudable to deceive, in order to advance the interests of religion. This detestable sentiment, at first probably very cautiously propagated, and very sparingly used, opened wide the gates of falsehood, and in succeeding ages filled the whole system with absurd legends, pretended miracles, and that train of imposture which, while it disgraced human nature, was dignified with the perfidious title of *pious fraud*.

Notwithstanding that during the greatest part of this century the Christians were suffered to remain unmolested, the sword of persecution was sheathed, but not thrown away; and it was frequently suspended by a single hair over their devoted heads. Their peculiar manners, habits, and the zeal with which they avoided the feasts and solemnities of the pagan worship, were occasions of implacable hatred in their heathen brethren, who regarded them as unsocial and austere, considered their claims to superiority as arrogant, and, from not beholding any visible object of their worship, treated their pretensions to religion as improbable, if not impious. If they withdrew from them the charge of Atheism, it was only to load them with the imputation of human sacrifices† and incestuous festivals; to which practices they could alone ascribe their meeting in solitary places, without any of those appendages to worship which they conceived necessary to render their piety acceptable. The humane interference of the benevolent Pliny was insufficient to put an entire stop to the persecutions against the Christians under Trajan; and, in the succeeding reign, Adrian was persuaded to mitigate, but not to abrogate, the penalties enacted against them.

The calamities suffered by the Christians were not entirely owing to the instigations of their pagan adversaries. Their Jewish opponents had the address to increase, if not to excite against them, the popular resentment. The seditious spirit of this people was exerted also with equal violence against the Roman government. They were engaged in several revolts, and repeatedly vanquished; but so little was their rebellious spirit subdued, that, in the reign of Adrian, they openly assembled in very considerable numbers under one who, assuming the title of Barchochebas, [son of a star,] set himself up for their Messiah, and whom they acknowledged as their king. Their efforts for liberty

* See the arguments of Darius. (*Herod.* lib. iii.)

† The foundation of the atrocious charge of sacrificing children on certain festivals was very acutely investigated by some learned men in the last century. Some have supposed it to originate from the baptizing of infants.

were however vain. Depressed by all the miseries of war and famine, they were, after a rebellion of four years, defeated by the imperial army. Incredible numbers perished by the sword, or were sold into captivity; their leader, who after his defeat was denominated Barchosbeas, [son of a lie,] was publicly put to death, and their ancient city razed to its foundations. The emperor, highly incensed by the repeated seditions of this turbulent people, determined to inflict upon the remaining Jews a severe and continued punishment. For this purpose, after building a new city called Ælia Capitolina upon the ruins of Jerusalem, he prohibited the Jews, under the severest penalties, from approaching its precincts. Many of them, however, still remained in Palestine, and it was not till after repeated revolts that they were reduced to subjection.

In the succeeding reign of Antoninus Pius, the disciples of Christ were again involved in a partial persecution in consequence of an earthquake in Asia, which they were accused of having provoked by their neglect of the gods, and their impious refusal to deprecate their wrath. This persecution was, however, confined to some provinces; and an apology by Justin Martyr for the Christian religion, which is still extant, being put into the hands of this excellent monarch, he had the good sense and justice to perceive their innocence, and to publish an imperial edict, prohibiting in future all severities toward them.

Antoninus, it is well known, was succeeded by the celebrated Stoic, Marcus Aurelius. During the dawn of his reign the Christians enjoyed the beneficial influence of philosophy; but it was soon clouded by his avowed dislike, and numbers of both sexes became the victims of a persecution which, though connived at and even encouraged by the most philosophic and accomplished of the Roman emperors, vied in cruelty with that of Nero.

As the character of Trajan is sullied by the martyrdom of Ignatius, so the reign of Marcus is for ever disgraced by the sacrifice of the venerable Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, the friend and companion of St. John. A few days previous to his death he is said to have dreamed that his pillow was on fire. When urged by the proconsul to renounce Christ, he replied: "Fourscore and six years have I served him, and he has never done me an injury. Can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" Several miracles are reported to have happened at his death. The flames, as if unwilling to injure his sacred person, are said to have arched over his head; and it is added, that at length being despatched with a sword, a dove flew out of the wound; and that from the pile proceeded a most fragrant smell. It is obvious that the arching of the flames might be an accidental effect, which the enthusiastic veneration of his disciples might convert into a miracle; and as to the story of the dove, &c., Eusebius himself apparently did not credit it, since he has omitted it in his narrative of the transaction.

Among many other victims of persecution in this philosophic reign we must also record that of the excellent and learned Justin. But it was at Lyons and Vienne in Gaul that the most shocking scenes were acted. Among many nameless sufferers, history has preserved from oblivion Pothinus, the respectable bishop of Lyons, who was then more than ninety years of age; Sanctus, a deacon of Vienne; Attalus, a native of Pergamus; Maturus and Alexander; some of whom were

devoured by wild beasts, and some of them tortured in an iron chair made red hot. Some females, also, and particularly Biblias and Blandina, reflected honour both upon their sex and their religion by their constancy and courage.

The cause of paganism, however, gained not much by these cruel executions. The pious lives, the resigned deaths of several of the professors of Christianity in the second century, cried aloud, and the voice was heard. They had embraced the religion of Christianity in the prospect of sufferings and death, and they were supported under these sufferings agreeably to the promises of the Gospel. The apologies for their religion, which were addressed by several of the Christian writers* to the emperors, were appeals to the reason as well as to the humanity of those for whom they were intended. It is indeed probable that some of them were never honoured by the perusal of the monarch. But as they asserted facts, of which all might easily be convinced; as the motives, the sufferings, and the conduct of the persecuted sectaries were by these means more extensively known, it is highly probable that they largely contributed to diffuse the truth of the Gospel. To these causes for the extension of religious knowledge, must be added the forcible argument of miracles, which there is much reason, from the testimony of the writers of the second century, to believe still existed. It does not, indeed, appear at what period of time the miraculous powers which had so greatly assisted the propagation of Christianity were withdrawn, nor is it at all necessary that the precise time should be ascertained. Those who believe that God neither bestows less than is necessary, nor more than is sufficient, will easily conceive, that, when by supernatural means Christianity was widely diffused, and when, from various causes, mankind were disposed to receive the Gospel with less aversion, the powers which were no longer necessary were no longer given. Fraud, fanaticism, and credulity have continued miracles almost to the present time. It appears probable, however, from the silence or the testimony of the ancient fathers, that miraculous gifts became gradually less frequent, and in a very early period entirely ceased. The same suspicions which have fallen upon the later miracles have justly been applied to the later pretensions to a prophetic spirit. It is, however, probable that the gift of prophecy was conferred, though perhaps in smaller portions, during the second century, as it is mentioned by Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Trypho. To these causes for the progress of religion must be added the labours of several missionaries, who, warmed with pious zeal, journeyed into remote countries for the propagation of truth; among whom was the learned Pantænus, who travelled as far as India.

* Quadratus, Aristides, Athenagoras, Melito, Justin Martyr, &c.

CHAPTER II.

OF DOCTRINE, GOVERNMENT, RITES, AND CEREMONIES.

Creed of the Church in this century—Corruptions—Simple structure of the apostolic Churches—Functions of the bishops—Metropolitans—Mode of administering the sacrament—Baptism—Festival of Easter—Christmas—Fast—Marriage—Ecclesiastical censures—Controversy concerning Easter.

CONFINING himself to those obvious rules of faith and practice which were appointed by Christ, and to the observance of those simple institutions ordained by the apostles, the primitive believer pursued his way with undeviating steps: and, although, as we have already seen, the loquacious and controversial genius of the heathen philosophy had in the second century made some progress even in the body of the Christian Church, still the established creed remained in a great measure undepraved and uncorrupted. In the invaluable remains of Irenæus, the bishop of Lyons, we find a compendium of the Christian faith, as professed in his time. "The Church," says he, "which is dispersed through the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their immediate disciples the belief in one God, the Father almighty, the maker of the heaven, the earth, and the sea, and all that in them is; and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, made flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who by the prophets revealed the dispensation and the coming of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ, his birth by a virgin, his passion, his resurrection, his ascension into heaven in the flesh, and his advent from heaven in the glory of the Father to the gathering together of all things, and the raising up of the flesh of all mankind; that in Christ Jesus our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee should bow of things in heaven, of things on earth, and of things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess to him; and in all things he will execute righteous judgment; both the evil spirits and the angels who sinned and became apostates, and the impious, the unjust, the breakers of the law, and the blasphemers, among men, he will send into everlasting fire; but to the just, and holy, and to those who keep his commandments, and remain in his love, whether from the beginning, or whether they have repented of their sins, he will give life, and incorruptibility, and glory for ever." (*Irenæus*, lib. i, c. 2, p. 50.)

The reader will easily perceive that this early creed has served as the basis of that which is now termed the apostles' creed, and which was probably compiled and digested in the succeeding century.

From the writings of Justin, Clement, Theophilus, Irenæus, Tertullian, and others, we have abundant evidence that the doctrine of the trinity was strongly asserted by the Church in this century against the sectaries of every denomination. It is indeed in this age that the word *trinity* appears to have been introduced. The fathers of this century in general are equally strenuous in maintaining the other articles of faith, as specified in the preceding extract.

The moral principles of the Christian religion, however, in this century, appear to have suffered some invasion; the text of the Scriptures

was attempted in some instances to be accommodated to the immoral practices of the heathens; and the doctrines of different duties being requisite to different orders of Christians, and that it was lawful to deceive in order to advance the interests of religion, were propagated both in the discourses and writings of many of the early professors of Christianity.

It is probable that, in the beginning of the second century, many of the immediate successors and disciples of the apostles continued to practise those few and simple rules relative to the government of the Church, which they had appointed or approved. The bishops and presbyters were still undistinguished by any superiority of station or difference of apparel; they were still chosen by the people, and subsisted upon a proportion of the voluntary offerings which were paid by every believer, according to the exigencies of the occasion or the measure of his wealth and piety. The bishop, assisted by the presbyters and deacons, to each of whom he distributed their respective employments, superintended and regulated the ecclesiastical concerns of the society. He was the steward of the Church: the public stock was intrusted to his care, without account or control: the presbyters were confined to their spiritual functions, and the deacons were solely employed under the bishop in the management and distribution of the ecclesiastical revenue. A decent portion of it was reserved for the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy, a sufficient sum was allotted for the expenses of public worship, and the whole remainder was appropriated to the sick, the aged, the indigent, and the oppressed.

Near the end of the second century the Churches of Greece and Asia established as a custom and a law, that the bishops of the Churches should meet in the capital of the province at the stated periods of spring and autumn. Their deliberations at these meetings were assisted by the advice of a few distinguished presbyters, and the utility of them was so apparent that they were universally adopted by all the Christian Churches. The decrees which were enacted there were styled *canons*, and regarded and regulated every important controversy of faith and discipline. A regular correspondence was established between the provincial councils, which mutually communicated and approved their respective proceedings, and the Church by degrees assumed the form, and indeed acquired the strength, of a great federative republic.

It is not to be supposed, in this arrangement, either that the people foresaw the alienation of their rights, or that the clergy looked forward to that power which, in succeeding ages, was obtained by the ecclesiastical order. The perfect equality of rank which had subsisted among the bishops in these assemblies was diminished at first, perhaps, by the ascendancy that a strong mind naturally obtains over one which is weaker; and this inferiority was afterward confirmed by the necessity which arose of exalting one to the office of perpetual president, for the preservation of order in the assembly. The time when this dignity was first conferred is not precisely ascertained, but it is probable not till the middle or toward the close of the succeeding century. It was given to the bishop of the principal city in those provinces where the synods were held, who was honoured with the appellation of metropolitan

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which was celebrated whenever the primitive Church assembled for public worship, was administered not only to the meanest, but to the youngest of the congregation. Its species were common bread and wine, which were consecrated by the bishop or officiating minister. It was given to children under the species of wine, and the observance of it was conceived of such peculiar importance that it was sent from the society to all the sick or absent members. Baptism was publicly performed twice a year. The candidates for this ordinance assembled in the church on the festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide; and after a solemn declaration of their faith, and an assurance that they renounced the pomp and vanities of the world, and that they were determined to live conformably to the Gospel, they received the sacrament of baptism. This rite was administered without the public assemblies, in places prepared for the purpose, and was performed by an immersion of the whole body in the baptismal font. (*Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.*) It was also performed by aspersion or sprinkling. The sign of the cross was made use of in this rite, and a solemn prayer was uttered on consecrating the baptismal water.

Adult persons were prepared for baptism by abstinence, prayer, and other pious exercises. It was to answer for them that sponsors, or godfathers, were first instituted, though they were admitted afterward in the baptism of infants as well as adults.

The earliest and most express records testify that infant baptism was usual in the primitive Church. (*Bingham's Eccl. Antiq.*) Parents were originally sponsors for their infant children, and one sponsor only was required. In case of adults, the sex of the sponsor was the same with that of the person baptized; but in the baptism of infants no respect was paid to this circumstance.*

* In reference to the proper subjects of baptism, it may be observed,—that while the generality of Christians agree that adult believers are fit subjects of the ordinance, most of them admit, and contend, that infants, in conformity with the established order of the Church, are also equally entitled to the privilege. Though the infidelity and iniquity of parents may constitute a barrier to the Scriptural dedication of their children to God, yet the promise of the Gospel is evidently to children in conjunction with their parents. That the rights of infants were so considered in the primitive Church, we have indubitable evidence from several of the ancient fathers.

Justin Martyr, of the second century, when speaking of some who were members of the Church, says, "A part of these were sixty or seventy years of age, who were made disciples of Christ from their infancy."

Irenæus, who flourished also in the second century, was a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John; and he makes this declaration, viz.: "Christ came to save all persons who by him are born again unto God; infants and little ones, and children and youth, and elder persons." By being born again, he meant being baptized, as he has elsewhere clearly shown.

Tertullian, who lived in the latter part of the second century, says, "The delay of baptism is more useful according to every person's condition and disposition, and even their age; but especially with regard to little children." It must be recollected that Tertullian is here opposing the baptism of infants, because he had imbibed the erroneous opinion, that the administration of this ordinance secured the remission of all sins previously committed. But this opposition to it shows that it was then in practice.

Origen, who was born in the second century, and flourished in the third, says, "Infants are baptized for the remission of sins." He also says, "The Church hath received the tradition from the apostles, that baptism ought to be administered to infants."

Cyprian, who was contemporary with Origen, informs us that sixty-six bishops, being convened in a council at Carthage, having the question referred to them

It is not easy to determine the period when prayers for the dead began first to be offered up in the Christian Church. The first author who mentions this custom is Tertullian. It is probable that this practice, which was followed by the doctrine of purgatory, was not instituted from a belief in that state, but from a conviction that all men are sinners; to implore the Almighty to deal with them in mercy, not in justice; to distinguish between the perfections of men; and as a testimonial of their belief in the immortality of the soul, which, however, they conceived to exist in but an imperfect state of happiness, or to have its consciousness suspended till the general resurrection.

"whether infants might be baptized before they were eight days old," decided unanimously, "that no infant is to be prohibited from the benefit of baptism, although just born."

Gregory Nazianzen, in the early part of the fourth century, says, "The whole Church practises infant baptism; it was not instituted by councils, but was always in use."

Pelagius declares, "He had never heard even an impious heretic who asserted that infants are not to be baptized." He also asks, "Who can be so impious as to hinder the baptism of infants?"

Among the arguments in favour of infant baptism the following have been deemed conclusive:—

1. Baptism was evidently placed by Christ and his apostles in the room of circumcision, as an initiatory rite into the covenant of grace; and as the infant children of believers under the Old Testament were entitled to the covenant benefits of circumcision, the infant children of Christian believers are admitted into the covenant of grace by baptism.

2. Infants are declared by our Lord to be members of his Church. Thus Mark x, 14, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God." See also Luke ix, 47, 48.

3. It is said in the New Testament that the apostles baptized houses, or households, of them that believed. Unless all these cases had reference to families of adults, which would have been most extraordinary, they must have baptized infant children with their parents. This opinion receives additional strength from several declarations in the New Testament, particularly the words of St. Peter, Acts ii, 39, "For the promise is unto you, and to your children." As many of his hearers were Jews, and as Peter himself was a Jew, he must have been aware that they would understand him as offering the same covenant privileges to parents and infant children. The Jews had been accustomed to receive infants by circumcision into their Church. This was done in view of the promise that the Almighty would be a God to Abraham and his seed. They had understood this promise to mean parents and their infant offspring; and this view had become familiar by the practice of many centuries. What other conclusion could they draw, than that baptism was offered to them and their infant children, when one of their own community said to them, "The promise is unto you, and to your children?" And if Peter was aware that they would so understand him, it is manifest that he intended to be so understood, or he would have spoken in terms indicating restriction. This he did not do, and we may, therefore, fairly infer, that he recommended the baptism of parents and infants; which was evidently practised by this same apostle and his brethren when they baptized households, as well as on other occasions.

4. The antiquity of infant baptism, as proved by the foregoing quotations from the early fathers, furnishes evidence of its divine authority that cannot be successfully controverted. If the infant children of believers were not baptized in the days of the apostles, when did the practice commence? If introduced after the apostolic age, it must have been a great innovation. But no mention is made by any writer of its introduction into the Church, nor does it appear that there even was any controversy about it, until it was feebly started by Peter Bruis, a Frenchman of the twelfth century. Tertullian opposed it; but his opposition does not appear to have produced any controversy concerning its validity. Its validity he admitted; but having embraced the opinion that baptism was attended with the remission of all sins previously committed, he recommended the delay of it in many cases, but more especially in relation to infants. As no mention is made of the introduction of infant baptism into the Church at any time subsequent to the apostolic age, it evidently must have been in practice at that time. See Dwight's Theology, and Watson's Institutes.

It is highly probable that Easter was instituted as a festival at an early period in the Christian Church; but the first observation of that season is very uncertain. The feast of Whitsuntide possibly took its rise in this century, as well as that of Christmas. During the first three or four centuries the nativity of Christ was celebrated on the sixth day, which is now called the Epiphany, in commemoration of the incarnation; and under this general name were understood both the nativity and baptism of our Lord, till the Church agreed to observe the nativity on the 25th of December, when that and the Epiphany came to be considered as distinct festivals. The whole of the time between the celebration of Easter and Whitsuntide, which was fifty days, was observed as a festival.

It appears, from the authority of a writer of this century, that before its close several fasts were observed by some Churches. The Lent consisted of only a few days before Easter, (*Tertul. de Jejun.*, c. 14,) but to this were added the fourth and sixth days of the week; the former on account of the Jews' taking counsel together on that day to put Jesus to death, and the latter because on that day he actually suffered. The weekly fasts were commonly observed till the ninth hour, or three in the afternoon, and differed in that respect from the fast before Easter, which lasted the whole day: they were, however, intermitted during the season between Easter and Whitsuntide.

The union between the primitive Christians was so intimate, that it is probable few transactions of importance in their private concerns would take place, without mutual communication. Thus much, however, is certain, that all who intended to marry acquainted the Church with their design before it was completed. (*Ignat. Ep. ad Polycarp*, n. 3.) These marriages were preceded by the espousal, which took place a considerable time before the marriage was solemnized, by various ceremonies, and the man presenting his future bride with a ring, a practice which was adopted from the Romans. At the appointed time the marriage was solemnized by the priest; the right hands of the contracting parties were joined together; and the bride, modestly veiled, after receiving the nuptial benediction, was crowned with flowers. (*Bingham's Ecc. Antiq.* xx, 4.)

Ecclesiastical censures, which are so necessary for the honour, the order, and even the preservation of a regular society, were publicly denounced against the offender who had relapsed into idolatry, or fallen into gross sin. Whatever his excuses, he was deprived of every part in the oblations, avoided by the whole Church, and excluded from the assemblies of the faithful. In vain he implored for re-admission into the society, till he was humbled by a public confession of his sins, and had given solemn assurances of his intentions to conform to the Christian laws, and undeniable proofs of the sincerity of his repentance. Some of the Churches which affected great austerity utterly excluded the atrocious sinner, the heretic, or the apostate from the hopes of a re-admission into their communion. By degrees, however, this severity universally relaxed, and the gates of reconciliation were again opened to the returning penitent, who, by a severe and solemn form of discipline, had expiated his crime, and who exhibited a scene which might powerfully deter the spectator from an imitation of his guilt. The priest who had committed any notorious offence was no more exempted

from the discipline of the Church than the most obscure sinner. The arms of mercy might again be extended to him, but not till he had first performed the lowest acts of humiliation and abasement; had complied with the appointed rules for all excommunicants, prostrated himself in sackcloth at the door of the assembly, humbly implored the pardon of his offences, and made a public recantation of his sin. Nor even then was he restored to the honours of which he had been deprived. He was re-admitted indeed as a member of the general society, but his claim to the honours of the ministry existed no more.

Besides the observance of the first day of the week, all Christians agreed in celebrating the seventh, in conformity to the Jewish converts. It was, however, observed very differently from the Christian Sabbath. An observance of the festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide was esteemed incumbent upon all Christians, though they differed materially in the respect they paid to the lesser rites: while some abstained from the flesh of beasts which had been strangled, and from blood, others ate with impunity; while some solemnized the fourth day of the week, on which Christ was betrayed, others observed the sixth, on which he suffered. Nor does it appear that those different regulations occasioned any uneasiness or scandal in the Church.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE SECOND CENTURY.

Gnostic Christians—Marcionites—Encratites—Carpocrates—Valentinian Heresy—Montanus—Praxeas—Jewish Christians—Nazarenes or Ebionites.

HE must be ignorant of the varying dispositions of mankind who can conceive that the different opinions which divided the professors of the Gospel, during the second century, into numerous sects, can possibly be ascribed to any defect in the doctrines of its Divine Teacher. Man is continually the dupe of prejudice and error; and the various prejudices of Judaism, oriental philosophy, and paganism, may reasonably be conceived to be almost necessarily blended with the religion of many of the first converts to Christianity.

By far the greater part of the heretics of the second century were Gnostics, and derived their errors from the mixture of Christianity with the oriental philosophy. Their tenets are represented as so many different modifications of that fanatical system. The followers of Saturninus and Basilides, who may be considered as heresiarchs, and as having reached almost the summit of absurdity, spread themselves over Syria and Egypt, and propagated the doctrine of a *good* and *evil principle*, which was also inculcated by Bardesanes, a Syrian of considerable abilities. Basilides asserted that two of the Eons, which were produced by the Supreme Being, were the parents of innumerable hosts of angels, the inhabitants of three hundred and sixty-five heavens, which were under the dominion of an omnipotent governor, named Abraxas. This word was used by his disciples as a mystical term,

because it contained numeral letters to the amount of 365. This sectary admitted the validity of the New Testament, with such alterations as he conceived necessary. The condition he required from his followers was a continual silence for five years; a very proper method, as is observed by Le Clerc, to make an experiment of their folly.

The fanciful Cerdon, a native also of the warm climate of Syria, and Marcion, son to the bishop of Pontus, erected on the foundation of the Gnostics a structure of considerable extent. They taught their doctrines conjointly at Rome. To the two principles, already admitted by the Gnostics, they added a third, whom they conceived to be the Creator of the world, and the God of the Jews, and asserted that he was in a state of continual hostility with the evil principle, but desirous of usurping the place of the Supreme Being. Mankind, they asserted, was governed despotically by the two former of these beings, but added that the Supreme had sent down his own Son for the deliverance of all who, by self-denial and austerity, sought to obtain that happiness. The followers of Cerdon and Marcion were distinguished by the name of the latter. They entirely rejected the Old Testament, and the whole of the New, except part of the Gospel of St. Luke, and ten epistles of St. Paul, which were greatly interpolated. This sect was diffused, not only through Rome and Italy, but extended itself over Palestine, Syria, and Egypt.

The austerities of the Eneratites, the disciples of the learned Tatian, greatly exceeded even those of the Marcionites. They held matter as the source of all evil, and therefore condemned the most innocent gratifications. They were indeed so abstemious as to give only water in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The creation of the world was considered by them as the work of a deity of an inferior nature to the Supreme Being, and the body of Christ as an appearance, not a reality. Carpocrates, though likewise a convert to the tenets of Gnosticism, was distinguished by manners exactly the reverse of the followers of Tatian. He asserted that good and evil were the mere result of opinion; that faith and charity were alone essential to salvation; and that the passions being implanted in man by the Supreme Being, obedience to their dictates was the duty of all mankind. These opinions, so well calculated to flatter the corrupt propensities of human nature, were extensively received. To these Carpocrates added a disbelief of the resurrection of the body, and many opinions which blended Christianity with oriental philosophy. Perhaps this heretic is the first who asserted the simple humanity of Christ, who, he contended, was only distinguished from the rest of mankind by his superior virtue.

Whether we consider the greatness of its reputation, the numbers of its votaries, or the regularity of its system, the Valentinian heresy holds the most distinguished rank among those which pervaded this century. Its founder, Valentine, incensed at having been refused the rank of bishop, rejected orthodoxy, and taught his doctrines at Rome, whence they were diffused through Europe, Africa, and Asia. Refining upon the established genealogies of the Eons, he arranged and named them according to his own inventive imagination, and assigned to each his proper situation and employment. A system which consisted only of a certain arrangement of qualities or attributes which composed the Deity and the inferior beings, admitted of considerable alterations according to

the caprice of those by whom it was professed; and among the numerous disciples of Valentine there were few who contented themselves with the fancies which were already prepared for their reception.

Montanus, a native of Ardabon, in Mæsia, affected to believe himself the paraclete or comforter, and that he was sent to perfect the moral doctrines of Christ. He made a distinction between the Comforter promised by Christ to his apostles, and the Holy Spirit which was shed upon them on the day of pentecost, and considered the former as a Divine teacher, which character he himself assumed. He and his followers pretended to the gift of prophecy, and extraordinary illumination, and were distinguished by their extreme austerity. Not less averse to the arts which improve, than to the innocent enjoyments which embellish human life, Montanus anathematized all those sciences which have polished or entertained mankind. Not merely the male, but even the female disciples of this heretic pretended to the gifts of inspiration; among whom two ladies of distinguished quality resigned their husbands, and every delightful domestic connection, to preach in public according to the dictates of their prophetic spirit, which was generally exerted in denunciations of wo to the world, particularly to the Roman empire. The most celebrated of his disciples was the ingenious and learned, but austere and censorious Tertullian.

Numerous were the different sects which arose in this century; but many of them had no other foundation than some variation from the heresies already noticed. Theodotus, a tanner, but a learned and ingenious man, asserted the simple humanity of Jesus Christ; while Praxeas, on the contrary, contended that the union between God and Christ was so intimate that the Supreme Being had suffered with him. The followers of Praxeas were, in consequence of this opinion, styled Patripassians.

It has been observed that, on the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the Jewish Christians retired to Pella, a small city of Syria. In this situation, interdicted, along with their brethren of the synagogue, from visiting the holy city, they languished during sixty years in absence from all which their strongest prejudices taught them the most fervently to revere. Wearied at length by the prohibition, which for ever deprived them of the chance of revisiting the object of their dearest hopes, they evaded the law by electing, for their bishop, Mark, a prelate of the Gentile race, and abjuring the Mosaical law. Thus they obtained admission into the holy city, and the standard of orthodoxy was again erected at Jerusalem.* During their occasional absence, the bishop and Church of Pella had still retained the title belonging to their former situation. A considerable part, however, of the Jewish Christians, still more ardently attached to the Mosaical rites than to Jerusalem, remained behind, and some of them are supposed to have retained the name of Nazarenes, and others that of Ebionites, as described in the preceding century. Abhorred and publicly execrated by their brethren of the circumcision for their attachment to Christianity, and despised by the Christians for their prejudices in favour of the Mosaical law, they were peculiarly oppressed and unfortunate.

* It retained, however, the name of Ælia, given to it by Adrian, till the time of Constantine.

Traces of this sect appeared so late as the fourth century; they were joined by the Elcesaites, an absurd sect, which grafted many opinions derived from the oriental philosophy on this mixture of Judaism and Christianity.

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN.

Accession of learned persons to the Church—Justin Martyr—Polycarp—Irenæus—Clement of Alexandria—Hegesippus—Aquila—Theodotion—Symmachus—Dionysius—Theophilus—Tertullian—Pagan writers: Plutarch, Epictetus, Antoninus, Lucian.

MORE considerable with respect to situation, to numbers, to rank and influence, than their predecessors, the Christians of the second century acquired an important station in the republic of letters, and diffused or defended the truths of Christianity in compositions which, if not eminently correct, were rhetorical, and, if not peculiarly elegant, were learned, forcible, and manly.

Succeeding ages have beheld with veneration the spirit, integrity, and inartificial eloquence of Justin Martyr. This eminent person was born at Sichem, in Palestine; and after wandering in pursuit of truth through every known philosophical system, he at length embraced Christianity, and, without laying aside his philosopher's habit, taught the doctrines of the Gospel at Rome. His faith, as we have already seen, endured the severe test of persecution, and he received the crown of martyrdom at Rome.

Of the venerable and excellent Polycarp we have also already spoken. There is an epistle of his to the Philippians inserted among those of the apostolic fathers. Its objects are to enforce the moral duties, and to controvert the opinions of the Gnostics. It is generally allowed to be genuine.

Irenæus, the disciple of the illustrious Polycarp, suffered martyrdom about the year 202. This pious and diligent prelate composed several works, of which, however, few remain. Some of the performances of Clement of Alexandria have reached posterity, from which we are justified in believing that his erudition was very extensive, though he is frequently obscure. Hegesippus is placed by Eusebius in the time of Adrian. He was a Jewish convert, and wrote a continuation of the Acts of the Apostles.

The Old Testament was translated from the Hebrew into Greek, during this century, by Aquila, a Jewish proselyte, by Theodotion, and by Symmachus, a native of Palestine, from whom the Nazarenes were frequently called Symmachians.

Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, wrote several epistles to the different Christian Churches; but they are no longer extant. The same fate attended the voluminous works of Melito, bishop of Sardis. Three books against paganism, written by Theophilus, the seventh bishop of Antioch, and which appear to have been intended as an introduction to a larger work, were more fortunate. Apolinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, also wrote in defence of the Christian religion. But a still more able

defender was Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, whose presbia (or mission) in favour of Christianity, addressed to Marcus Antoninus, is still read and admired.

The most voluminous Christian author at this period was Tertullian, who lived in the latter end of the second and the beginning of the third century. He was by birth a Carthaginian, and possessed all the constitutional fervour natural to the sons of the warm climate of Africa. Disgusted with some affronts he had met with from the ecclesiastics at Rome, and incited by his own vehement and rigid disposition, he embraced the opinions of Montanus, and attacked his adversaries with rather more warmth of temper than strength of argument. He was, however, learned, acute, and ingenious; but severe, enthusiastical, and rather credulous.

Among the pagan writers of this century were Plutarch, Epictetus, Marcus Antoninus, and Lucian: the latter of whom, if he did not favour Christianity, was at least a skeptic with respect to the popular religion of his country. In this age many of the Sibylline verses were probably forged.

THE THIRD CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Rapid succession of the Roman emperors—State of Christianity under Severus—Persecution—Alexander Severus—Maximin—Philip and Decius—Decian persecution—Gallus and Gallienus—Valerian persecution.

AMONG several causes favourable to the diffusion of Christianity, we are, perhaps, not a little indebted to the quick succession of the Roman emperors. The events attending their lives, their deaths, and the artifices of their successors to obtain the imperial purple, naturally engaged much of the public attention, and suspended the execution of those sanguinary edicts intended for the destruction of the Christians. Several among the masters of the Roman world were also entirely unconnected with their predecessors, unbiased by their prejudices, and averse to their pursuits. In a race of princes, many of whom were accomplished, benevolent, and candid, there could scarcely fail to be some who would respect the abilities and virtue even of the men whose religious opinions they did not approve.

A considerable part of the reign of Severus proved so far favourable to the Christians that no additions were made to the severe edicts already in force against them. For this lenity they were probably indebted to Proculus, a Christian, who, in a very extraordinary manner, cured the emperor of a dangerous distemper by the application of oil. But this degree of peace, precarious as it was, and frequently interrupted by the partial execution of severe laws, was terminated by an edict which prohibited every subject of the empire, under severe penalties, from embracing the Jewish or Christian faith. This law appears, upon a first view, designed merely to impede the farther progress of Christianity; but it incited the magistracy to enforce the laws of former emperors, which were still existing against the Christians, and during seven years they were exposed to a rigorous persecution in Palestine, Egypt, the rest of Africa, Italy, Gaul, and other parts. In this persecution Leonides, the father of Origen, and Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, suffered martyrdom. On this occasion Tertullian composed his Apology.

The violence of pagan intolerance was most severely felt in Egypt, and particularly at Alexandria; and among many instances of suffering virtue in that city, Eusebius relates one which is too extraordinary to be passed over in silence.

Pontamiæna, a woman not less distinguished for her chastity than for her beauty, which was exquisite, was condemned to suffer for her religion. To induce her to abjure her faith she was threatened with prostitution; but was protected from the insults of the mob by Basilides, soldier to whose custody she was committed; and impressed with

his kindness and humanity, she promised that after her death she would make intercession for his salvation. Pontamiæna suffered the most cruel tortures, and with her mother Marcella was burned to death, boiling pitch being poured over their naked bodies. After some time the soldier Basilides was apprehended for not taking the military oath, which was considered by the Christians as an act of idolatry; and being questioned concerning the motives of his conversion, he replied that Pontamiæna had appeared to him in a dream, and had assured him that her prayers for his salvation were crowned with success, and that he would soon be called to enjoy the reward of his virtue. (*Euseb. Hist.* lib. vi, c. 5.) The beauty and interest of this narrative are not destroyed, even if we believe the dream of Basilides not to have been miraculous.

A still more shocking scene was acted in another part of Africa. Four young men and two women were apprehended as Christians, and condemned to die. One of the latter, Ubea Perpetua, a young widow of a good family, had a child at her breast; and the other, Felicitas, was brought to bed in prison only three days before her execution. They were, as usual, thrown to the wild beasts; and the two females in particular, after being tossed by a wild cow and horribly mangled, while the milk was flowing from their breasts, expired with the greatest resignation and the most heroic fortitude.

The interval between the death of Severus and the time when Maximin assumed the imperial purple, was a season peculiarly favourable to the Christians. They publicly appeared at court, and composed a considerable part of the household and favourites of the amiable Alexander, being protected by Mammea, his mother. The severities they endured from his successor, Maximin, were probably to be ascribed more to his displeasure at their attachment to the former emperor, and their having been protected by him, than to their religious principles. From the reign of Maximin to that of Decius, the Christians enjoyed still more favour than they had ever before experienced. The Emperor Philip, stepping beyond the bounds observed by Alexander, who had paid Divine honours to Christ, and had placed his statue or picture along with those of Abraham and Orpheus, in his domestic chapel, was so strongly and openly attached to them as to have given occasion to the belief that he had fully conformed to the doctrines of the Gospel, and had consented to make an humble avowal of his former guilt, and secretly to implore permission to enter the threshold of the sanctuary. That these opinions were fallacious is in the highest degree probable; but thus much may reasonably be deduced from them that the clemency of the emperor must have been extremely favourable to the reception of Christianity among his subjects, and that the doctrines of the Gospel would probably be embraced by many timid but honest minds, whom the dread of a persecuting tyrant would have prevented from making an open profession of their faith in Christ. The accession of Decius to the imperial throne fatally terminated this state of security and peace; and, during his short reign, the Christians were exposed to greater calamities than any they had hitherto suffered. Considerable numbers were publicly destroyed, several purchased safety by bribes, or secured it by flight; and many deserted from the faith, and willingly consented to burn incense on the altars of the gods. The city of

Alexandria, the great theatre of persecution, had even anticipated the edicts of the emperor, and had put to death a number of innocent persons, among whom were some women. The imperial edict for persecuting the Christians was published in the year 249; and shortly after Fabianus, bishop of Rome, with a number of his followers, was put to death. The venerable bishops of Jerusalem and Antioch died in prison; the most cruel tortures were employed, and the numbers that perished are by all parties confessed to have been very considerable. Gallus, the successor of the inhuman Decius, continued, during his transient reign of not quite two years, the severities practised by his predecessor.

In 253 Gallus was killed by his soldiers, and was succeeded for a short time by Æmilian, who was also soon massacred, and Valerian chosen in his room. The first years of Valerian were favourable to the Christians; but the emperor was afterward made the dupe of Macrinus, a magician; and in the year 257 issued severe edicts against the Christians, and numbers were sacrificed in different modes—some were scourged to death, some burned, and many perished by the sword. In 260 Valerian was taken prisoner by the Persians, and from that period the tranquillity of the Church was scarcely interrupted during the remainder of the century.

CHAPTER II.

DOCTRINE, GOVERNMENT, AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH DURING THE THIRD CENTURY.

Doctrines—Creed of Tertullian—Platonic Christians—Monkery—St. Anthony—Opinions concerning the state of the soul—Public edifices erected for the Christian worship—Encroachments of the clergy—New orders of clergy—Copiatæ—Parabolani—Acolythists—Exorcists—Notaries—Catechumens—Baptism, confirmation, &c.—Penitential discipline—Fasts—Accommodation of Christianity to the prejudices of the people—Mysteries.

IN the history of the preceding century the creed of St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, which he affirms to have been the general creed of the Christian Church, was distinctly detailed. The creed which Tertullian gives as the system of belief in his time corresponds in most respects with that of Irenæus; and it must have been composed at the farthest about the beginning of this century.

"We believe," says the father, "in one God, but under this dispensation, (which we call Oikonomian,) that to the one God there is a Son, his Word, who proceeded from him, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made. He, sent by the Father to a virgin, and born of her, became man and God, the Son of man, and the Son of God, and was named Jesus Christ. We believe that he suffered, was dead and buried, according to the Scriptures, and being raised by the Father, and taken up into heaven, that he sits at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. Who sent, according to his promise from the Father, the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." (*Tertul. ad Prax.* c. 2.)

The opinions of the Platonic Christians, that the Scriptures were not to be understood according to their literal, but agreeably to their allegorical sense, had at this time deeply pervaded the Christian world. The plainest precepts of the Gospel were supposed to contain some latent meaning, and ample scope was opened to the most absurd and chimerical interpretations. With the opinions, the Christian teachers had adopted the habits and manners of the philosophic school. They assumed the dress of the pompous sophist, and delivered the plain doctrines of the Gospel with strained and studied eloquence. The belief that solitude, contemplation, and abstinence were necessary to elevate the soul to a knowledge of Divine truth, was derived from this philosophy, and was earnestly inculcated during this century. One of the first instances which we find recorded of these voluntary seclusions from the common affairs of life is that of Paul, who retired from the Decian persecution to the deserts of Thebais, where he resided ninety years. His example was not, however, a solitary proof of human folly; many others retired to forests, to caverns, and to dens, where they practised in solitude the most severe discipline, and made pretences, not only to extraordinary devotion, but to extraordinary illumination; and a voluntary seclusion from secular affairs was commonly inculcated as the perfection of piety and virtue. Anthony, whose eventful, if not miraculous life, has been recorded by the pen of Athanasius, retired at a very early age into the Egyptian deserts; and the respect which was paid to his character, and his wonderful relations, greatly contributed to extend the ardour for retirement.

Some new doctrines concerning the state of the soul after death appear to have made a considerable progress during this century. The undistinguished believer was consigned to purification, and the expiation of his sins in a state after this life, and anterior to his participation of the joys of heaven; but the martyrs were supposed to be received to eternal glory immediately upon the dissolution of the body. The annual commemoration of their sufferings and victory was solemnly and fervently observed in the Church. In compliance with the superstitions of their pagan brethren, and with a view to recommend themselves to their favour, the Christians appointed the celebration of these anniversaries on the days appropriated to pagan festivals, (*Greg. Nysson. Opera*, vol. ii, p. 1006,) and introduced into them whatever might captivate the fancy, and recommend these rites to their heathen neighbours.

We have beheld the Christians during the two preceding centuries compelled to assemble in the houses, perhaps, of some of the more opulent of their society, or in some secret and sequestered retreat. In the third century their appearance became more respectable, and they were either permitted to erect, or connived at in erecting, convenient edifices for religious worship. This season of external prosperity was improved by the ministers of the Church for the exertion of new claims, and the assumption of powers, with which they had not been previously invested. At first these claims were modestly urged, and gradually allowed; but they laid a foundation for the encroachments which were afterward made upon the rights of the whole Christian community, and for lofty pretensions to the right of supremacy and spiritual dominion. Those lands which were purchased from the common stock for the

benefit of the whole, were in time considered as the exclusive property of the clergy, whose rights were represented as superior to the claims of earthly potentates, since they were derived from Heaven, and entailed upon the ministers of religion as the successors of the holy apostles, and of the Jewish priesthood.

Several alterations in the form of Church government appear to have been introduced during the third century. Some degree of pomp was thought necessary to render so singular an institution respectable to the minds of a gross multitude, who are only capable of judging from external appearances. An attention to this circumstance was probably one among many causes for appointing new orders of ministers in the Church; but Christian societies were not destitute of more cogent reasons. As their numbers increased, their labours became proportionably greater; and it was necessary to provide assistance, and, more agreeable to good order, to assign to each his proper function. Inferior ministers were therefore instituted, who derived their appellations from the offices they filled. The Copiatæ or Fossarii provided for the decent interment of the dead. The Paraobolani attended the sick, particularly in infectious or pestilential diseases. The Acolythists were employed in lighting the candles of the church, and attending the ministers during the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and to the Exorcists was assigned the office of praying over possessed persons, at such times as no public intercession was made for them; and while they relieved the bodily wants of the miserable sufferer, whose chief residence was in the church, they relaxed his mind by leading him to some useful or innocent employment. (*Bing. Ecc. Antiq.*) The Notaries were appointed to record every remarkable occurrence relating to the society of which they were members. The institution of this order is ascribed to Fabian at Rome, under the Decian persecution, at which time they were employed to collect the actions and memorials of the martyrs. These ministers probably derived their emoluments, not merely from the precarious bounty of the society, but from a certain proportion of the fixed revenues of the Church. The principal of them (no longer obliged to depend upon an uncertain subsistence, which was augmented or diminished according to the zeal or opulence of the community) had obtained, before the close of this century, the possession of several considerable estates, which had been bequeathed or presented to the Church.

The external dignity of the ministers of religion was accompanied by a still greater change in its discipline. The simple rules prescribed by the apostles for the preservation of good order in the church, branched out into so many luxuriant shoots that it was difficult to recognise the parent stem. In many societies all persons unbaptized or excommunicated were considered as out of the reach of salvation. Nor was the sacrament of baptism administered to any till the humble catechumen had been publicly exorcised, had acknowledged himself under the influence of a malignant spirit, and had submitted to a long preparation. He was then, in the presence of those already initiated, publicly admitted into the Church. This rite was performed in a mode extremely different from that which had been adopted in the two preceding centuries. As the number of converts to Christianity increased, the older Christians, in order more effectually to judge of the religious

knowledge of those whom they admitted to communion, very judiciously lengthened their season of probation. The duration of this time differed in different places, and according to the circumstances of the probationers, who, in cases of extreme sickness, or the general conversion of a whole nation, were immediately admitted to baptism. In general, however, a sufficient time was allowed for instructing the catechumens in the doctrines of religion, who were arranged in different classes, in proportion to the time they had passed in probation, or the progress they had made in religious attainments. The immediate candidates for baptism registered their own names with those of their sponsors in the public dyptics (or registers) of the Church, after which they were examined respecting their qualifications. These regulations, which were eminently calculated to exclude unworthy members, were however accompanied by some observances highly fantastical and absurd. The catechumen was exorcised for twenty days previous to his baptism, in order to deliver him from the supposed dominion of evil spirits, and during that time was prepared by abstinence, the knowledge of the Lord's prayer, and the Articles of Belief, for becoming a member of the Church. In imitation of the pagans, the Christians had thought proper to introduce mysteries into the religion of Christ; and the administration of baptism, confirmation, ordination, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the Lord's prayer, and a number of other offices, were industriously concealed from the catechumen. The candidates for baptism were divided into classes; one class was permitted to hear the sermon, but not the prayers of the Church; another was allowed to be auditors of the prayers offered for themselves; a third was admitted to hear the prayers for themselves and the Energumens, (or Demoniacs,) and then formally dismissed. The catechumen not only promised, by himself or by his sponsors, to renounce Satan and all his works, but accompanied this renunciation by some action expressing his abhorrence to the devil; sometimes by stretching out his hands, as if to compel his departure, and sometimes by an exsufflation, or spitting, in order to intimate his abhorrence. In the performance of these rites, the face of the actor was directed toward the west, which was considered as the abode of darkness and the emblem of the devil; while the east was regarded as the region of light, and the rising sun as a symbol of the Sun of righteousness. This renunciation was succeeded by turning the face to the east, and making a vow to act in conformity to the profession of Christianity, and a public confession of faith. Each of these ceremonies was repeated three times. (*Bingham, Ecc. Antiq.* lib. ii, c. 7.) Confirmation immediately followed the reception of baptism. This ceremony consisted in anointing them with holy oil and the imposition of hands; the former of which practices was probably introduced about the beginning of this century; and to this unction was ascribed the effect of confirming the soul in all spiritual graces on the part of God, and the confirmation of the profession of a Christian on the part of man. White garments were distributed to the neophytes upon their being baptized, which after being worn eight days were deposited in the church. The believer, who by this rite became incorporated into the society of Christians, was congratulated upon his admission with the kiss of peace, and was presented with a mixture of milk and honey, or milk and wine. After a

few other trifling ceremonies, he was permitted to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which began in several of the more opulent societies to be administered with much external pomp. The excessive respect which was paid to baptismal rites was still farther augmented by the disputes which arose concerning it during this century, in which the necessity of rebaptizing heretics, who, after their defection, sought for re-admission into the Church, was strongly contended for, and occasioned the convention of several councils, the decrees of which were issued according to the prevailing disposition of the presiding members.

A regular form of discipline began to take place during the third century in every matter which fell within the cognizance of the Church. At this time the penitents appear to have been divided into classes; the first of which were the *flentes* or mourners, who were stationed in the avenues to the church, where, in a prostrate posture, they supplicated for permission to perform public penance. After obtaining this request, they received the title of *audientes* or hearers, and had the privilege of entering the church, and of hearing the Scriptures and the sermon. The third order were denominated *genuflectentes* or kneelers, were allowed to unite in the prayers offered on their account, and stationed in the nave of the church, where they received the benediction of the bishop. The last order was that of the *consistentes* or bystanders, who were allowed, along with their less guilty brethren, to approach the altar, to join in the common prayer, and be present at the oblations; but they were excluded from a participation of the Lord's Supper. During the season of penitence, the offenders were compelled to appear in sackcloth, or sackcloth and ashes; and in some churches the men were obliged to shave their heads, and the women to wear a veil, and either to cut off their hair, or wear it in a dishevelled manner, as a token of dejection and repentance. The time which was appointed for penitence was protracted or extended by the bishop, according to the marks of contrition which were distinguished in the penitent, and this was called an *indulgence.* He was invested also with authority to alter the nature of the penance. (*Bingham, Ecc. Antiq.* lib. xviii, c. 4.) At the close of the Decian persecution, the doors of the church were crowded by suppliants, who, to secure their lives, had consented either to make a tacit renunciation of their faith, by purchasing testimonials, from the magistrates, of their adherence to paganism and retiring from observation; or who had reluctantly consented to burn incense, or to offer sacrifice upon the altars of the gods. These apostates were called Libellatici, Thurificati, and Sacrificati. Their success was various; to some the gates of reconciliation were at once opened; against others they were securely closed, and that not always in proportion to the guilt of the offender, but to the accustomed lenity or rigour of the Church to which he belonged. A spirited and rigorous controversy arose on this occasion, particularly in Africa, in which the eloquence and the ardour of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, at length prevailed; and it was enacted that those who had obtained testimonials from the magistrates of having offered adoration to the gods of the empire should be admitted to a reconciliation with the Church; but that such as had publicly burned incense should remain in penance, and should not be restored to communion, unless they were in danger of death, and had commenced penitents previous to their sickness. A sentence scarcely less rigid was

pronounced against the ecclesiastic who had lapsed into idolatry; he was indeed admitted to hope that in time he might be received into communion with the Church, but he was for ever excluded from all clerical honours. It was, indeed, highly necessary to exhibit such a picture of severity in the Church, and of contrition in the offender, as might effectually deter his brethren from pursuing his footsteps.

The Lent we have already seen was observed only a few days before Easter. In the course of the third century, it extended at Rome to three weeks. It did not stop here; before the middle of the succeeding age it was prolonged to six weeks, and then began to be called Quadragesima, or forty days' fast. (*Bingham, Ecc. Antiq.* lib. xxi, 1.) About the time of the council of Eliberis, Saturday was observed as a day for keeping the lesser fast in some of the western Churches, and three days of abstinence were observed in the week. In time, however, the fast on Saturday was observed with greater strictness, and that on Wednesday was wholly disregarded. (*Bingham, Ecc. Antiq.* lib. xxi, 3.) On the days of humiliation it was customary to pray in a kneeling posture, contrary to the practice of offering their devotions standing, which was usual at those periods when any joyful event was commemorated, or any festival observed. The increasing passion for austerities which during this century was so observable must be ascribed to the increasing belief in the power of malignant spirits, who were supposed to be continually inciting men to the commission of evil, and whose influence was thought to be considerably diminished by abstinence and mortification.

This opinion may easily be traced into the Gnostic philosophy, which insensibly became interwoven with the doctrines of Christianity; but a great number of those rites which were introduced into the discipline of the Church can only be considered as an accommodation to paganism. It would be extremely uncandid to suppose that, in the adaptation of these rites, those by whom they were introduced saw the extent to which they would afterward proceed, or conceived the vast accessions of power and wealth which would accrue from them to the rulers of the Church. Matters apparently trifling in themselves might with propriety be conceded to the prejudices of the multitude, and to the intention of making Christianity more acceptable to the new converts. Many of the Jewish and pagan proselytes, who were really convinced of the truths of the Gospel, languished in the absence of ceremonies which are naturally adapted to the taste of the unreflecting multitude, while the insolent infidel haughtily insisted upon the inanity of a religion which was not manifested by any external symbol or decoration. In order to accommodate Christianity to these prejudices, a number of rites was instituted; and while the dignified titles of the Jewish priesthood were, through a compliance with the prejudices of that people, conferred upon the Christian teachers, many ceremonies were introduced which coincided with the genius of paganism. The truths of the Gospel were taught by sensible images, and many of the ceremonies employed in celebrating the heathen mysteries were observed in the institutions of Christ, which soon, in their turn, obtained the name of mysteries, and served as a melancholy precedent for future innovations, and as a foundation for that structure of absurdity and superstition which deformed and disgraced the Church.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

Manichæans—Noetians and Sabellians—Paul of Samosata—Novatians.

THE catalogue of heresiarchs during the third century is not so extensive as that in the age preceding; but the absurdity of the doctrines promulgated, and the numbers by whom they were received, are at least equally remarkable. In detailing the history of men whose writings the ill-judged piety of their own or succeeding ages has destroyed, and consequently whose opinions and characters have only reached posterity from the suspicious representations of their antagonists, we must however hesitate; and we are bound to weigh every existing evidence before we pronounce a sentence of condemnation. That many absurd tenets were propagated, and that these were departures from the true faith, we have the most undoubted authority for believing: but when we perceive so many seceders from the Church, while they professed themselves the followers of the pure gospel of Christ, conceiving themselves warranted in the most impious and profligate conduct, we cannot but regard them as under a mental derangement, and therefore rather objects of compassion than condemnation; unless we admit that their tenets have been misrepresented, or at least exaggerated.

The doctrines of self-indulgence have been ascribed as fundamental errors to few or none of the sectaries who arose in the third century. Their manners were in general austere, and their hopes of future happiness greatly dependent upon their rejection of present gratification. Every incitement of pleasure was to be contemned; every allurement of sense was to be avoided and abhorred. One of the most celebrated sectaries of this period was Manes, by birth a Chaldean, and eminent for his learning, genius, and accomplishments. He was ordained at an early age a presbyter in the Christian Church; and uniting his philosophical doctrines with Christianity, he formed a system compounded of both, which he conceived would meet with a ready acceptance both from the Persian infidels and the Christians. His success at first was, however, by no means adequate to his expectations. The Persian Christians, offended by his heretical opinions, excommunicated him from the Church; and the magi were incensed at his attempt to reform the doctrines of Zoroaster. But notwithstanding this opposition, his opinions were received by considerable numbers in Persia, Syria, Greece, Africa, and Spain. They were indeed so artfully incorporated with the fantastical opinions of several other sectaries, that they found large parties by whom they were at once approved and afterward embraced. Manes adopted the mystical language of the magi, and taught the Gnostic doctrine of two *principles;* the former of which was a living, immaterial *Light*, existing from all eternity, and surrounded by hosts of pure and immortal spirits, the emanations of his essence; the latter an evil power, called *Darkness*, who had resided from eternity in a remote region of infinite space, accompanied by myriads of evil spirits, created out of matter, of which his kingdom was composed. This heresiarch contended that there was a time when these different powers

were unacquainted with each other's existence; but that the rebellious powers of darkness had, during a sedition in their own regions, advanced beyond their own limits, and, on beholding the delightful realms of *Light*, had projected an irruption into his kingdom. God had opposed to these turbulent spirits the *first man;* but his opposition being too feeble, he had sent to his aid the *living spirit:* a part of the celestial substance however being seized by the demons, light and darkness became blended. From this mixture, which was permitted by the Supreme Being, the living spirit separated those parts of the celestial substance which were uncontaminated with matter, and composed from them the sun and moon; and from those parts which were corrupted only in a small degree, formed the planets. The remainder composed this world, where good and evil are ever blended and incorporated, and which is fitted for the residence of those bodies that were formed by the defeated prince of darkness, and endued with a soul composed of those parts of the celestial substance which he had seized. These beings are continually obstructed in their endeavours to be virtuous, by other beings created by the same hand, but containing souls formed from corrupt matter.

This fanciful system was the foundation on which Manes erected a farther superstructure. He asserted, that in order to obviate the power of those malevolent spirits who sought the destruction of virtue, the Supreme Being had produced two superior emanations, the Son and the Holy Ghost, consubstantial with the Father, but subordinate to him, the former of whom resides in the sun and moon, the other in the air; where they exert their benign influences upon the bodies and souls of men; but that God sent good angels and prophets upon earth to instruct man, and at length his own Son, who took upon him the exterior, not the nature, of man: that he instructed men in their true origin, the causes of their captivity, and the means of deliverance; showed them, by his mystical resurrection and ascension, that death destroys not the man, but restores to punished souls the liberty of returning to their heavenly country: that after death the soul passed into other bodies, till they were either sufficiently purified to pass to the moon, whence after a certain lustration they were conveyed for farther purification to the sun; or else they were delivered to the demons of the air, by whom they were severely chastised, and then were sent to animate other bodies: that when all the parts of celestial substance shall be disengaged from matter, a devouring fire shall burst forth; the earth shall be cast into utter darkness, where the devils shall dwell for ever, confined with the souls whose indolence has prevented their purification.

Austerity and mortification were the leading features in the character of the Manichæans. The ecclesiastics and the perfect were strictly prohibited from marriage, and confined solely to the enjoyment of spiritual delights. Every severity which could attenuate and mortify the body was required from all. The fanciful inventor of these fables, after various vicissitudes, is said to have been condemned to a cruel and ignominious death, by the command of the Persian king.

The sects which were founded by Noetus and Sabellius, during this century, have been frequently considered as much alike in their tenets, and the followers of each have been distinguished by the name of Patripassians; but the two sects differed in several important articles.

Noetus asserted that the Father had united himself with the man Christ, and was born and crucified with him; while Sabellius maintained that the Word and the Holy Spirit were only emanations of the Deity; and that the former was united to the Son of God, the man Jesus; and that, having in him accomplished the salvation of man, he had diffused himself on the apostles in tongues of fire, and was then called the Holy Ghost. Noetus was excommunicated and condemned in the council of Asia.

Though the heresy of Paul of Samosata, the metropolitan of Antioch, appears to have been received by considerably fewer numbers than the opinions of many of the other sectaries, yet the distinguished rank of this heresiarch, and the vigorous opposition which he made to the decrees of those councils by which he was deposed, attracted general attention. He asserted the simple humanity of Christ; but maintained that the wisdom or Spirit of the Father had descended upon him, dwelt within him, and empowered him to work miracles and instruct mankind. The splendour of this prelate's appearance vied with that of a monarch; and the levity of his manners, it is said, his ambition, and the arrogance with which he propagated his opinions, were as generally detested as the doctrines which he taught. Several councils were convened on this occasion, and by their decrees Paul was degraded from the episcopal dignity; but under the protection of the queen of Antioch, he continued to enjoy the emoluments of his station during four years. It is certainly to the credit of Paul to have possessed the patronage and favour of so distinguished a character. The court of Palmyra was the resort of all the learned; and is consecrated to the latest ages by the presence of the incomparable Longinus, who possibly might imbibe his taste for the Hebrew and Christian writers from the conversation of this distinguished sectary. The defeat of Zenobia was, however, a prelude to that of Paul. The contending parties agreed to submit the decision of their cause to the Emperor Aurelian, by whose sentence the rebellious prelate was deposed. The separatists who followed Paul assumed the appellation of Paulians, or Paulianists.

The followers of Novatian, a presbyter of the Church of Rome, and of Novatus, a presbyter of Carthage, were distinguished merely by their discipline; for their religious and doctrinal tenets do not appear to be at all different from those of the Church. They condemned second marriages, and for ever excluded from their communion all those who after baptism had fallen into this sin. They affected very superior purity; and though they conceived a sinner might possibly hope for eternal life, they absolutely refused to re-admit into their communion any who had lapsed into sin; and separated from the Church of Rome, because the members of it had admitted into their communion many who had, during a season of persecution, rejected the Christian faith.

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

Origen—Cyprian, bishop of Carthage—Gregory Thaumaturgus—Dionysius of Alexandria—Methodius of Tyre—Porphyry—Serapion—Minucius Felix—Julius Africanus—Hesychius—Lucian—Pamphilus, &c.—Apostolical constitutions—Longinus—Dion Cassius.

THE industry, the erudition, and the accomplishments of Origen justly entitle him to the most distinguished place among the Christian writers of the third century. His attention to the sacred Scriptures was early and indefatigable; but though the principal, they were not the only objects of his studies: he was conversant in philosophy and polite literature, published several doctrinal and moral treatises, and entered the field of controversy with vigour and success. The number of his literary performances exceeds that of any other Christian writer in the early ages, and is indeed very considerable. He composed commentaries, scholia, and homilies upon the Bible, parts of which still exist; treatises upon prayer, and on the principles of religion; and eight books in defence of Christianity against the attacks of Celsus, which are still extant, and are invaluable. His Hexapla was a performance of perhaps more utility than labour: it consisted in placing the Greek versions of the Septuagint, of Symmachus, and of Theodotian, against the text in the Hebrew. His greatest work was, however, the conquest of every corrupt propensity. His virtue, his humility, and his amiable manners, together with his eminent abilities, have for ever secured to him the veneration and regard of posterity, though they were insufficient to preserve him from the hatred and calumnies of his contemporaries.

Of such men every action of their lives, every circumstance in which they are concerned, is interesting. The self-denial so remarkable in Origen, throughout the whole of his life, was observable at a very early period. His father suffered martyrdom under Severus; and the entreaties and even compulsion of his mother were barely sufficient to prevent her son, who was then only a youth of seventeen, from suffering in the same cause. When prevented, he wrote to his father, earnestly exhorting him to persevere in the faith, and cautioning him against the entreaties of his adversaries, though the support of his wife and seven children depended upon his life. His zeal for the truth appears to have been unaffected and unvarying, and the whole of his life to have been employed for the promotion of virtue. Much of it was passed in indigence; and though his virtues had attracted the notice of Mammea, the mother of the emperor, he died destitute of common conveniences. His early station was that of a teacher of grammar; he was then chosen to fill the chair of the Alexandrian school, and contributed in a high degree to extend the reputation of that seminary. He was not, however, suffered to enjoy his situation in tranquillity: he incurred, perhaps the envy, certainly the resentment, of Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, by whom he was excommunicated, expelled from his home, and deprived of his rank as presbyter. His active endeavours to promote Christianity rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the pagans: in the Decian persecution he endured impri-

sonment, torture, and chains. He was at length delivered from persecution, and died under the reign of Gallus.

The character of Origen, though uncommonly exalted and amiable, was not without a few dark shades. Charmed with the subtleties of the Platonic philosophy, he blended it with Christianity; and maintained that the Scriptures were not to be literally, but allegorically explained. The celebrity of Origen, which continually increased, extended this mode of explanation to perhaps a culpable excess, till it became almost general. Charitable and generous to others, his rigour and self-denial were likewise carried to an extreme which proved prejudicial to his constitution, and which sometimes extended to absurdity.

Cyprian, who in the year 248 attained the episcopal see of Carthage, acquired a degree of admiration and applause from his contemporaries, which has not been denied to him by posterity. Affable, virtuous, and charitable in his private character, he was zealous, spirited, and active in his public station, and possessed all those qualities which are calculated to attach friends, and excite the jealousy of adversaries. He had attained to manhood, and been some years a teacher of rhetoric, before he embraced Christianity; and his conversion from paganism, and zeal for Christianity, had made him so highly obnoxious to the people, that in the Decian persecution he was repeatedly demanded by them, and must have been sacrificed to their resentment, had he not secured his safety by a prudent retreat. In this concealment, impervious to all but a few of his faithful friends, he contrived to regulate all the affairs of his Church, to which he returned at the close of the persecution. He then entered into a spirited controversy with Stephen, bishop of Rome, concerning the propriety of re-baptizing heretics. The haughty prelate insisted with extreme arrogance that baptism administered by those who had seceded from the Church was perfectly valid; but he was resolutely opposed by the inflexible Cyprian, who asserted, on the contrary, that baptism performed by heretics was null. How far each party was right in this question it is not the object of the present work to determine. The conduct of Stephen during the time of its being agitated was, however, extremely insolent. The severe edicts of Valerian, which were particularly directed against the ministers of the Christian Church, were fatal to the devoted Cyprian: he was first banished to Birtha, where he resided some time, and in the following year was recalled to Carthage, where he was confined to the narrow limits of his own garden. Still inflexible in the faith, he refused to purchase life by sacrificing to the heathen gods. He was then condemned to be beheaded; and the cheerful piety with which he encountered death, together with the virtues of his life, occasioned a general lamentation for him, both among his Christian and pagan contemporaries. Many of his literary performances related to the discipline of the Church, and are, together with a considerable number of moral and theological treatises, composed in a style uncommonly animated and pious. His desire of being rhetorical has, however, and with some reason, subjected him to the charge of turgidity.

Gregory, bishop of Neocesarea, and Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, were both disciples of Origen, and each of them among the number of those who retired from the Decian persecution. The miracles which were ascribed to Gregory, and which obtained for him the surname of

Thaumaturgus, have bestowed upon him a degree of celebrity which he would never have derived from his few literary productions. Those fragments which remain of the works of Dionysius are not without a considerable degree of ingenuity and learning: they are chiefly controversial, or relating to discipline. The literary abilities of Methodius, bishop of Tyre, are principally remarkable from the celebrity of his antagonist, the learned and sophistical Porphyry, a Syrian, of the school of Ammonius, who attacked the doctrines of Christianity in a voluminous and elaborate work, which was destroyed by an edict of the emperor in the following century. Among the lesser writers were Serapion, bishop of Antioch, Minucius Felix, who openly attacked paganism, and Julius Africanus, a man not destitute of erudition; but the greater part of whose performances are lost. Copies of the Septuagint were diligently corrected by several different writers, possessed of abilities very adequate to their task: among these were Hesychius, the martyrs Lucian and Pamphilus, and Pierius, who obtained the name of the younger Origen.

The apostolical canons and constitutions, works which it has been pretended were composed by the twelve apostles conjointly with St. Paul, and copied by Clemens, who acted as amanuensis upon the occasion, have been supposed by some ingenious critics to have been fabricated in the third or fourth century. They affect to establish several points relative to discipline, which were not mentioned in the New Testament. The constitutions appear to be a compilation of old treatises, which convert Christianity into a mere ceremonial law. The eighth book has been ascribed to Hippolitus, an Arabian bishop, who composed a work called *The Apostolical Tradition concerning Ecclesiastical Offices*, and who has been supposed the compiler of the constitutions which he published at Rome. (*Bingham. Ecc. Antiq.*, xiii, 5.) The honour of this imposture has not, however, remained with the good prelate, but has been bestowed upon many.

Among the profane authors of the third century Longinus the rhetorician, and the historian Dion Cassius, are justly entitled to the most distinguished rank.

THE FOURTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Diocletian—Gallerius Cesar; his hatred to the Christians—Persecution—Fire in the imperial palace—Christians protected in Gaul, under Constantius—Death of Gallerius—Constantine the Great—Luminous cross—Constantinople—Devotion of Constantine—Sons of Constantine divided in their religious sentiments—Julian—His bigotry—Jovian—Valentinian—Gratian—Theodosius—Divisions in the Church—Conversion of Armenia—Ethiopia—Georgia—Goths—Laws of Constantine.

THE events of the fourth century hold a distinguished rank in the annals of the Christian faith. During this period the truths of the Gospel were publicly received and professed by a succession of the great masters of the Roman world. Christianity became the established religion of the empire; and, in consequence of the contest between the orthodox and Arian parties, the primitive faith of the Church was nicely ascertained, and delivered to posterity in precise and determinate terms. No longer abandoned to the suggestions of fancy, the Christian professor was expected to conform to that rule of faith prescribed by the great leaders of the Church, or compelled to relinquish his title of an orthodox believer in Christ.

The tranquillity which, after the Decian persecution, had with little interruption soothed and recruited the Church, continued during eighteen years of the reign of Diocletian, who assumed the imperial purple in the year 284. In this prosperous season the Christians publicly professed their religious sentiments, and were joined by numbers so considerable as to require an addition of several more edifices for the performance of public worship.

But this halcyon calm was rudely interrupted. Gallerius Cesar, whose hatred to the Christians had already been manifested by his requisition that they should renounce either their religion or his service, had the address, by fictitious oracles, to terrify and irritate the timid and credulous mind of the emperor against his Christian subjects. Returning victorious from the Persian war, he urged his importunities with accumulated force; and after spending a winter at Nicomedia with Diocletian, in which the extermination of the Christians was the object of their consultation, he obtained an edict, enjoining that the churches and writings of the Christians should be destroyed; all their civil rights and privileges annulled; and that no pretence nor rank, however exalted, should be sufficient to excuse them from punishment. (*Lactant. de Mort. Perf.*) The day previous to the appearance of this edict, the persecution commenced by the demolition of the principal church, which in a few hours was razed to the ground.—Alarmed and irritated at these proceedings, the edict, which was placed in the most conspicuous part of the city, was instantly destroyed by a Christian, who paid for his temerity by being roasted alive. Gallerius, whose rancour to the Christians could be gratified by nothing short

of their total extirpation, and whose short-sighted policy did not enable him to perceive that slower and more insidious measures were more calculated to undermine the constancy of the Christians, and destroy their cause, than those violent methods which animated them to action and resistance, had recourse to new projects. A dreadful fire which raged in the imperial palace was attributed to the Christians, who (in order to produce a confession of their guilt) were destroyed in considerable numbers, with every refinement of torture which cruelty could suggest. Some were broiled to death on gridirons, after being cruelly scourged, and their wounds washed with brine; others were thrown to wild beasts, and others starved to death.* The effort was, however, ineffectual; and among the various causes assigned for this conflagration, perhaps the most probable is that it was the act of the crafty and sanguinary Gallerius.

This catastrophe was succeeded by numerous edicts against the Christians; and a furious persecution raged throughout the empire, (*Lactant. de Mort. Perf.*,) except in the provinces of Gaul, under the government of Constantius, the father of Constantine, who protected their persons, though he permitted the demolition of their churches. During a series of years these sanguinary edicts were enforced or suspended according to the caprice of the several masters of the Roman world, or as their recess from the public concerns of an empire distracted by civil commotions afforded them leisure. Great numbers of the Christians suffered the severest tortures in this persecution; though the accounts given of it by succeeding historians are probably exaggerated. There is, however, a sufficient number of well authenticated facts to assure us amply of the cruel and intolerant disposition of the professors of pagan philosophy. The human imagination was indeed almost exhausted in inventing a variety of tortures. Some were impaled alive; others had their limbs broken, and in that condition were left to expire. Some were roasted by slow fires; and some suspended by the feet with their heads downward, and, a fire being made under them, were suffocated by the smoke. Some had melted lead poured down their throats, and the flesh of some was torn off with shells; and others had splinters of reeds thrust under the nails of their fingers and toes. The few who were not capitally punished had their limbs and their features mutilated. It would be endless to enumerate the victims of superstition. The bishops of Nicomedia, of Tyre, of Sidon, of Emesa; several matrons and virgins of the purest character, and a nameless multitude of plebeians, arrived at immortality through the flames of martyrdom.

Wearied at length with contention, or moved by the excruciating anguish he himself suffered from a dreadful and loathsome disease, Gallerius indulged his Christian subjects in a transient respite from their sufferings; which were, however, renewed by his successors, and continued, though with some intermission and mitigation, till the year 325, which restored tranquillity to the Church, and invested Constantine with the sole dominion of the Roman world.

It is well known that Diocletian, as well as his coadjutor in the empire, Maximian, abdicated the empire. This transaction was succeeded

* See Euseb. l. viii. He was an eye-witness of the cruelties exercised at Tyre.

by eighteen years of discord and confusion, and the Roman world at one period was administered by six emperors. The rival princes, however, gradually fell before the united arms and superior fortune of Constantine and Licinius; and the former, impatient of a partner in the throne, turned at length his arms against the unfortunate Licinius, who was the last competitor that opposed his greatness, and the last captive that adorned his triumph.

No character has been exhibited to posterity in lights more contradictory and irreconcilable than that of Constantine. Christian writers, transported with his profession of their faith, have perhaps magnified his abilities and virtues to excess, and thrown an almost celestial splendour over every part of the portrait; while the pagan historians have spread their gloomy shades upon the canvass, and obscured every trait that was great and amiable.

The precise date of the conversion of Constantine is, by the disagreement of the respective historians of that period, involved in considerable difficulties. The miraculous circumstances with which it was said to have been accompanied are attended with some doubts to a skeptical mind. His father, Constantius, had shown himself very favourably disposed to the Christian cause, and Constantine gave early indications of a desire to protect and favour its professors. In the commencement of his reign he granted free toleration in religious concerns to all the subjects of his empire, and a full restitution was commanded to be made to the Christians; but at the same time he liberally enriched the temples of the gods, and publicly worshipped at their shrines. A luminous cross, inscribed with the words, *By this conquer*, which, when Constantine was about to engage Maxentius, (one of the rival emperors,) was seen in the air by the emperor and his assembled army; and a dream, in which the Author of our religion appeared to confirm the prognostic of the luminous phenomenon, have been generally considered as the causes of his conversion; but it has been objected, that after the date of this event, Polytheism was equally with the Gospel of Christ protected by the master of the Roman world. Great efforts, indeed, and extraordinary abilities, are necessary to throw off at once opinions which have been sanctioned by long use and early prejudices. The political situation however of Constantine was probably not such, while he was shackled with coadjutors, and labouring up the steep of ambition to the summit of human authority, as to enable him to make an open profession of his conversion. Of the sincerity of his attachment to the religion of the Gospel there cannot be a doubt, since it even degenerated into superstition. His temper, indeed, was naturally mild and tolerant; and if he embraced Christianity with the true spirit of the Gospel, his not persecuting the pagans is the worst argument that could be produced to prove the insincerity of his conversion.

So early as the year 313, an edict was issued from Milan by the joint emperors Constantine and Licinius, which may be considered as highly favourable to the Christians, since it authorized every subject of the empire to profess either Christianity or paganism unmolested; it also secured the places of Christian worship, and even directed the restoration of whatever property they had been dispossessed of by the late persecution. (*Euseb.* l. x, c. 5.) The abdication and death of his col-

league, which left Constantine in the undisturbed possession of the dominions of Rome, was soon followed by circular letters from the emperor to all his subjects, exhorting them to an immediate imitation of the example of their sovereign, who had embraced the Divine truths of the Gospel. He removed the seat of empire to Byzantium, which he embellished, enlarged, and honoured with his own name, and prohibited by a severe edict the performance of any pagan rites and ceremonies throughout the city.* His religious zeal augmented with his years; and toward the close of his life several imperial edicts were issued for the demolition of the heathen temples, and the prevention of any sacrifices upon the altars of the gods; while the reality of his religious ardour was testified by every external observance which could demonstrate his conviction of its truths, and his zeal for its propagation. Without having received the initiatory rite of baptism, or having been placed in the rank of a catechumen, Constantine performed many of the solemn ceremonies appointed by the Church; he fasted, observed the feasts in commemoration of the martyrs, and devoutly watched during the whole night on the vigils of the saints. In his last illness, he summoned to the imperial palace at Nicomedia several Christian bishops, fervently requesting to receive from them the sacrament of baptism, and solemnly protesting his intention to spend the remainder of his life as the disciple of Christ. Eusebius, bishop of that city, administered to him the sacred rite;† and the emperor expired, after a short illness, on the 22d of May, in the year 337, aged sixty-four.

The prosperity and happiness of Constantine were only interrupted by the theological animosity which divided his Christian subjects, and which the well-meant efforts of the emperor were insufficient to compose. The account of these contests belongs to a different section of our history; (see chapter iii, of this century;) but it is necessary to mention that the schism of the Donatists, and the still more fatal Arian controversy, which involved the Christian world in contentious disputes concerning the person of Christ, distressed the mind of the monarch, and disturbed the tranquillity of that scene which he had flattered himself was to close with triumph the evening of his life.

The Christian Church was protected and supported under the dominion of the three sons of Constantine, who, with very inferior abilities, divided and governed the Roman world. The religious opinions of Arius, which had occasioned such violent dissensions in the Church, were warmly espoused by Constantius, while Constantine and Constans, who ruled the western parts of the empire, were zealously engaged in the orthodox cause. After a dreadful scene of fraternal contention, Constantine and Constans were removed by death, and the imperial sceptre was again grasped by one hand, and that the hand of a professed friend to Christianity. But the unhappy disputes concerning the person of Christ, which disturbed the peace of every member of the Church, left them not in a situation to enjoy that blessing which had so ardently been wished for by their predecessors in the faith. The Arian party obtained the vigorous support of Constantius; and the venerable profes-

* Soz. lib. ii, c. 3. This is confirmed by Eusebius and Orosius, but denied by Zosimus.

† After baptism, he laid aside entirely his purple and regal robes, and continued to wear a white garment till the day of his death. (*Euseb. Vit. Const.* l. iv, c. 62.)

sors of orthodoxy were involved in calamity and opprobrium, and by threats and punishments were exhorted to violate their integrity, and to embrace the opinions of the emperor and the court.

Julian, the nephew of Constantine, who on the death of Constantius ascended the imperial throne, was a steady and insidious enemy to the Christians, whose faith he had abjured, and whose professors he detested and despised. Affecting a liberality of sentiment which extended to every thing within its reach, he avoided an open persecution of the Christians; but his attacks were artfully directed to undermine the very foundations of the Church. To effect this, he strictly prohibited the Christians from teaching philosophy and the liberal arts; destroyed the privilege which had been granted to their society; and exhausted all his powers of wit and sophistical ingenuity to exhibit them in a ridiculous and contemptible light. The deserted temples were once more opened for the reception of the multitude, and Polytheism reared her unnumbered heads in every part of the empire. To gratify his rancour against the Christians still more, the emperor protected and favoured the Jews, and resolved to rebuild their temple at Jerusalem.

This attempt served only, however, to afford a farther testimony to the truths of the Gospel predictions; for, considerable balls of fire are affirmed to have repeatedly issued from the foundations, and destroyed the artificers, who, after several attempts, were compelled to desist from their purpose. Had the apparently moderate measures of Julian been directed to an impartial toleration of all religious systems, much praise might be due to a man, who, though mistaken in a very important point, possessed the principles of benignity and candour; but his rancour toward the Christians was marked and extreme; he industriously fomented the disturbances by which they were separated, and plundered the magnificent church of Antioch. The disgraceful feelings of revenge instigated him to oppose a religion which had been so highly indebted for its establishment to a predecessor whose memory he detested. There were, doubtless, many traits of a superior understanding in Julian; but his philosophy was disgraced by a servile attachment to popular applause, by profound dissimulation, and by a superstitious regard to magic; the certain proof of an unenlightened and contracted mind. There is the utmost reason to believe that the emperor's hatred to Christianity would have been still more apparently displayed had he not perished in the Persian war, in the second year of his reign.

The death of Julian restored to the Church a protector in the person of the Emperor Jovian, who was raised by the suffrages of the army from a private station to the imperial throne. Jovian had scarcely assumed the purple before the religious commotions, which during the short reign of his predecessor had secretly heated the contending parties, burst forth with added impetuosity and strength. Every contender hoped to find in the emperor a protector, who, while he elevated their opinions into notice by his own profession, might blast and crush those of their opponents. He embraced the cause of consubstantiality, but without persecuting the Arians. His successor, Valentinian, pursued the same line of conduct, and was actuated by sentiments of liberality and toleration, never experienced by his brother Valens, who severely persecuted the consubstantialists in the eastern division

of the empire. They again obtained an ascendancy under Gratian, and Theodosius the Great; the latter of whom conceived the romantic project of healing all farther division, by a convention of all the jarring sects, in which the subtleties of these mysteries might be discussed, and the truths of religion defined and established.

On a cursory review of the events of the fourth century, it might be conceived, that however it had been afflicted by the severe persecution under Diocletian, the general state of the Christian world must have been more prosperous and happy than at any preceding period. Openly professed by the emperors, established as the religion of the empire, and the interests of the Church by every possible means extended and enlarged, one would naturally expect that this would have been the golden period of the Christian Church; and that its professors, too near the fountain-head of truth not to imbibe the pure and unpolluted stream, and firmly secured in the possession of their Divine rights, would have enjoyed in tranquillity and innocence those blessings which their progenitors had looked for with anxious wishes and trembling hopes. But the unhappy disputes which had arisen concerning points difficult to be understood involved them in domestic evils, scarcely less pernicious to their prosperity and peace than the edicts of the persecutor or the sword of the tyrant. The consubstantialist, who believes Christ to be of one or the same substance with the Father, beheld with haughty contempt, or indignant scorn, the person and the followers of the presbyter Arius, while the Arian returned his disdain with implacable animosity. The historian Sozomen draws a very favourable picture of the general conduct of the clergy during this period. The bishops, he says, were men of exemplary characters; and the zeal and virtues of the presbyters were such that they conciliated more and more the affections of the people, and gained converts from paganism every day. As the Church however increased in numbers, we are authorized to believe that its native purity became in some degree contaminated. Calamity and opposition too are favourable to the promotion of virtue; many of the professors of Christianity would naturally lose in ease and security a part of that integrity which distinguished them in the crisis of danger and of contest; and the stock of piety would be little augmented by those converts, who now professed Christianity, not from a conviction of its truths, but either from an indifference to any religious system, or a fashionable compliance with the faith of the court. The Diocletian persecution was preceded by considerable depravation of manners; and before that had abated, the Church was a sufferer from internal dissension, from the cabals of ambitious members, and from schism even among the reputed orthodox. From the year 330 to that of 370, the Persian Christians underwent a series of great sufferings, in which considerable numbers perished; and their calamities were renewed toward the close of this century. Many bishops and other pious persons were sacrificed in this cruel persecution.

The extraordinary pains taken by Constantine for the propagation of evangelical truth were attended with uncommon success. It cannot be doubted but a multitude of nominal professors, influenced by the example and authority of the emperor, would enter into the Church. But its limits were extended to remote nations. The inhabitants both of the Greater and Lesser Armenia boasted the having received

Christianity soon after its promulgation; but in this century the monarch Tiridates, with his court, publicly professed the truths of the Gospel, and established the Armenian Church. The Abyssinians, or Ethiopians, received the faith from Frumentius, a zealous Egyptian, who, after being consecrated by Athanasius at Alexandria, returned to Abyssinia, and officiated as the bishop of that country. Ibeira, or Georgia, received also in this century the Christian faith. Before its close a considerable number of the warlike Goths enrolled themselves under the peaceable banner of the Gospel; and their progress in Christianity was considerably increased by the zeal and abilities of their bishop, Ulfila, who translated the Scriptures into their language, after having previously formed an alphabet for their use, composed upon the model of the Latin and Greek characters. It is said, that in this translation Ulfila omitted the Book of Kings, that he might not increase, by the account of their achievements, the too prevalent passion for war in this fierce nation.*

The benignant effects of the mild and equitable doctrines of the Gospel upon the happiness of mankind must have been strikingly evinced during this century by the Christian world. That humane and equitable dispensation, which provided for the happiness of all mankind, breathed its spirit into the laws of Constantine. Many of the evils, and much of the duration of slavery, were abolished by that monarch, who also softened the rigour of punishments; prohibited sanguinary and ferocious spectacles to the people; prevented oppression, and provided for the necessities of the poor; restrained the licentiousness of divorces, and the custom of exorbitant interest for money. Whatever were the corruptions which had been introduced into Christianity, the professors of the Gospel were still distinguished by their peculiar virtue, and in the famine under Maximin were remarkable for exertions of compassion and charity, unknown to the votaries of paganism. (*Euseb.* lib. ix, c. 8.)

* But while the Church was thus triumphant over the pagan world, it cannot be concealed that its spiritual prosperity was diminished. The worldly grandeur in which it was arrayed under Constantine was ill calculated to promote the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus; and it may well be doubted, as it often has been, whether the administration of this zealous emperor, with all its commendable features, was productive of more good than evil. That he was governed by an earnest wish to promote the interests of Christianity can scarcely be questioned. But the union of the Church with the state, the power bestowed on the clergy, and the encouragement given to monkery, were fruitful sources of many evils. It was in this century, and chiefly by these measures, that a foundation was laid for the great apostacy so conspicuous during the dark ages in the rise and establishment of the papal power.

CHAPTER II.

OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT, DOCTRINES, RITES, AND CEREMONIES, IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Emperor declared head of the Church—Constantine assumes the title of bishop—Bi shop of Rome—Of Constantinople—Power and revenues of bishops—Commotions at Rome on the election of a bishop—Popular elections discountenanced on account of their pernicious effects—Metropolitans—Bishops—Functions of these different orders—Revenues of the Church—Ecclesiastical councils—Council of Nice—Attempt to impose celibacy on the clergy—Heresy of Arius condemned—Disputes concerning the hypostatic union—Council of Constantinople—Provincial councils—Nicene creed—Corruptions and superstitions—Increased veneration for saints and martyrs—Relics—Absurd fictions—Discovery of the real cross—Monks—St. Anthony—Their fanaticism extended to the female sex—Hilarion—Basil—Ambrose—Martin of Tours—Different orders—Cœnobites—Eremites—Anchorites—Sabarites—Splendid churches—Laudable zeal of Constantine—Military chaplains—Antiquity of the right of patronage—Rights of sanctuary—Liturgies—Discontinuance of the agapæ—Festivals in honour of the martyrs—Abuse of the sacraments—Abuse of abstinence—Penance—Confession—Anecdote concerning the cause of its abolition—Festival of Easter established—Release of prisoners at Easter—Manumission of slaves.

THE Church, which had received so many advantages from the conversion and protection of Constantine, cheerfully submitted to acknowledge the emperor as its supreme head, who chose to unite the office of sovereign pontiff with the imperial dignity. In some cases he corrected its abuses, in others extended its powers. Whatever respected the possessions, the reputation, the rights and privileges of the clergy, he regulated himself. Every thing relating to religious controversies, to the forms of Divine worship, to the vices of the ecclesiastical orders, or the offices of the priests, was submitted to the bishops, or to the consideration of councils. Constantine assumed to himself the title of bishop, (*Euseb. Vit. Constant.* lib. iv, c. 24,) and regulator of the external affairs of the Church; and he and his successors convened councils in which they presided, and determined every affair relating to discipline. The limits of episcopal power were, however, never exactly defined between the emperor and the clergy, and in some instances were so much involved that each party frequently encroached upon the confines of the other.

The claims of superior antiquity had placed the bishop of Rome at the head of the clerical order, and he maintained his pretensions to superiority by immense splendour and magnificence. His authority had, however, before the close of the fourth century, a formidable rival in the bishop of Constantinople, who, in the council convened at that city, was elevated to the second clerical rank in the empire. From this period may be dated that contention and rancour which long existed between these two contending rivals, and which at length ended in a final separation between the Greek and Latin Churches.

The extensive power and revenues of the bishops in the principal sees offered too potent a temptation to ambition and avarice for clerical integrity always to resist. Hence arose considerable contests for the attainment of vacant sees; and every artifice of flattery and dissimulation was occasionally practised to insure the approbation of the multitude, whose suffrages were taken in the election of their ministers.

One melancholy instance of clerical depravity, which took place in this century, may serve as a specimen of that departure from primitive virtue which marked the conduct of considerable numbers. In the year 336 the vacant see of Rome was, by the greater part of the clergy and people, conferred upon Damasus; and this choice was confirmed by his being regularly ordained by the bishops. The artful Ursicinus had, however, by various intrigues, obtained ordination to the see of Rome from some other bishops, and prepared to take possession of what he chose to consider as his right. This gave rise to a furious contest, in which both parties proceeded to blows, and even to bloodshed and murder. The banishment of Ursicinus was not sufficient to appease this tumult. His adherents refused to communicate with Damasus, and were also banished; but soon returned with their factious leader, and excited fresh commotions. The council of Aquileia solicited the emperor again to banish the turbulent prelate; but it was not till after several years that Damasus obtained the peaceable possession of his see.

The powers which had been possessed by the people in the election of their ministers became productive of great scandals in the Church, and were at length withdrawn. Those of the presbyters soon followed. They were not however lost: the bishops usurped many of the privileges with which the presbyters had been formerly invested, and the emperor and magistrates obtained many of the rights which had belonged to the religious community. The bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and some others, assumed powers superior to the other metropolitans, who were invested with the government of one province only; and the jurisdiction of the bishops differed according to the different extent of their respective sees. The mode of establishing the bishops in their functions and offices was one great object with the famous council of Nice. It was determined there that every bishop should be ordained or consecrated by three bishops of the province, and that his election should be confirmed by the metropolitan. (*Soc. Hist.*, l. i, c. 11.)

In the reign of Constantine the government of the Church was as far as possible arranged conformably to the government of the state; the bishops corresponded to those magistrates whose jurisdiction was confined to single cities; the metropolitans to the proconsuls, or presidents of provinces; the primates to the emperor's vicars, each of whom governed one of the imperial provinces. Canons and prebendaries of cathedral Churches took their rise from the societies of ecclesiastics, which Eusebius, bishop of Verceil, and after him Augustine, formed in their houses, and in which these prelates were styled their fathers and masters. (*Priestley's History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, vol. ii, p. 242.)

The revenues of the Church were secured by the edict of Milan. Whatever had been lost by the persecution of Diocletian was restored, and the establishment continued to be supported by voluntary oblations, long after Christianity became the religion of the emperor and the empire. Constantine, moreover, granted to his subjects the full and free permission of bequeathing their possessions to the Church; and by this measure fatally encouraged a practice which, while it filled the ecclesiastical treasury, left the weeping widow and the defenceless

orphan to penury and distress, to a dependance upon their kindred, or upon the alms of the ecclesiastical body. But the riches of the clerical profession were also considerably augmented by the emperors themselves. Constantine bestowed upon the churches in every city a regular allowance of corn for the purposes of charity, and the no less grateful present of considerable allotments of land.* The institution of tithes is also generally believed to have taken place in the fourth century.

From the powers with which the ministers of religion were invested, it may naturally be inferred that different kinds of ecclesiastical councils must necessarily be established. The first species of these consisted in an assembly of the bishops and presbyters of a particular city, or district; and the regulation of the ecclesiastical affairs within their jurisdiction was the professed subject of deliberation. The second was composed of the bishops of several provinces, whose deliberations were directed to the concerns of the provincial churches, the forms of Divine service, and religious controversies. The œcumenical, or general councils, were convened by the emperor alone; in which the rulers of the Church in every part of the empire were required to attend. The first general council was called by Constantine, A. D. 325, at Nice, in Bithynia; in which three hundred and eighteen bishops are said to have complied with the imperial summons, and the whole number of attending ecclesiastics has been computed at two thousand and forty-eight persons. During the meeting of this venerable synod, which lasted two months, the emperor frequently took a seat in the assembly, and even a part in the debates. In this council the doctrines of Arius were condemned. Jesus Christ was declared to be of the same essence with the Father. Arius was banished to Illyria, and his followers compelled to assent to the confession of faith composed by the synod. Several other regulations took place concerning the powers of the clergy, and the discipline of the Church. An attempt was made in this council to insist upon the perpetual celibacy of the clergy, which was opposed by Paphnutius, an Egyptian bishop, individually uninterested in the event, as he had always continued unmarried. The suggestions of this prelate were seconded by the decrees of the fathers of the Nicene council. The Homoousian faith, or the doctrine of consubstantiality, was accepted by all the members of the synod, except Eusebius of Cesarea, who yielded a reluctant and ambiguous compliance. The bishops also in general cheerfully submitted to the decrees of this council: the most eminent of its opposers was Eusebius of Nicomedia, who, after three months of wavering, was exiled and disgraced.

Another council, which was held at Constantinople in the year 383, has, with but little propriety, obtained the name of a general council; since the bishops of the eastern provinces alone presided in it, and the Romish Church rejected their canons. Though their creed, which added to that of the Nicene council more precise terms to express the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, was accepted by the western clergy, still the bishop of Rome could ill digest the canon which as-

* Far from aiding the Church, these measures were among the causes of that apostacy by which it was extensively and deeply injured.

signed to his brother of Constantinople a degree of rank only inferior to his own, and which, with his peculiar advantages, might tend to raise him to an equality with himself.

It would be an endless and a useless task to specify all the different local or provincial councils which were held in this century. They were commonly summoned as the different parties of orthodox or Arians happened to be predominant; and had for their objects the deposing of bishops or the censuring of obnoxious opinions.

It has been already remarked that, during the fourth century, the doctrines of the orthodox were more fully investigated, and accurately defined, than they had been in the preceding period. All who asserted, with the schismatic Arius, that there was a time when the Son of God was not, that he was created out of nothing, or that he was of a different substance from the Father, were solemnly anathematized by successive councils, and declared the enemies of God. The term consubstantialists was conferred upon the opposers of the Arian doctrines by the council of Nice, the object of whose assembling has been already specified. In this council the Homoousian doctrine, or consubstantiality of the three persons in the Godhead, was declared a fundamental article of the Christian faith, and has been received as such by the Greek, the Latin, the oriental, and the Protestant Churches. Too fatally addicted, however, to verbal disputes, many of the orthodox party were for a considerable time divided concerning the term *hypostasis*, which had been used in explaining the nature of the trinity; and while some considered it as declaratory of one *person*, others contended for its signifying one *nature* in the Godhead. The use of this word was afterward restricted to *person*, and the distinction of two entire and perfect natures in Christ was fully proved and established. These doctrines concerning the nature of the trinity, which in preceding ages had escaped the vain curiosity of man, and had been left undefined by words, and undetermined by any particular set of ideas, excited considerable contests through the whole of this century. The semi-Arians violently attacked the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, which was in the general council of Constantinople discussed and defined, and the doctrine of three persons in one God established as the orthodox belief of the Church.

The following may be considered as an exact summary of the orthodox faith at this period. It is a translation of the *Nicene Creed*, as it stands in the epistle of Eusebius to the Cesareans, in Athanasius's epistle to Jovian, &c.:—

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten; begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father. God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God; begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made, things in heaven, and things on earth; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down, and was incarnate, and became man, suffered and rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and comes to judge the quick and the dead: and in the Holy Ghost. And the catholic and apostolic Church doth anathematize those persons who say that there was a time when he the Son of God was not; that he was not before he was born; that he was made of nothing, or of

another substance or being; or that he is created, or changeable, or convertible."

But whatever might be the advantages derivable from this precision respecting doctrines, many of the practices encouraged by the Christians of the fourth century were far from conducing either to piety or good morals. Superstition assumed the venerable form of religion; abstruse and fanatical explanations of Scripture bewildered the imaginations of the multitude; and Christianity was defended, not by the invincible arm of simplicity and truth, but by the glittering and brittle weapons of sophistry and invective. An increasing veneration for saints and martyrs was greatly promoted, not only by the Christian emperors, who erected superb churches over their remains, but by the exhortations of the fathers of the Church, who inculcated the belief of extraordinary miracles performed by their relics; and incited a degree of worship toward those departed saints, whom they represented as interceding with God in favour of those by whom they were invoked. About the year 386 the piety of considerable numbers of the people consisted chiefly in the carriage and preservation of bones and relics; and extraordinary revelations were pretended to have been made from heaven, for the discovery of the remains of celebrated martyrs to the faith. Their bodies had commonly been secretly interred by the pious zeal of their followers in some obscure place; whence, after the persecution ceased, they had been brought forth, and decently buried. This custom, in some measure, gave rise to the *translation of relics*, which was still farther advanced by a conformity to the practices of the pagans, who carried about the images of their gods with great solemnity. Constantine commanded the bodies of St. Andrew and St. Luke to be conveyed away from the sepulchres where they were deposited to the magnificent church at Constantinople, which he had dedicated to the twelve apostles. The remains of St. Stephen, after they had remained buried and unknown more than three centuries, were said to have been revealed by Gamaliel, the tutor of St. Paul, to the favoured Lucianus, a priest, and being discovered in the place to which he had directed the search, were removed with the utmost solemnity to Jerusalem; where they became so celebrated from the miracles they were said to have performed, that many devout visiters to Jerusalem enriched their native cities, on their return, with small portions of these surprising remains. An oratory, or chapel, was always erected over this sacred deposit, which was called a memorial of the martyr whose relics it contained. The tomb of our Saviour, at Jerusalem, was held in great estimation, and was resorted to by crowds of pious visiters, who carried away with them large portions of *holy earth*, which was highly prized. One of the most extraordinary discoveries of this century was that of the cross on which Christ had suffered; which was said to have been found by Helena, the mother of Constantine, on her visit to the holy sepulchre. Whatever may be the real history of this transaction, whether any discovery was made, or whether Helena was a dupe or an associate in finding out this treasure, thus much is certain, that pieces of this precious wood were distributed throughout the Christian world, and the cross, according to the testimony of St. Paulinus, containing a vital virtue, in an inanimate and insensible substance, yielded, and continued to

yield almost daily, its precious wood to the desires of an infinite number of persons, without suffering any diminution, or appearance of having been touched. (*Tillemont. Hist. Eccles.*, lib. vii, c. 5.) A degree of respect, not less superstitious than that paid to the wood of the cross, was demonstrated by Constantine toward the image of Christ, which he commanded to be made of the most precious materials, and to be placed in the most superb apartment of the imperial palace. (*Vit. Constant.*, lib. iii, c. 49.) The invocation of saints arose in this century, and may probably have originated from apostrophes to the martyrs to the faith, similar to those which occur in the funeral orations of the heathen poets and orators.

The belief of a state of temporary punishment after this life, in some respects analogous to the notions of purgatory entertained by the modern Catholics, had been inculcated by Origen in the preceding century, and was insisted upon in this by Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, and some others of the Christian teachers. Gregory conceived with Origen that the wicked, after remaining a sufficient time in that place of suffering to be purified from sin, would obtain mercy from God, while Ambrose contended for the eternity of punishments in certain cases.

Another branch of superstition which daily increased was monkery, the actual establishment of which is to be dated from the fourth century. There were, indeed, several solitaries who, like Paul of Thebes, in the preceding ages, had sequestered themselves from the employments of social life; but the Egyptian Anthony, already mentioned, appears to have been the first who induced any considerable number to associate with him in the monastic state. Numbers, seized by a fanatical spirit, voluntarily inflicted upon themselves the severest sufferings, and were content to be deprived of every earthly good. In this solitary state, like their leader the illiterate Anthony, they rejected learning as useless, if not pernicious, and professed to be solely occupied in silence, meditation, and prayer. When, however, they were formed into regular societies, they employed some part of their time in study. Their melancholy modes of life prepared and qualified them for all the vagaries of a heated imagination: they had prophetic dreams, saw visions, conversed with the different inhabitants of the invisible world, and many closed a life of madness in despair. The Emperor Constantine contributed greatly to the respect paid to this state, by his attachment to those who devoted themselves to *Divine philosophy*, or monkery. Considerable numbers of the softer sex forsook their elegant abodes, and all the endearments of domestic life, to dwell in caves and deserts. Among these Paula, a matron, descended from one of the most illustrious families of Rome, with her daughter Eulalia, rent asunder every delicate domestic tie, and, forsaking her home, her country, and her weeping offspring, she visited Jerome in Palestine, accompanied him in his visit to Epiphanius at Cyprus, and went to Paulinus at Antioch. (*Euseb. Vit. Constant.*, lib. iv, c. 28.) Egypt was the great theatre for monastic action; and, at the close of the fourth century, it was computed that twenty-seven thousand monks and nuns were to be found in that country. As neither opulence nor talents were required from these solitary devotees, monkery offered an agreeable asylum to the indolent and illiterate, who, if their pretensions to austerity were sufficiently fervent, were at once elevated into stations of peculiar

honour and respectability. The conduct of the monks was agreeable to the different motives of religion, fanaticism, or hypocrisy, from which they had entered into that state. Many of them were pious, modest, disinterested, and compassionate; some gloomy, austere, and censorious; and others artfully obtained a considerable part of that property, the renunciation of which it was their principal employment to inculcate.

The fortunate Anthony had the happiness, in traversing the deserts to discover the retreat of Paul, the hermit, whose eyes he piously closed, and resolved to imitate his holy example. His solitude was soon enlivened by numbers, for whose government he composed regulations, which were in a short time introduced, by his disciple Hilarion, into Syria and Palestine, and by others into Mesopotamia and Armenia. From the east it passed with celerity into the west. Basil introduced it into Greece, and Ambrose into Italy. Martin, the celebrated bishop of Tours, propagated monkery so rapidly in Gaul, that his funeral is said to have been attended by no less than two thousand monks. (*Fleury*, v. 30.) The numbers of these deluded people, and the veneration paid to them, were such as to induce them sometimes to conceive themselves superior to the laws, the execution of which they frequently suspended, and ventured, with impunity, to snatch criminals from the hands of justice while on their way to execution. (*Sueur*, A. D. 399.) The monks were divided into different orders, according to the different modes of life which they were disposed to adopt. The Cœnobites were associated under a governor, and dwelt in fixed habitations. The Eremites solitarily resided in deserts, caves, or holes in the earth. The Anchorites wildly wandered in the most sequestered retreats, supporting life by the spontaneous productions of the earth, without any settled places of abode. The Sarabaites were the venders of pretended relics, and the performers of fictitious miracles. All these orders originally included, equally, both the laity and clergy, but the increasing respect paid to these pretensions of extraordinary sanctity occasioned some of the best ecclesiastical benefices to be offered to the monks, and in time the greater number of them were engaged in the immediate service of the Church.

Under the auspices of an emperor who publicly professed the faith of the Church, we naturally expect to see its external respectability increase. Constantine not only greatly enlarged and improved the edifices already erected, but he constructed a considerable number of additional temples, which he dedicated to departed saints, and adorned them with pictures or images, and the most costly magnificence. A very superb structure was reared, by the orders of the emperor, over the sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem. Constantinople was adorned by the emperor with a superb church, dedicated to the twelve apostles, which he proposed to make his own mausoleum; not perhaps without a latent hope that his soul might be benefited by his dust being mingled with the bones of those holy men which he had carefully endeavoured to collect wherever they lay dispersed. Numberless churches, in different places, were erected over the tombs of the martyrs, which were only used on particular occasions, and were distinguished by the name of Martyria. The churches appointed for the

constant performance of religious worship obtained the name of Tituli, and were thus denominated from the presbyters who officiated in them, and who received titles from them which fixed them to their particular situations. This regulation was well adapted for the decent and regular performance of Divine worship. The attention of the Emperor Constantine appears to have been seriously directed to this object, and to have operated not merely in seasons of leisure and tranquillity, but even in tumult and war. When he marched against the enemy, a tent was erected for him in the form of a chapel, which accompanied him in his movements, and in which Divine service was performed by the attending priests and deacons. Hence arose the custom of appointing a chaplain to every legion in the imperial army. Opulent persons, who erected religious edifices, were invested with the right of appointing to them whatever ministers they chose to officiate. The Martyria and Tituli were equally decorated with every ornament which formerly embellished the temples of heathenism; and Christian rites were solemnized with all the pomp of lights, lustrations, and of splendid garments, which had distinguished the pagan ceremonies. In all churches the seats of the women were separated from those of the men, who were not permitted to enter at the same door. The seats for females, however, differed in different churches. In the churches of Anastatia and Sancta Sophia they were placed in porticoes or galleries, while the men were seated below. In conformity to the practice both of the heathens and the Jews, the rights of sanctuary were claimed and allowed to the Christian temples; and, by the laws of the younger Theodosius, malefactors of various descriptions might claim protection from the Church against the civil power, within any of the precincts of consecrated grounds; the respect for which had become so excessive that none were allowed to administer the sacrament beyond the places that were consecrated.

The difference which had arisen in the compositions of the Christian preachers was not more remarkable than the manner in which these discourses were received. Those applauses which had formerly been confined to the theatres, or the forum, were now permitted in the Christian church. The preacher was repeatedly interrupted by the cry of "orthodox," and clapping of the hands and feet. Chrysostom was applauded in the great church at Constantinople, by the people's waving their garments, their plumes, and their handkerchiefs; and by others laying their hands on their swords, and exclaiming, "Thou art worthy of the priesthood." Another mark of admiration consisted in moving the body like the waves of the sea slightly agitated by the wind. (*Bingham, Ecc. Antiq.* lib. xiv, c. 4.) In some places marks of still greater adulation were paid to the ministers of religion; and the people sung hosannahs to the bishop, similar to the conduct of the multitude toward our Lord on his entrance into Jerusalem. (*Hieron. in Matt.* xxi, tom. ix, p. 62.)

The liturgies which were adopted in the different churches were far from being composed in the same form. Provided the fundamental doctrines of religion were the same, it was conceived of small importance in what manner the ritual was observed. They differed therefore materially in different churches, according to the circumstances or dispositions of the members. The same license which was given

to the liturgies, was accorded to the creeds, (*Bingham*, xi, 6,) which, though they agreed in doctrine, differed materially in their construction. The pomp of worship was greatly augmented in several churches, by an alteration which took place in the singing, particularly in the church of Antioch, where the vocal performers were separated into two divisions, and sung the psalms of David alternately. Constantine commanded the first day of the week to be celebrated with peculiar solemnity; and, in time, this practice extended over the whole Christian world.

The agapæ, which for the first three centuries were observed in the Church, owing to some abuses which had insinuated themselves into their celebration, began to be disesteemed, and in time gradually declined. There were, however, various other observances to compensate, as far as external rites could compensate, for their loss. In this century many new festivals were instituted in honour of the martyrs, and particular respect was paid to the places where they suffered, or where their remains were interred.

As baptism and the Lord's Supper were very commonly supposed to impart some spiritual grace, the former of these rites was frequently deferred till the evening of life, and even till the hour of death, that the believer might leave the world with the greater certainty of his sins being forgiven, and before any new guilt had been contracted. Baptism at this period was usually accompanied by the sign of the cross. Many were so desirous of receiving this initiatory rite in the same place with Christ, that they delayed baptism till they could travel into Judea. The Emperor Constantine was among the number of those who favoured this species of popular superstition, and earnestly desired to receive the baptismal rite in the waters of Jordan.

Among the powers which in the fourth century were granted to the bishops, they appear to have been invested with authority sufficient to appoint fasts in their own churches. (*Bingham*, xi, 6.) The abstinence upon these occasions, though strictly observed by great numbers, was yet by several commuted for by refraining from animal food and the juice of the grape; so that, in fact, though the nominal fasts were, in conformity to the prevailing austerities, considerably multiplied, abstinence was less observed by many than when they were less frequent. The use of penance still continued, but the offending clergy were exempted from public humiliation, and silently deposed from their ecclesiastical offices. After the Decian persecution, it was ordained that penitents should make their confession in private to a particular priest appointed for that purpose; and that those parts of their misconduct which were unfit for the public ear should be suppressed. This custom continued in practice till nearly the close of this century, when an unhappy accident, which arose in the Constantinopolitan Church, occasioned the abolition of this order. An offending female, during the appointed time in which she remained in the Church, to wipe off by fasting and prayer her former offences, had been seduced by one of the deacons to contract fresh guilt. From this period all confession, whether public or private, appears to have been discontinued by the Greek Church; and it is affirmed that from this period the Greeks make their confessions only to God. (*Priestley's Corruptions*, vol. ii, p. 146.)

The controversy concerning the celebration of Easter, which had perplexed and divided the Church during the preceding century, was decided by the council of Nice, in favour of the western churches; and all Christians were commanded to commemorate this festival on the first Sunday which followed the fourteenth day of the first moon after the vernal equinox. The Emperor Constantine watched, in common with the other Christians, on the vigil of this solemn season; and, in addition to the lights which had been formerly kindled on this occasion, commanded not only the whole church, but also the whole city to be illuminated; which, in consequence of this request, exhibited on that evening a scene of uncommon splendour. This season was observed by the generality of Christians with peculiar reverence and marked attention. Valentinian, in the year 367, released from prison, on the occasion of this festival, all such as were not notorious delinquents; and established a custom which was imitated by succeeding emperors. Private persons also embraced the occasion which this season afforded to evince their beneficence and charity, particularly by granting *manumission* to *slaves*, as a proper expression of that mercy, commemorated by this festival, which brought freedom to the captive and happiness to all mankind. (*Bingham*, lib. xx, c. 5.)

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Abuse of Mysticism—Eustathians and Messalians—Donatists—Disputes concerning the succession to the see of Carthage—Donatus—Violence of the parties—Rogations—Arius—Principles of the Arians—Arius condemned and exiled—Council of Nice—Arianism condemned there—Arius recalled from banishment by Constantine—Death of Arius—Arianism protected by Constantius—Semi-Arians—Eunomians—Contests between the different branches of Arians—Semi-Arians divided—Macedonians—Meletians—Photinus—Apollinarians—Priscillianists—Antidicomaranites—Collyridians—Luciferians—Audeus—Ætius, &c.

THE doctrines of the Mystics, who assumed a degree of sanctity and perfection unknown to vulgar minds, and affected to elevate the soul by rejecting the gratifications of sense, were adopted by the most considerable part of the Christian world, as the dictates of pure religion, imbibed from the fountain of truth. Among those who carried these doctrines to the greatest excess, the sects of the Eustathians and Messalians were peculiarly distinguished. The followers of Eustathius contended strongly for the exercise of the greatest austerities, and not only prohibited the use of wine and flesh, but denounced the connubial state, and prescribed immediate divorce to all who had entered into a married life. This fanaticism was, however, inferior to that of the Messalians, who professed to believe that the soul, by spiritual exercises, was enabled to expel the demon by which they conceived it to be inhabited, and might then be perfectly united with the Divine essence.* The Messalians affected an air of uncommon

* It is more than once necessary to caution the reader to receive all these accounts of the sectaries with great allowance. In all probability many parts of their creed bordered upon absurdity; but, as we have our accounts only from their adversaries, candour must induce us to believe them exaggerated.

devotion; and maintained their ground in the eastern empire during a considerable time, in defiance of the decrees of councils, and the proscriptions of the emperor.

Among the contests which disturbed the peace of the Church in the fourth century, the schism of the Donatists demands, if not the principal, at least a distinguished place. The doctrines of this body were, however, strictly conformable to those of the Church from which they separated. Cæcilianus, the archdeacon of Carthage, had, on the demise of the bishop, been consecrated to the vacant see by some of the African bishops, without waiting for the assent of the bishops of Numidia. These offended prelates cited Cæcilianus to account to them for this omission; and on his refusal to submit to their authority, a council was convened, consisting of seventy bishops, in which the refractory Cæcilianus was deposed, and his deacon, Majorinus, declared his successor. This sentence, which divided into factions the Carthaginian Church, and, in fact, gave it two bishops at the same crisis, was occasioned by a variety of causes, independent of the irregularity attending the consecration of Cæcilianus. There were several competitors for the vacant see, who eagerly seized the opportunity of removing their fortunate rival; and all the influence of Lucilla, a rich and superstitious female, was exerted against Cæcilianus, who had reprimanded her for her folly. Nor was this all. Felix, of Aptungus, the principal bishop who had assisted at his consecration, was accused of being a traitor, or one who, during the Diocletian persecution, had delivered up the sacred books to be burned; and who therefore was supposed not competent to impart the gift of the Holy Spirit. To these it was added, that Cæcilianus himself had, during the persecution, behaved toward the Christians with inhumanity. Constantine appointed this controversy to be examined by the bishop of Rome, assisted by three others; and the result of their deliberations was favourable to Cæcilianus. Felix of Aptungus was not less fortunate; his cause was examined by the proconsul of Africa, and by his decision he was absolved.

But the restoration of the degraded bishop was not calculated to satisfy the minds of his adversaries, who, headed by Donatus, an African bishop, fomented fresh discontents, and occasioned the emperor to convene a council at Arles,* where they were again condemned. Their dissatisfaction still continued; and two years afterward, Constantine, to whom the different parties had consented to refer their cause, approved the consecration of Cæcilianus. The resentment and contumely with which the Donatists received this decision, added to their former behaviour, so much exasperated the emperor, that he deprived them of their churches, banished the seditious bishops, and even condemned to death some of the party. This violent, and perhaps imprudent resentment, was not calculated to produce peace. The Donatists asserted, that the apostolical succession had been interrupted; that the whole ecclesiastical body in Europe and Asia was infected with guilt and schism, since they held communion with the depraved African Church; that the preservation of the Catholic Church was confined to those African believers,

* At this council two hundred bishops attended, and among the rest Restitutus, bishop of London. (*Priestley's Christian Church.*)

who had preserved their faith and discipline inviolate; and that all communion with other churches ought to be avoided, lest they should be contaminated by their impurity. This rigid theory was accompanied by conduct equally austere. Every proselyte was carefully re-baptized and re-ordained. All who had communicated with other churches were obliged to perform public penance previous to their admission into this immaculate Church. But it was not with the pen and the tongue only that the cause of Donatism was supported. The Circumcellians, a body of savage and fanatical persons, exasperated by the severe execution of the laws of Constantine against the Donatists, collected in formidable bodies, assumed the titles of captains and saints, and rushed out as avengers of those who had been the victims of the law, spreading terror and consternation throughout the African provinces. Animated by implacable hatred against the opposite party, and a fanatical desire for obtaining the honour of martyrdom, they sought death with avidity, and even solicited their enemies to inflict upon them those temporal miseries which should introduce them to eternal glory. Constantine, hoping that time might be more conducive than force to calm these disturbances, abrogated the laws against the Donatists; and his son Constans laboured earnestly to heal the divisions of the African Church. But these efforts were in vain; Donatus the Great, (who had succeeded Majorinus, and from whom the party derived its name,) with the other factious prelates, opposed every attempt toward a reconciliation. The whole party rose in arms, and were defeated by the imperial army: numbers fled, a considerable part were sent into banishment, and many were punished with extreme severity. The Donatists divided into many sects, among whom the Rogatians contended that the Church of Christ existed only in their community.

The schism of the Donatists was an impetuous torrent, which inundated and desolated the adjacent country; but its limits were prescribed, and its mischief confined to the African provinces. The trinitarian controversy was a deluge which overflowed the whole Christian world. Arius, a presbyter of the Church of Alexandria, acute, eloquent, and subtle, contended, in opposition to his bishop, Alexander, in an assembly of the presbyters, "that the Son was essentially distinct from the Father: that he was a dependant spontaneous production, created by the will of the Father out of nothing: that he had been begotten before all worlds; but that there had been a time when he was not: that the Father had impressed upon him the effulgence of his glory, and transfused into him his ample Spirit: that he was the framer of the world, and governed the universe, in obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch." As every innovation will find some favourers, especially if supported by ingenuity, the party of Arius soon became very considerable, and was countenanced by two bishops, and by numbers distinguished both by rank and abilities. Alexander, together with the inferior ministers of the Alexandrian Church, exhorted the apostate presbyter to renounce his errors, and return to their communion; but finding this ineffectual, the zealous prelate assembled a council of his brethren, composed of a hundred bishops, who, after hearing Arius persist in his opinions, publicly condemned them. Not discouraged, however, by this act of authority, Arius retired into Palestine, where he was received into communion, and made considerable accessions to his

cause, notwithstanding the excommunications which were fulminated by Alexander against both him and his schismatic followers.

These disputes, in which many wise and good men were engaged on both sides, and in which the angry combatants assailed each other with the utmost opprobrium and contumely, attracted the attention of Constantine, who, in order to quiet a disturbance so disgraceful to the Church, wrote both to the bishop and the presbyter, reprimanding them for their intemperance, and exhorting them to peace. But the words of the emperor were not sufficiently powerful to extinguish a flame which had been too long permitted, and which, at that period, raged with the utmost violence. In the year 325, therefore, he convened the celebrated council at Nice in Bithynia, of which an ample account has already been given. Before this council Arius appeared, declared his opinions, and, with his friends, the bishops of Ptolemais and Marmorica, who refused to subscribe to the Nicene faith, was condemned. The apostate presbyter was banished; his writings were committed to the flames, and capital punishments were denounced against all in whose possession they might be found. (*Soc. Hist.* l. i, c. 9.) A party of the bishops, who had assisted at the Nicene council, and subscribed to its creed, secretly favoured the cause of Arius; and Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and Theognis, bishop of Nice, afforded protection to the persecuted Arians, for which they were banished into Gaul. The faith of Constantine appears, in this instance, to have been rather uncertain and wavering; he understood not this perplexed controversy, and acted, at different times, as he was influenced by the ecclesiastics of each party, who accused one another not only of heterodoxy, but of disaffection to the emperor. One of the followers of Arius, who, by the dying words of his sister Constantia, had been recommended to the emperor, had the address to persuade him that the sentence of Arius was unjust. The emperor on this, after an exile of three years, recalled the presbyter, who presented his confession of faith, (which appeared orthodox to Constantine,) and sought to be received into communion in the Alexandrian Church. Athanasius, who had succeeded Alexander in that see, rejected his application; but this resistance was so little agreeable to the emperor, that the Arian bishops easily procured from him a decree for the banishment of the Alexandrian bishop. Arius and his adherents were received into the communion of the Church at Jerusalem; but were still rejected by that of Alexandria. The emperor, however, sent for him to Constantinople, and issued an absolute command for his admission into the Constantinopolitan Church. This honour was prevented by the unexpected death of Arius, which his enemies ascribed to the judgments of God against him for his impieties: his friends, however, had but too much reason for believing that he had fallen the miserable victim of his implacable enemies.

The Arians found in the successor of Constantine a protector and a friend. Their great patron, the bishop of Nicomedia, was promoted to the Constantinopolitan see; and while the western emperors, steadily attached to the Nicene faith, were advancing its progress by all possible means, Constantius was no less zealous in his opposition to that, and his attachment to the Arian cause. During the remainder of this century, except in the reign of Julian, the Nicene and the Arian parties were at different times protected by the different emperors, and the success-

ful party invariably and brutally triumphed in the commission of every act of unkindness and severity that could disturb and distress their adversaries. But the hatred of the Arians was not confined to the consubstantialists. They divided among themselves, and regarded each other with implacable aversion. The Homoiousians, or semi-Arians, declared their belief, that *the Son was of a similar substance with the Father.* The Eunomians, who were the disciples of Ætius and Eunomius, the latter a man of a restless and aspiring spirit, who had entered into almost every profession of life, opposed their opinion, and contended that *the Son was unlike or unequal to the Father.* The Eunomians were condemned in the council of Ancyra, and in the two councils summoned by Constantius, one at Seleucia for the eastern Church, the other at Ariminum for the western. The Eunomians were overpowered at Seleucia; and the assembly at Ariminum, which was composed of about a fourth part Arians, subscribed to a creed which contained little more than the vague proposition, that the Son of God was not a creature like other creatures. The confession of Ariminum was sent through the empire, and all the bishops were required to subscribe it. But none were allowed to maintain Arianism, by asserting that the Son of God was of a nature unlike that of the Father, and to rank him in the number of creatures. These subtle and almost imperceptible distinctions divided the Arians into a considerable number of sects, who mutually detested and anathematized each other. Toward the close of this century the Arians and Macedonians, a branch from the same stock, were compelled by the imperial laws to have no bishops. This sect, however, flourished considerably for more than three centuries, and was not at length crushed without violence and persecution. Its tenets were received by the Goths, the Vandals, and the Burgundians, and long continued to be professed by those barbarous nations.

The semi-Arians, as may be conceived from their name, adopted not all the opinions of their Arian brethren; but they rejected the doctrine of consubstantiality with equal zeal, though the greater part of them professed to believe the Divinity of the Logos, or Word; (the Son of God;) but many utterly denied the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. Like the Arians, the semi-Arians were divided into sects, the principal of which obtained the name of Macedonians, from their leader Macedonius; who, while he denied the consubstantiality of the Son, asserted his likeness to the Father; and affirmed that the third person in the trinity was a Divine energy diffused throughout the universe, and not a distinct person proceeding from the Father and the Son. Many of the semi-Arians gradually united themselves to the orthodox party, from whom their grounds of difference were, in some instances, scarcely perceptible, and signed the Nicene confession of faith. On the promulgation of the law of toleration by the Emperor Gratian, many of the semi-Arians again seceded from the Church; but their numbers afterward, from a variety of causes, sensibly declined.

It is difficult to determine whether the Meletians should be considered as a distinct sect, or as a society of Arians. The schism was originally produced by the deposition of Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis in Egypt, who was accused of various offences, and particularly of sacrificing to idols in a time of persecution. After his deposition by the council of Alexandria, however, Meletius continued to assume the titles,

and exercise the functions of his office. He afterward united with Arius, but whether previous to the meeting of the council of Nice, or not, is not ascertained. At this council the affair of Meletius was compromised, apparently to his satisfaction: for he was allowed to retain the title of bishop without the functions. The sect however continued till the fifth century, and professed the doctrines of Arius.

Arianism, which engaged the attention of all ranks of the people during the whole of this century, did not so entirely engross them as to prevent the propagation and reception of other opinions which differed from those of the orthodox creed. Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, asserted that Jesus Christ was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and endued with a Divine emanation, or heavenly ray, which he called the *Word;* and that, on account of this union between the Divine Word and his human nature, Jesus was styled the Son of God, and even God himself. He denied that the Holy Spirit was a distinct person, and affirmed that he was a celestial *virtue*, proceeding from the Deity. This prelate was the disciple and friend of Marcellus, the bishop of Ancyra, who had been charged with adopting the errors of Sabellianism, or an attempt to confound the doctrine of three persons in the Godhead. Photinus occasioned his friendly tutor additional censure, whose impieties, according to the charitable spirit of the times, were considerably augmented by his refusal to condemn the errors of Photinus. Private friendship, Christian charity, or the knowledge that others were ready to involve him in evils similar to those which threatened and surrounded his pupil, were conceived reasons too weak to deter him from an endeavour to punish the errors of his friend. The efforts of repeated councils, and the effects of repeated banishments were, for a long time, insufficient to destroy the errors of this sectary; who, though excommunicated by the Church, defended himself during seven years by the assistance of the people; but at length died in exile.

The Apollinarians asserted, after Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, that the Divinity, joined to the flesh, performed the offices of an intelligent soul in Jesus Christ, and received the impression which the soul of man receives. Many of the followers of Apollinaris refined upon this, and affirmed that one nature only existed in Jesus Christ, and that the flesh was of the same nature with the Divinity. Others affirmed, that Jesus Christ had taken his body from heaven, and that it was impassive and immortal; and his birth, passion, death, burial, and resurrection only illusive appearances. The council of Constantinople condemned these opinions, and many by whom they were professed were reunited to the communion of the Church.

The Priscillianists derived their denomination from Priscillian, a man of rank and fortune in Spain, who was afterward bishop of Abila. A considerable mixture of Gnosticism and Unitarianism appears to have been united in this sect, with the tenets of both which, however, they were but imperfectly acquainted. They thought that the devil was not made by God, but arose from chaos and darkness; (*Leo*, *Opera*, p. 167;) said that the bodies of men were made by the devil; condemned marriage, and denied the resurrection of the body; asserted that the soul was of a Divine substance, which, having offended in heaven, was sent into the body as a place of punishment; that men are subject to

necessity, to sin, and to the power of the stars; and our bodies compounded according to the order of the twelve signs of the zodiac.—(*Aug. de Hæres.*, cap. 70.) They agreed that the Son is inferior to the Father, and that there was a time when the Son was not. (*Leo, Opera*, c. i, ii, p. 168.) The rule of manners prescribed by this sect was remarkably austere. Priscillian, their leader, was accused by the other Spanish bishops, in consequence of the increase of his followers; and he was banished by the Emperor Gratian from Spain. He was again, however, permitted to return; but was once more accused by his implacable enemies, and put to death at Treves, in the year 384, by the perfidious Maximus, at the instigation of Ithacius, bishop of Sossuba; who, whatever might be the professed purity of his faith, was deficient in every amiable quality of the human heart. The opinions of the Priscillianists did not end with the death of their erroneous and unfortunate leader, but extended their influence, and continued during several succeeding centuries. (*Sandius, Hist.*, p. 127.)

The recorder of folly, if he be possessed of humanity, can find little enjoyment in his task, and it is equally unnecessary and unpleasant to dwell upon the opinions and conduct of those sects who differed from the Church only in one or two points of perhaps little importance, or whose errors were received by few, and soon terminated. Among these smaller sects were the Antidicomaranites, who contended that after the birth of Christ the Virgin Mary did not continue in her immaculate state, but associated with her husband Joseph; and the Collyridians, who, falling into the opposite extreme, superstitiously worshipped the virgin, and made an offering to her, upon certain appointed days, of a particular kind of bread. These views were confined to a few; those of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, were rather more diffused. This prelate had been a zealous opposer of Arianism; he had separated himself not only from communion with all of that sect, but even from all who acknowledged as bishops those who had signed the Ariminum confession of faith, and had written against the Arians with great vehemence; but the purity of his own faith did not continue uncorrupted, and he is accused of asserting that the soul was transfused from the parents to the children, and that it was of a fleshly substance.

Amid the time of superstition which had almost overflowed the Church, many lamented its devastations, and some were so confident as to attempt to stop the torrent; but their courage was not rewarded either with applause or success; and, independent of the doctrinal errors into which they fell, they were, on account of their opposition to the corrupt and prevailing opinions of the age, loaded with calumny and regarded with abhorrence. One of the principal of these hardy champions for the truth was Audeus, a Syrian, of uncommon virtue, whose zeal against the profligacy of the clergy procured his excommunication from the Church. Unmoved by the censures which he had incurred, Audeus associated himself with a society of Christians, who were distinguished not only by their abhorrence of clerical depravity, but by their attachment to the Jewish time of celebrating Easter, and their belief that the resemblance between God and man consisted in the body, whence they have been charged with believing that the Supreme Being was corporeal. He was banished by the emperor into Scythia, where he continued to make several converts, and established several

monasteries. His zeal against superstition and depravity was seconded by Ætius, one of the leaders of the semi-Arians; and Jovinian, an Italian monk. The principal point on which Ætius and his adherents differed from the other semi-Arians, appears to have been their belief that there was no distinction founded in Scripture between a presbyter and a bishop. He earnestly condemned prayers for the dead, and several other rites, and attempted to restore the discipline of the Church to its primitive simplicity and excellence. Jovinian, though himself a monk, and continuing in a state of celibacy, took the utmost pains to expose the peculiar doctrines of monachism, though, unlike the other reformers of this time, he continued in the orthodox faith. His doctrines were so obnoxious to the clergy that he was excommunicated by Siricius, the bishop of Rome, and was condemned by the Emperor Honorius to be whipped, and banished to the small and obscure island of Boa, in Illyricum.

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Constantine not eminent as a patron of literature—Eusebius—Pamphilus—Athanasius—Basil—Gregory Nazianzen—Gregory of Nyssa—Ambrose, bishop of Milan—Lactantius—Jerome—Rufinus—St. Augustine—Chrysostom—Marcellus—Eustathius—Victorinus—Hilary—Apollinaris—Ephraim of Edessa—Didymus—Diodorus of Tarsus—Epiphanius—Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem.

WERE we to estimate the learning and abilities of the writers of this century by their numbers or their zeal, our admiration of their talents would not be confined within ordinary limits. But intestine commotions and religious controversies are circumstances not extremely favourable to the most admired blossoms of literature, which expand in the gay sunshine of tranquillity, but close and fold their leaves in the inclement season of turbulence and distraction. The first emperor who professed Christianity had devoted little of his time to literature; and whatever favours he might be disposed to bestow upon monks and ecclesiastics, he does not appear to have greatly signalized himself as a patron of learning. A desire to abolish paganism, which was supported by the wit and talents of some of its professors, and to advance Christianity upon its ruins, rather than a love of literature, induced the emperor to encourage a taste for study, and to erect public libraries for the extension of knowledge. But when honours and preferments were not annexed to excellence in learning, when science was not encouraged either by the favour of the prince or the approbation of the people, and confined to the investigation of obscure scholastic theology, we cannot be surprised to find a rapid decay of the arts and sciences, numbers of the clergy unlearned, and the cell of the monk a fruitful hotbed for the cultivation of ignorance.

Notwithstanding this, there were, among the number of Christian writers in the fourth century, some who may be justly distinguished for their learning and elegance. Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea, in Palestine, claims a distinguished rank in the catalogue, both on account of his

abilities and virtue. He was a native of Palestine, and obtained his bishopric in the year 314; but at a very early period was accused of favouring the Arians, and of continuing attached to the bishops of that sect; and several of his expressions afford some ground for the belief that the suspicion was not wholly unfounded. It is probable, however, that the candour and moderation of his temper, rather than any defection from the orthodox faith, might occasion this imputation. In the council of Nice he abandoned the Arian party, but supported them in their endeavours to deprive Athanasius of the Alexandrian see.

He composed an ecclesiastical history, from the commencement of the Church till the council of Nice; a chronicle of the principal events from the beginning of the world till the twentieth year of Constantine; four panegyrical books of the life of that emperor; *The Preparation and Demonstration of the Gospel*, a discourse against the philosopher Hierocles, who compared Apollonius to Jesus Christ; five books against Marcellus of Ancyra; a commentary on the Psalms; and five books of *An Apology for Origen*, which he wrote conjointly with his friend Pamphilus, the martyr, from his attachment to whom he received his name. To these he added a sixth book, after the death of his friend, and composed many treatises in divinity and criticism. The amiableness of his temper is apparent from no instance being adduced, by his enemies, of his having used any means of depressing others with the emperor, or of acquiring any advantages for himself. A suspicion, however, of a very serious nature has attacked the conduct of Eusebius, while under the apprehension of persecution; and he was thought to have purchased his retreat from the confinement of a prison by compliances which were dishonourable, if not base. The inviolable attachment of Eusebius to the amiable and accomplished Pamphilus, presbyter at Cesarea, does honour to his feelings as a man. He assumed his name, (Eusebius Pamphilus,) and composed an account of his life. This martyr to the faith erected a school at Cesarea; and, after suffering much during the Diocletian persecution, was at length cruelly put to death. Few of his writings have reached posterity.

However varying, or however doubtful, the character of Eusebius may appear to the world, that of Athanasius is fixed, decisive, and resolute. A deacon of the Alexandrian Church, at the commencement of the Arian disputes he joined in opinion with his bishop, and accompanied him to the council of Nice. On the demise of his diocesan he obtained the Alexandrian see, but he enjoyed not long in tranquillity his new situation: orthodox in his principles, decided in his opinions, and resolute in maintaining them, it is not surprising that he should soon become an object of detestation to the Arian party, whom he vehemently opposed. A charge was exhibited against him by his enemies, of having exacted new duties from the people for the emolument of the Church. This charge was dismissed by the emperor, but two others succeeded; that he had thrown down and broken a sacred chalice, overthrown the sacramental elements, destroyed the church of Mareotis, and that he had added murder to sacrilege, in killing Arsenius, bishop of Hypsele. To the first of these accusations he replied by proving that neither church, altar, nor chalice, existed in the place where he was said to have destroyed them, and effectually refuted the other by producing to the sight of his accusers the schismatic bishop, who had for

a time thought proper to retire. The Arian party had, however, previously determined his disgrace; and in the council of Tyre he was degraded, deposed, and exiled. In vain the injured prelate hastily removed himself to Constantinople, and publicly pleaded his cause at the footstool of his prince. The charge of having threatened to prevent the exportation of corn from Alexandria to Constantinople had been urged against him to Constantine; who, irritated at his supposed contumacy, dismissed him into exile to Treves.

The accession of the sons of Constantine, which produced leave to the exiled bishops to return to their respective sees, restored Athanasius, by a decree of the younger Constantinus, (who continued in the orthodox faith,) to Alexandria. But the cabal and faction under Constantius again deposed him, ordained Gregory in his room, and ordered the prefect of Egypt to confirm the new archbishop in his office; while Athanasius retired to Rome. In a council of fifty bishops of Italy, the innocence of the deposed bishop was unanimously declared; and at the end of three years he received a summons to attend at Milan the Emperor Constans, who required his brother to call a council for determining the case of Athanasius. In this council, held at Sardica, after a series of angry debates, Athanasius was declared innocent; and Gregory very opportunely dying just at that period, he entered into the peaceable possession of his see. Tranquillity was not, however, the path in which Athanasius was destined to proceed; death removed his princely and generous protector Constans; and Constantius, in compliance with the reiterated persuasion of those who hated the zeal and abilities of the Alexandrian bishop, issued orders again for his expulsion. The bishops, who in the councils of Arles and Milan had opposed the degradation of Athanasius, were required to subscribe his sentence; and a formulary of consent was transmitted to the absent bishops, who, upon their refusal to subscribe it, were immediately banished by the emperor. George, of Cappadocia, was then placed on the episcopal throne; and the exiled archbishop was assaulted at midnight, by the troops of the empire, in the church of St. Theonas, while he was performing his devotions. He continued his employment during the time when the doors of the sanctuary were assailed; and, when they were at length burst open, with great intrepidity refused to consult his own safety till he had provided for that of his congregation. Six years he remained concealed among the monks of the deserts of Thebais, notwithstanding the vigilance of his pursuers, and the force of the most severe edicts against all who should protect or conceal the deserter. The accession of Julian, who granted the exiled bishops leave to return, restored Athanasius to his see, which became vacant by the death of George, the second usurper. As the zeal of Athanasius was not agreeable to the emperor, (who again issued orders for his exile and apprehension,) he was once more so fortunate as to escape to his former recess, where he continued till the reign of Jovian, and again assumed the government of his church. Under Valens he was banished once more, and remained confined for four months; at the end of which he was again recalled, and enjoyed the tranquil possession of his see till the year 373, when his death put a period to a series of incessant exertions in the cause of the Church.

The zeal of Athanasius in the orthodox cause occasioned his com-

posing a number of writings against the heresy of Arius and Apollinaris; several discourses and letters in justification of himself; and also the life of St. Anthony. Many of his performances are lost, but sufficient remain to form a splendid edition of three folio volumes by the learned Montfaucon.

Basil the Great, bishop of Cesarea, was one of the most amiable and accomplished characters of the fourth century. Eloquent, ingenious, and learned, he was surpassed, and even equalled, by few. He studied in the schools of Cesarea and Constantinople, and then repaired to Athens to perfect himself in the sciences. In this situation he contracted a strict intimacy with the amiable Gregory Nazianzen, whose father was the bishop of that city. After some time employed in assisting his father in the duties of his office, Gregory again joined his friend, who had retired with a few select associates into the solitudes of Pontus, where, in mutual study and reciprocal esteem, they passed a considerable time. Gregory quitted his solitude once more to assist his father; and after several vicissitudes was advanced by Theodosius to the bishopric of Constantinople, which, on account of the people objecting to his being a stranger, he soon resigned; and, after some time spent in attending to clerical duties in his native city, retired to the country, where he died. During this time Basil had consented to leave his retreat, after having established the monastic state in Pontus and Cappadocia, and accepted the see of Cesarea. His attachment to the Nicene faith was marked and sincere. He separated from communion with his bishop, Dranius, who had subscribed the confession at Ariminum, and steadily opposed the entreaties and threatenings of the Emperor Valens to embrace the opinions of Arius. The works of these friends are numerous. Basil composed several sermons; a reply to the doctrines of the Arian Eunomius; a work upon the Divinity of the Holy Ghost; several letters, some homilies, and a commentary upon the first sixteen chapters of Isaiah. Gregory Nazianzen composed many excellent discourses, letters, and some poems. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, the brother of Basil, far from imitating the examples of his brother and friend, had married, and was with great difficulty induced to forsake the profession of rhetoric for the ecclesiastical state. His promotion in the Church, however, very soon succeeded that of his brother, and, like him, he was distinguished by his steady attachment to the orthodox cause. He composed commentaries upon Scripture; discourses upon the mysteries and upon morality; panegyrics upon saints; a controversial tract against Eunomius, and several other works.

The remarkable story of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, has an appearance of romance seldom found in real life. This prelate was the prefect of Liguria and Emilia, and on entering the church of Milan in his civil capacity, to quell a riot between the Arian and orthodox parties, concerning the choice of a bishop, found himself called upon to assume the vacant office by the unanimous voice of the assembly, and was compelled to advance at once from the humble station of catechumen to the command of the Church. In this high situation, he firmly sustained the cause of orthodoxy against the Arians of his diocess, against the entreaties and threats of the Empress Justina, the mother of Valentinian, and even of the Emperor Theodosius, whom he prevented from establishing a Jewish synagogue at Milan, and from

erecting an altar to Victory. His zeal did not rest here; he rebuked the emperor for his slaughter at Thessalonica, and compelled him to atone for his guilt, by the performance of public penance. But Ambrose was loud in the praises of a monastic life, and uncharitable in his conduct toward those who differed from him in religious belief. With a credulity which bordered upon folly, or with a design to impose upon the credulity of mankind, (a practice not very uncommon in those times,) he pretended to the Arians to produce men possessed with devils; who, upon the approach of certain relics, had been compelled to acknowledge the purity of the Nicene faith, and the impiety of that of Arius. Ambrose composed several treatises in praise of celibacy; a discourse upon mysteries and penance; several books concerning faith, and the Holy Ghost; a discourse upon the incarnation; and several other works, which have been published in two volumes folio.

The eloquence of Lactantius, and the beauty and purity of his style, raise him superior to every author of the fourth century, and place him upon an equality with some of the most accomplished writers of ancient Rome. Intrusted with the education of Crispus, the unfortunate son of Constantine, whom the monarch afterward put to death, Lactantius, amid the splendours of a court, was distinguished only by his talents and his poverty. His principal work consists of a masterly refutation of paganism, and a learned comparison between it and Christianity. It is to the indelible disgrace of the age, that while a number of fanatic monks and popular declaimers obtained the highest stations in the Church, a man who possessed the learning of Aristotle, with the eloquence of Cicero, and the wit of Horace—who united philosophy with religion, and an earnest piety with all the graces of a polished taste and enlightened understanding—should be permitted to languish without distinction or reward. It is, however, but too common a case, that the service which is rendered to a party is rated higher than that which is rendered to mankind in general. The defence of a single dogma shall raise a man to eminence and fortune; while the enlightening of thousands, the improving of the hearts, the morals, the judgments, and religious sentiments of a nation, shall frequently be passed over with scarcely the cold return of fruitless praise.

The close of the fourth century, and the beginning of the fifth, was distinguished by the writings and example of the learned Jerome, a monk of Palestine; and the celebrated Augustine, bishop of Hippo. Deeply versed in sacred literature, and entirely devoted to study, Jerome consented to receive the order of priesthood, only upon condition that he should not be compelled to perform any of its offices; and for several years pursued, by turns, a sequestered and active life. After the death of his friend, Damasus, bishop of Rome, Jerome retired to a small cell in Bethlehem, where the reputation of his learning and sanctity attracted the notice, and procured him the visits, of the pious and distinguished ladies, Paula, Eustochium, and Melania; and these were soon accompanied by numbers who were desirous of embracing a monastic life. Paula, in order to gratify this pious desire, so strongly encouraged by the example and precepts of Jerome, erected on the spot a church and four monasteries, the former for the men, and the latter for the women. The warmth and austerity of his tem-

per, the mixture of enthusiasm and superstition in all his sentiments and conduct, and the contempt and invectives which he poured upon all who differed from him, are blemishes in the character of Jerome. In his retirement he composed a considerable number both of critical and theological writings; several commentaries upon Scripture; two Latin translations of the Bible, and a variety of other productions.—He was engaged in a controversy with Rufinus, a priest of Aquileia, concerning the works of Origen, the particular opinions of whom were warmly defended by Rufinus. In one instance, however, both Jerome and Rufinus agreed: the former encouraged the superstitious folly of Paula, who forsook her family and country for the conversation of monks and ecclesiastics in distant regions; and Rufinus himself accompanied Melania, another of these wandering saints, in her visits to the hermits of the Egyptian deserts, and remained during twenty-five years in her house at Jerusalem. The learning of Rufinus, though very considerable, was, however, inferior to that of Jerome. He translated several of the Greek authors into Latin; composed two books of ecclesiastical history, in continuation of that of Eusebius; commentaries upon several parts of Scripture, and a number of other works.

Augustine, bishop of Hippo, adopted in early youth, with a warmth congenial to his native country, Africa, the opinions of the Manichæans. His sentiments, however, began to waver in a conference he held with Faustus, a professor of that sect, when he was about twenty-nine years of age; and the sermons of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, the conversion of two of his friends, and the perusal of St. Paul's epistles, fully convinced him of the errors of that sect. On his return to Africa, from which he had been absent some years, in different parts of Italy, he was ordained priest by Valerius, bishop of Hippo, founded a monastery for persons who renounced private property and lived in common, and was ordained coadjutor to Valerius in 395. He died at the age of seventy-six. His works, which are more numerous than those of any other writer of this period, bear the marks of sincere piety, vivacity, and genius; but are chargeable with ambiguity, and the impulse of a too warm imagination.* The opinions of Origen, who was claimed as an associate, at different times, both by the orthodox and Arian parties, had a zealous patron in the bishop of Hippo, for, being a warm Platonist, he adopted every opinion of that philosopher which could be reconciled with Christianity. He composed commentaries upon Scripture; sermons on a variety of subjects; discourses on the doctrines and discipline of the Church; several books of controversy; and an incredible number of other performances.

One of the most considerable writers of this period is John, bishop of Constantinople, who flourished toward the close of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. He was a native of Antioch, and obtained, from his eloquence, the name of Chrysostom.† An assembly of bishops having resolved to enrol him in their body, he retired to the summit of a mountain in company with an old man; and afterward entirely secluded himself in a dreary cave from all converse with mankind

* He was a zealous advocate for the doctrine of predestination. † Golden-mouthed.

After remaining for some years in solitude, he returned to Antioch, where his reputation as a preacher became so great that he was, by general consent, elected patriarch of Constantinople. The ordination of Chrysostom was, however, secretly opposed by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who was deputed by the emperor to officiate in this ceremony, and whose fear of the monarch was too great to permit his refusal of the office. At this time the Constantinopolitan Arians were prohibited from holding their assemblies in the city, and departed from it every Saturday night or Sunday morning, reciting such hymns as were consonant to their doctrines. Chrysostom, sensible of the effect of such spectacles upon the minds of the common people, turned against them their own arts, and despatched singers through the streets, preceded by the cross and by lamps. In one of those processions the different parties met, and blows and a considerable tumult ensued; upon which the emperor required from the Arians, either their conversion to orthodoxy, or their exile from the city. They preferred the latter. The enemies of Chrysostom, among whom was the Empress Eudoxia, who was offended at his censuring the corrupt manners of the ladies in general, or perhaps displeased at his admonitions having been personally, publicly, and rather roughly addressed to her, conjointly with Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, who was offended at his interference in a dispute between him and the Nitrian monks, soon afterward obtained his deposition; but the sedition consequent upon his banishment was so great that the emperor was compelled to send him letters of recall. His implacable enemy, the empress, again irritated by his preaching against the public games around her statue, once more effected his banishment. He was not suffered to remain in peace in the place to which he had repaired in his exile, but received orders from the emperor to transport himself to the ungenial shores of the Euxine Sea. The place of his banishment, however, he never reached; for he was seized with a violent fever on the road, which terminated his life in the sixtieth year of his age, in 407. Chrysostom is justly ranked among the most eminent Christian orators; his eloquence was manly, his genius was uncommon, and his erudition extensive. He exhibited himself both as a moral and controversial writer; wrote a great number of homilies; and his works are so extensive as to have been collected into eleven folio volumes.

The religious controversies, which engaged in some measure the pens of the most accomplished writers of the fourth century, attracted the notice of men equally zealous, but not equally qualified, and produced several performances, differing in merit according to the abilities of their respective authors. Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, and Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, though both of them intimate friends of Athanasius, were accused of Sabellianism, but wrote against the Arian cause. They were, however, both deposed, as their principles were judged, by the synods appointed to try them, to be not perfectly orthodox. Victorinus engaged in defence of the Church, and attacked both the Arians and Manichæans. Among the most strenuous opposers of heresy was Hilary, bishop of Poictiers, who, from being a heathen, had been converted to Christianity. He composed a very extensive work against the Arians, which he had the spirit to present in person to the Emperor Constantius; and wrote several commentaries upon different parts of

the sacred writings. The compositions of the two Apollinarises, in defence of Christianity, were written in such a style of elegance that the Emperor Julian prohibited the reading of their books. The writings of Ephraim of Edessa against heresy, as well as his moral performances, appear in his own time to have been much esteemed.

The commentators of this century were many; among whom was the blind but learned Didymus, whose commentaries are lost. Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, wrote commentaries also, which are ranked among those of the judicious few who attempted to explain the literal sense of Scripture, without attending to the allegorical.

The lives of the monks became so acceptable, from the estimation in which they were held, that a multitude of romances, under that denomination, were produced in the fourth century, pretending to be authentic records of these deluded devotees. Epiphanius published a history of heresies, in which, not content with exhibiting and exaggerating erroneous opinions, he attempted to refute them, and to establish the doctrines of the Church. This writer is charged with inaccuracy and extreme credulity; a credulity too of the worst sort, since it led him to believe every unfavourable account of those who dissented from his faith.

A multitude of writers, whose compositions were fewer in number, or who did not obtain the same celebrity with those already enumerated, flourished during this century: among these was Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, who, in his youth, composed discourses for the catechumens and for those who were newly baptized.

THE FIFTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Persecuting edict against heretics—Arcadius and Honorius—Incursions of the barbarians—Alaric—Plunder of Rome—Destruction of literature—Respect indicated by the barbarians for every form of Christianity—Progress of the barbarians—Annihilation of the western empire—Odoacer—Christianity received in Persia—Christians there involved by their own imprudence in persecution—Complete conversion of the Goths—Conversion of Ireland—Of Clovis, king of the Franks—Title of Most Christian King—Corruptions of the clergy—Their arrogance—Encroachments of the bishop of Rome—Prostitution of holy orders—Impious arrogance of the emperors—Council of Chalcedon—Title of patriarchs—Rivalship between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople—Their intrusion into civil affairs—Restrained by an imperial edict—Virtues of some of the clergy.

THE calamities arising from an intolerant zeal in matters of religion, not less severe than the terrors of persecution which had afflicted the Christians of the preceding century, continued in this to disturb the happiness of mankind, and to induce the sincere professors of the Gospel to look back almost with regret to a season which, however unfavourable and perilous, found them united in one common cause, generally understood, instead of being divided into factions, disagreeing about points difficult to be conceived, and respecting which the difference frequently consisted, not in the circumstance itself, but in the terms used to define it. Alarmed at the ecclesiastical censures which assailed whoever presumed to differ in opinion, or even in expression, from the leaders of the Church, the timid Christian must have been afraid of conversing upon the subject of his faith; and the edict obtained from Honorius, by four bishops, deputed from Carthage, in 410, which doomed to death whoever differed from the Catholic faith, must, though perhaps never executed, have closed in terror and silence the trembling lips. Doubtless a mistaken zeal for promoting the cause of true religion instigated the generality to believe it right to enforce the truth, not only by ecclesiastical censures, but by the interference of the civil power. Augustine acknowledged that there had been a time when he believed it wrong to harass heretics, and that it would be more judicious to allure them by soft and gentle methods; but that his sentiments were changed, from observing that the laws enacted against heresy by the emperors had proved, to many, a happy occasion of conversion. (*Epist. to Vincentius.*) These detestable principles were carried to such excess that, in 443, Theodosius commanded that the books which were not conformable in doctrine to the councils of Nice and Ephesus, and to the decisions of Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, should be destroyed, and their concealers be liable to death.

Under the united reigns of the two sons of Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius, who separately governed the eastern and western divisions of the Roman empire, a season of tranquillity took place, whic

was only interrupted by theological commotions. The death of Arcadius, in the year 403, placed his son Theodosius, at eight years of age, upon the imperial throne, who governed the eastern division of the empire, while his uncle Honorius reigned in the west. The timid emperor of the west, alarmed at the incursions of the barbarians, who poured down in swarms upon his dominions, and revelled in the delightful regions of Italy, had his retreat at Ravenna disturbed by the intelligence that Alaric, the Gothic king, had besieged Rome; nor was it long before the fierce conqueror entered its gates, and plundered that city which for ages had been a repository for the plunder of the world. The remainder of Italy soon became a prey to the ravages of the victorious army. During this period, though the most ancient and valuable monuments of art and learning were levelled with the ground, the churches of the Christians of every denomination were spared by this Arian invader; and not only life, but even liberty, was granted both to the pagans and Christians who took refuge in the churches of the apostles, or at the tombs of the martyrs. The sacred vessels which had been pillaged from the church of St. Peter were also restored by the conquerors. The subjects of Honorius, after a series of ineffectual contests against the desolating power of the barbarians, had the mortification to see him nearly stripped of his territory, and continuing the title without the power of royalty. The capital was taken by the Goths; the Huns were possessed of Pannonia; the Alans, Suevi, and Vandals were established in Spain; and the Burgundians settled in Gaul. The feeble powers of Valentinian the Third, the successor of Honorius, were not calculated to restore to the Roman monarchs the empire they had lost. Eudocia, his widow, and the daughter of Theodosius, soon married Maximus; and soon discovered that the present partner of her throne and bed was the brutal murderer of the last. Incensed at his perfidy, and resolved to revenge the death of Valentinian, and her own dishonour, she implored assistance from Genseric, king of the Vandals in Africa, who entered Rome, and plundered the whole of the city except three churches. After the rapid and turbulent reigns of several of the emperors of the west, that part of the empire was finally subjugated in the year 476, by the abdication of Augustulus. The name of emperor sunk with the ruin of the empire; for the conquering Odoacer, general of the Heruli, assumed only the title of king.

Notwithstanding the commotions which afflicted the empire and the Church, Christianity still continued to extend her boundaries. The truths of the Gospel were propagated through a considerable part of Persia, by Maruthas, a Mesopotamian, and Abdas, a Persian bishop, who afterward involved the Christians in a severe persecution, by his temerity in destroying a temple belonging to the magi, and his obstinacy in not rebuilding it. This persecution continued for some time, and was not terminated without a war between the Persians and Romans. The most considerable accessions to the Christian body, during this century, accrued from the barbarous nations which poured with the impetuosity of a torrent over every part of the western empire. The Goths had indeed professed Christianity before their irruption; but the greater part of these savage invaders did not relinquish the worship of their gods till they were established in the conquered countries, when Arianism was professed by the greater part of the western Christians

During the course of this century Ireland was added to the countries which had already embraced the truths of Christianity. The first missionary, Palladius, was not successful among this rude and uncultivated people; but he might probably prepare them to receive favourably the documents of Succathus, or Patrick, a native of Caledonia, a man of birth and abilities, who, after the laborious efforts of forty years for their conversion, founded the archbishopric of Armagh. One of the most remarkable conversions of the fifth century is that of Clovis, king of the Franks, who is said to have embraced Christianity, in consequence of a vow to worship Christ as his God, provided he rendered him victorious in a battle which he was preparing to engage in against the Alemanni. Probably his conversion might result at least as much from policy as superstition. By adopting the religious tenets of those whom he governed, he destroyed one capital cause of disunion. However this might have been, many miraculous circumstances were said to have attended this conversion of the conqueror, who founded the kingdom of the Franks in Gaul. On the occasion of his baptism at Rheims, it is said that a brilliant light filled the whole church; and a voice was heard to say, *Peace be with you; it is I: be not afraid: abide in my love.* This prodigy was succeeded by a fragrant odour which perfumed the whole place, and a dove descended bearing a vial of chrism,* with which Clovis was anointed.† This monarch was the only one of the barbarian invaders of the Roman empire, who immediately professed the faith of the council of Nice; and from this circumstance the appellation of the most Christian king, and eldest son of the Church, was, according to the opinion of the learned, conferred originally upon the sovereigns of France.

Riches and independence, so little conducive to virtue in the hearts of men, were evidently pernicious to the clergy, who from the time when they became possessed of great revenues under the Christian emperors, were no longer distinguished by the humble virtues of the primitive Christians, but by ardent aspirations and mean artifices to obtain temporal power. The episcopal offices were, in several instances, performed by delegates; while the bishop, who assumed the name, and received the emoluments annexed to that office, was left at leisure to attend to his secular concerns, and to dissipate in voluptuousness what had been frequently acquired by contention and chicane. The richer ecclesiastics not only vied in splendour with the prince; they not only erected thrones in their churches, and affected the state of courts in giving audience to the people; but they frequently asserted a perfect equality with the monarch. Martin, bishop of Tours, contended, at a public entertainment, that the emperor was inferior in dignity to a presbyter: and Anastasius, the emperor of the east, met with frequent instances of similar arrogance. Symmachus had the assurance to tell him that the dignity of a Roman prelate, nay, even of a priest, was superior to that of the emperor, in proportion as the dignity of things spiritual was to that of things temporal.

The ecclesiastics of every denomination united in invading the rights

* A composition of olive oil and balm; *opobalsamum*.

† This piece of legerdemain, which Baronius has dignified with the name of a miracle, was exhibited in favour of a monarch who was ferocious, sanguinary, and ambitious, and the murderer of several of his nearest relations.

of the people; and in increasing, by every possible expedient, the power and dignity of the sacerdotal order: they employed also, without compunction, the most unlawful means in order to controvert each other, and to obtain fresh accessions of influence to their respective sees. Among the most ambitious claimants of prerogative and spiritual power, the see of Rome soon became the most distinguished; it affected to receive all appeals that were preferred in ecclesiastical cases; endeavoured to be considered as umpire in the dispute, and by its decisions to determine every clerical cause. The bishops of Africa warmly opposed these encroachments of the Roman see; and contested the authority which the pope pretended to derive for this end from a decree of the Nicene council, but which was not in their copies of the acts of that synod. They refused to readmit Apianus, an African priest, who, upon being excommunicated by his bishop, had appealed to the Roman pontiff, by whom he had been received into communion, and who attempted to restore him to his former station in the Church. Intriguing for the principal episcopal offices became common; and it frequently happened that, upon the demise of a bishop, his see was claimed by two or more contenders, who endeavoured to enforce their pretensions by every martial exertion. The pulpit beat to arms, and the church appeared a theatre of war, in which the angry combatants assailed each other with implacable rancour and fury. The see of Alexandria was remarkable for an almost uninterrupted succession of profligate prelates, who obtained their stations by the most atrocious means. Timotheus, after having caused his predecessor to be murdered in the church, his dead body dragged through the city, and the mangled carcass then thrown into the fire, obtained the bishopric by his artifice in creeping about in the dark, and pretending to be an angel, that he might delude the monks, and obtain the object of his wishes. The splendour of the principal sees, under the Christian emperors, and the great possibility of their being attained by the illiterate and the ignorant, since knowledge was far from being requisite for admission into the priesthood, were causes which greatly contributed to the evils we are now lamenting.* Incentives were by these means offered to the indolent enthusiast, as well as the ignorant and ambitious, to enter into the clerical order; to which they might be ordained without the trouble of preparing, or any examination, since none was made; and without finding it necessary to engage in any regular ecclesiastical duty. Hence, if knavishly disposed, each had, in the possession of his order, a passport from city to city; in each of which he might carry on the lucrative business of vending the pretended relics of the saints and martyrs to an ignorant and deluded multitude.

The emperors who, in the last century, had constituted themselves heads of the Church, and had suffered themselves to be addressed by the impious titles of your divinity, your eternity, your godship, supreme

* Several of the fathers of the Church, who attended the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, toward the middle of this century, were so ignorant as to be unable to write their own names to the acts of the councils, but were compelled to subscribe in this form: *I, such a one, have subscribed by the hand of such a one, because I cannot write.* Or, *Such a bishop having said that he could not write, I whose name is underwritten, have subscribed for him.* (*Jortin*, vol. iv, p. 77.)

master, and everlasting king, had still reserved to themselves the supreme ecclesiastical power; and in concert with the authority of councils, in which the legislative power of the Church immediately resided, sometimes augmented and sometimes depressed, the authority of the contending and ambitious prelates. Two general or œcumenical councils were held, during this century, at Ephesus and at Chalcedon. In the latter, the bishop of Constantinople, who had reduced under his spiritual subjection several extensive provinces, was confirmed in the same privileges he had obtained in the council of Constantinople, and was considered as in all respects equal to his haughty rival, the bishop of Rome. But this regulation was little agreeable to the Roman pontiff, who saw his superiority invaded, and his dignity abased, with but little hope of obtaining redress, since the authority of the emperor was exerted in favour of his rival. He submitted not, however, silently to decisions which abrogated his rights, but opposed with energy the obstinate claims of the bishop of Constantinople to spiritual dominion. The contests which arose in consequence of the council of Chalcedon fortunately supplied Felix the Third, bishop of Rome, with a pretence for opposing his brother of Constantinople. This prelate had treated with contempt the decrees of that council, though it had confirmed to him the patriarchal power; and had manifested a desire to serve rather than to distress the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, the great leaders of the anathematized sect of the Monophysites. This afforded a pretext for convening a council, in which the Byzantine patriarch was condemned, who, in his turn, anathematized and excommunicated the bishop of Rome, and erased his name from the public diptychs;* and mutual animosities inflamed the eastern and western Churches for a series of years. The avowed cause of dispute was generally a zeal for the decision of councils, or for the support of particular opinions; and, under these pretences, the supremacy, which was unceasingly aimed at by the Roman pontiff, was opposed by the bishop of Constantinople, who, from similar motives, was opposed by the bishop of Rome in all his claims to spiritual dominion. On this account every measure was devised which could foment or increase any disturbance between the prelates of Constantinople and those who were subject to their jurisdiction. Every complaint made by the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch against the patriarch of Constantinople, or even by the inferior orders of the clergy in those dioceses against their spiritual rulers, was eagerly received at Rome, and the complainants taken under the immediate protection of that see.

The aspiring views of Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, were directed to the attainment of patriarchal power; and the protection of the younger Theodosius enabled him to reject the authority of his metropolitan, the bishop of Cesarea, and to assume the dignity of patriarch of Palestine, in which he was afterward confirmed. The principal reason assigned for this assumption was, that the Church of Jerusalem had always deservedly received a high degree of veneration from its having succeeded to the first Christian society founded by the apostles; and had

* The diptychs were originally public registers, in which the names of the consuls and other principal magistrates among the Romans were inscribed. The diptychs of the Church contained the names of the bishops, and other distinguished persons.

in itself an innate and incontrovertible claim to the privileges it required. The Church of Antioch suffered still farther from the increasing spirit of ambition and zeal for episcopal honours. Instigated by these motives, and availing himself of the prevalent spirit of superstition, Anthemius, bishop of Salamis, affected to have discovered, by revelation, the body of St. Barnabas, which had upon its breast the Gospel of St. Matthew, in Greek, transcribed by St. Barnabas himself. This discovery he made use of to prove that his see, being founded by Barnabas, was an apostolic Church, no less than that of Antioch; and, as such, ought not to be subject to that patriarch: so powerful a plea procured him an exemption. The Churches of Antioch and Alexandria soon began also to suffer from the usurpations and claims of the Constantinopolitan and Jerusalem prelates, and particularly of the former, who arrogantly reduced them under his jurisdiction.

A detail of the artifices made use of by the patriarchs, for the attainment of spiritual powers, would be little edifying, and may be easily conceived. They encroached upon the rights of the bishops, whom they considered as delegated by them, and in all respects amenable to their authority. This power they contrived to augment by artfully exciting quarrels between the bishops and the inferior ministers, and between the clergy and people, each of whom referred the dispute to their decision. To complete their spiritual tyranny, they contracted an alliance, founded in mutual interest, with a band of crafty, insolent, and unprincipled monks.

The authority of the Roman prelates in the west had been considerably increased by the supineness of the emperors, and the grant which had been obtained by the ambitious Leo, from Valentinian, that all the western bishops should be subject to his jurisdiction. Their power was not diminished by the dominion of the barbarous nations, who, perceiving the subjection of the people to the clergy, and the dependence of the clergy upon the Roman pontiff, soon became sensible that by augmenting his power they secured their own.

The appointment of legates from the pope,* who about the middle of this century first began to reside at the court of Constantinople, doubtless originated from motives extremely opposite to those which were avowed. Leo recommended to the Emperor Marcian a person named Julian, who was established by him to solicit at the emperor's court whatever related to the faith and peace of the Church against heretics. But a regard to faith and discipline was doubtless not the sole object of their attention. The bishop of Rome was too much interested in the prosperity of his see not to be very sedulous in observing every circumstance relating to the other prelates (particularly his brother of Constantinople) which might be prejudicial to his own interest and dignity. The tender concern of these reverend brethren was indeed exerted to promote good order in every part of the Christian world; and was charitably extended so far beyond the limits of ecclesiastical authority that they frequently interfered in matters of civil jurisdiction. Valentinian promulgated a law which restrained their power to spiritual and ecclesiastical causes; but, in these, authority extended to all ranks and degrees of men.

* The name *papa* (pope) was originally given to all bishops, and even sometimes to the inferior clergy. (*Bingham*, book i, chap. 2.)

Notwithstanding the depravity and corruption which pervaded the clerical body, the whole was not contaminated. Instances of disinterested virtue, which would have reflected splendour upon the most enlightened periods of society, illuminated the dreary and dismal annals of the fifth century. We behold with veneration and with pleasure the liberal Deogratias, bishop of Carthage, selling the costly plate of the Church for the ransom of a number of captives, who had been brought by Geisericus, the Vandalic king, to the shores of Africa, where they were to be torn from every dear and social connection. We accompany him with delight to his church filled with beds of straw for the accommodation of the wretched strangers; and with transport behold this aged and infirm prelate daily comforting the sick, giving food to the hungry, and medicines to the diseased. Nor was this a solitary instance of public and private virtue: it was even exceeded by Acacius, bishop of Amida, who ransomed seven thousand Persian captives perishing with hunger. History, among her disagreeable obligations to record so much of the vices of mankind—for vice, if it does not preponderate in the scale, is generally more apparent and obtrusive than virtue—has sometimes the delight of exhibiting characters which dignify and exalt human nature. The erudition, piety, and truly Christian charity of Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, who distributed liberally not only to the orthodox, but to the necessitous heretics—the still greater mildness of Proclus, his friend and disciple, toward the heretics, and his active as well as passive virtues—the piety, simplicity, and affability of Sicinius, a Constantinopolitan prelate—are instances of human excellence which it is pleasant to record, and may serve as models worthy of imitation to more refined and succeeding ages.

CHAPTER II.

OF GOVERNMENT, DOCTRINE, RITES, AND CEREMONIES, IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Title and dignity of patriarch conferred on five of the principal sees—Increase of monks—Exempted from ecclesiastical jurisdiction—Their immense power—Crimes—Warlike achievements—New order of watchers—Absurdities—Savage life—Symeon Stylites—Pillar saints—Fanaticism of Baradatus and James of Syria—Platonism succeeded by the philosophy of Aristotle—Increasing respect for the Virgin Mary—Miracles supposed to be wrought by her—Images of the virgin and the saints—Superstitious reverence for the sacrament—Change of public to private confession—Incense and tapers used in the church—Rage for accumulating relics—Seven sleepers—Miracle of the orthodox believers, who spoke after the loss of their tongues—Divination—Feast of the ascension—Origin of the pope's tiara.

THOUGH the bishops of Rome, partly by the force of an ancient prejudice in favour of that imperial city, and partly by the wealth and power of that church, had in the preceding century been enabled to assume a degree of superiority over the other metropolitan churches, and though the council of Constantinople had raised the bishop of that see to an equality of power and authority with the Roman prelate, yet the title of patriarch does not appear to have been regularly conferred upon them till the meeting of the council of Chalcedon, in 451; nor

were the jurisdiction and dignity of the patriarchal sees, before that period, properly established and defined. The patriarchal dignity was also obtained by the bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem; but these latter were held in an inferior light to those of Rome and Constantinople. The title of exarch was conferred upon those who had the inspection of the affairs of the Church in certain provinces. The principal transactions relating to these establishments were detailed in the preceding chapter.

Few, if any, alterations took place during this century in the state of the clergy; if we except the monks, who daily increased both in consequence and in fanaticism. Originally subject to the bishop of the diocess, they could not even choose their own superior without his consent. This privilege was, however, toward the beginning of this century, obtained by most of the communities; and it was soon followed by an exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. When indeed the popes acquired the power of granting these exemptions, they frequently gave or sold them to the monks, whose power consequently increased with that of the Roman see, and whose attachment to its interest was by this means secured. In the fifth century the monastic orders did not all observe the same form of discipline; but in one respect they nearly agreed, which was in a general defection from real virtue, and the practice of such licentiousness as became proverbial. (*Sulpit. Severus*, dial. i, c. 8.) The prelates at the council of Chalcedon, in 451, complained of Barsumas the monk, who had murdered Flavian, his bishop, that he had overturned all Syria, and brought against them a thousand monks. (*Jortin*, vol. iv, p. 295.) In 452, Theodocius, a monk, on pretence of maintaining orthodoxy, incited the monks of Palestine to rise, filled Jerusalem with tumults, set fire to several houses, broke open jails, murdered a bishop, with some other persons, and caused himself to be elected bishop of Jerusalem. (*Jort.* iv, 296.)

The approbation of monastic institutions was not only extensively diffused, and numbers made unhappy from the defection of their relations, and the consequent loss of their support, but the more judicious part of the community had the mortification to observe that, as the numbers who embraced the state of monachism sensibly increased, so also monastic folly increased in the same proportion. In the beginning of this century a new order of monks was instituted by a person of the name of Alexander, who obtained the name of watchers, from their method of performing Divine service without any intermission. They divided themselves into three classes, which relieved each other at stated hours; and by that means continued, without any interval, a perpetual course of Divine service. Among the Mystics, many not only affected to reside with wild and savage beasts, but imitated their manners. With a ferocious aspect they traversed the gloomy desert, fed upon herbs and grass, or remained motionless in certain places for several years, exposed to the scorching heat of the mid-day sun, or the chilling blasts of the nocturnal air. All conversation with men was studiously avoided by these gloomy fanatics, who frequently concluded their lives by an act of violent madness, or shut themselves up in narrow and miserable dens, to howl out the remainder of their wretched existence. About the year 427, Symeon, a Syrian, introduced a refinement in mortification, by residing successively upon five pillars, of six,

twelve, twenty-two, thirty-six, and lastly of forty cubits high. In this wretched state he continued during thirty-seven years of his life; and his sublime piety was at his decease eagerly emulated by one Daniel, a monk, who resided upon the top of a pillar, and died in that situation at the advanced age of eighty. With a severity of sentiment consonant to the gloomy austerity of his life, Symeon angrily condemned the clemency and humanity of Theodosius, junior, who had commanded the Christians of Antioch to rebuild for the Jews a synagogue there, which they had insolently destroyed; and his influence, arising from the reputation of his sanctity, was such that his arguments prevented its restoration. Such indeed was the reputation of Symeon that he was eagerly resorted to by a multitude of pilgrims, from the remote countries of Spain, Gaul, and Britain. The pillar saints continued to preserve their celebrity in the east till the twelfth century; but this practice, like all the other extremes of monkish fanaticism, was never so general in the west.

Among the ingenious inventers of methods for destroying the happiness of mankind, Baradatus, a monk of Syria, and James, another of the same fraternity, have been highly distinguished for their piety and virtue. The former of these holy brethren, aspiring after a more perfect species of self-denial than he had for some time practised in a small and uncomfortable chamber, erected for himself upon the summit of a mountain a box so contrived as not to admit of his standing in a perpendicular posture, and which, having no close cover, exposed him to all the inclemencies of the wind, the rain, and the sun. Wearied, perhaps, at length himself, or having exhausted the attention of others, by his continuance in this situation, he again attempted to excite it by fresh devices. For this purpose he contrived to be raised from his supine posture, and continually stood upright, covered with a garment of skin, with only a small aperture in his box sufficient to allow of his drawing his breath, and stretching out his hands to heaven. His contemporary, James, not less disposed to austerity, fed entirely upon lentils, and dragged about a load of heavy iron chains bound about his waist and neck, from which several others were suspended. During three days and nights, in which, in continued prostration, he offered up his prayers, this admired maniac was so covered with the snow as to be scarcely discernible. False miracles were perpetually reported, to complete the triumph of fanaticism, and the total infatuation of the multitude; and they were referred to, by some of the most eminent fathers of the Church, not only as examples of Christian perfection, but as infallible authorities for the validity of particular doctrines.

The principles of Christianity, no longer distinguished by their simplicity, good sense, and sound philosophy, were in this century still more embarrassed by intricate disputes, subtle explanations, and rash decisions. The Platonic doctrines, aided by the approbation and opinions of Origen, continued still to be maintained by considerable numbers; but this system, at the time that Origenism was condemned, was deserted by numbers, who were desirous of avoiding the imputation of those errors; and the philosophy of Aristotle was embraced in its place, and compounded in the same manner with the doctrines of revelation. The prevailing attachment to logical discussions, subtle distinctions, and captious sophisms, contributed to increase the fondness for the Aristote-

lian philosophy, which was more calculated for these ends than even Platonism had been. Composed of artificial and learned jargon, of obscure, doubtful, and undefined terms, it involved not only the ignorant and illiterate, but the ingenious and inquisitive, in intricate disputes concerning unintelligible terms, and entangled them in an inextricable labyrinth of words.

An increasing veneration for the Virgin Mary had taken place in the preceding century; and, very early in this, an opinion was industriously propagated that she had manifested herself to several persons, and had wrought considerable miracles in support of the consubstantial party. Her image, holding in her arms the infant Jesus, together with the images of those who during their residence on earth had acquired the reputation of superior sanctity, was honoured with a distinguished situation in the church, and in many places invoked with a peculiar species of worship, which was supposed to draw down into the images the propitious presence of the saints or celestial beings they represented. A superstitious respect began also to take place for the bread consecrated for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Its efficacy was supposed to extend as well to the body as the soul; and it was applied as a medicine in sickness, and as a preservative against every danger in travelling, whether by land or by sea. As it frequently happened that those who believed in the efficacy of the consecrated bread might not have provided themselves with a quantity sufficient for these emergencies, it became customary for the priests to reserve a portion to distribute according to the necessities of their superstitious flock. Several of the Christians interred a quantity of it in the sepulchres of their departed relations; and although this practice was opposed in the council of Carthage, it still continued to be esteemed and practised not only in this but in succeeding centuries. The increasing respect which was paid to the elements of the sacrament was productive of a superstitious fear of receiving them unworthily; and the memorial of the death and sufferings of Jesus Christ, which had formerly been celebrated by all Christians on every Lord's day, was now attended by very few of the numberless professors of Christianity.

Among the alterations which took place in the discipline of the Church none was more remarkable than the suppression of all public confessions of sin, by Leo the Great, in all the churches subject to his jurisdiction. These confessions, which had been formerly made by the trembling penitent before the assembled congregation, were now appointed to be made to a single priest; a regulation which, though it artfully extended the power of the clergy over the consciences of men, considerably destroyed the rigour of ancient discipline. Penance was allowed to be performed in monasteries, or in the presence of a few individuals, and in a private place, at the discretion of the bishop. But if the external splendour of the Church was in some degree lessened by this alteration, the loss was amply supplied by additional ceremonies. The method of singing anthems, one part of which was performed by the clergy, and the other by the congregation, which had been introduced into the churches of Antioch, in the preceding century, was, in this, practised at Rome; and in many churches it was the custom to perform these responses night and day, without any interruption; different choirs of singers continually relieving each

other. The privilege of sanctuary, which had been claimed in the preceding century, was in this fully allowed by the Emperor Leo. This claim has been supposed to have been materially advanced by a criminal flying for protection to a monastery, of which St. Marcellus was the abbot, who refused to surrender the refugee, though the soldiers, who surrounded the monastery during the night, waited only for the approach of morning to enter the convent, and forcibly to take possession of their victim. But a pretended miracle was interposed to declare the sanctity of this place of refuge; a fire was seen to issue from the top of the building, which, like flashes of lightning, darted its rays at the impious soldiery, and impelled them trembling to lay down their arms, and immediately to implore the mercy of that Deity whom they had so impiously offended.

Every splendid appendage which had graced the heathen ceremonies was now interwoven into the fabric of Christianity. During the extended period of paganism, superstition had entirely exhausted her talents for invention; so that, when the same spirit pervaded the minds of the Christians, they were necessarily compelled to adopt the practices of their predecessors, and to imitate their idolatry. That which had been formerly the test of Christianity, and the practice which, when avoided, exposed the primitive believer to the utmost vengeance of his enemies, was become a Christian rite; and incense, no longer considered as an abomination, smoked upon every Christian altar. The services of religion were, even in the day, performed by the light of tapers and flambeaux. The discovery of relics, as may naturally be supposed, was proportioned to the desire of obtaining them. No fewer than the remains of forty martyrs were discovered to the pious but credulous Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius. This princess, with her attendants, on approaching the place where these bodies, according to the revelation with which she had been favoured, were deposited, had the ground broken open; and one of the emperor's retinue, upon thrusting a reed into the chasm, and drawing it up again, was delighted with its exquisite odour. The princess, accompanied by the bishop, then approached, and discovered a considerable quantity of precious ointment, and two silver boxes which contained the inestimable relics of the martyrs, which she honoured with a magnificent shrine, and deposited near the remains of the holy Thyrsus, who, she believed, had thrice appeared to her for the purpose of discovering the place where the martyrs were interred. The undecayed body of the Prophet Zachariah was likewise said to have been found, in consequence of a revelation from himself, after it had been interred about twelve hundred years; and the relics of Samuel were removed by Arcadus from Jerusalem to Constantinople. The pretended remains of St. Stephen, of Nicodemus, of Gamaliel, and of several others, made their appearance about the same time; but the exhibition, in detail, of such knavery and folly as accompanied these transactions would afford little amusement, and still less advantage. The account of the seven persons who fled from the persecution of Decius into a solitary cave near Ephesus, (where, after a repose of a hundred and ninety-five years, they awaked as vigorous, and in appearance as youthful, as when they entered it,) is familiar to all, and will not in this enlightened age be considered as a matter which admits of dispute. One of the

miracles of this century, however, appears to occupy a better ground; and much controversy has arisen concerning the orthodox confessors, who, after having been deprived of their tongues, by the orders of Hunneric, were all, except two of them, enabled to proclaim aloud the triumphs of orthodoxy over the imperfect faith of the Arians. Attested as this anecdote is by respectable witnesses, we can scarcely doubt the fact: but our belief of the *miracle* will be at least suspended by the consideration that two of these confessors did not again attain the faculty of speech; and the knowledge that instances have occurred in which persons who were deprived of a part of their tongues were still able to utter intelligible sounds. Whoever, indeed, considers the nature of the miracles during the fifth century; that it was a period of credulity and ignorance; that the most eminent fathers of the Church were not ashamed to propagate any story which was calculated to confirm the faith of the multitude; that, unlike the first preachers of Christianity, they related circumstances which they saw not themselves, but received from different, and frequently disagreeing narrators; that they had much to gain by the propagation of false miracles, and little to fear from their detection; that they advanced their own reputation for piety, and their own interests, by deception; and that miracles were wrought, not for the advancement of pure and genuine Christianity, but to dignify obscure doctrines, or to exalt the character of some pretended saint; in short, that every mark which authenticated the miracles of Christ and his apostles is wanting in these; will probably be inclined, not merely to hesitate in his assent to them, but will rather be disposed to reject them altogether.

The compliance with every pagan superstition which could be at all reconciled with Christianity was extended on all occasions to the utmost excess. Among others, the Christians attempted to obtain a knowledge of futurity by methods similar to those employed by the pagans, who used to divine by opening the books of Virgil; and the first verses which arrested their attention were interpreted into a prediction of their destiny. The accidental prognostication of the future greatness of Adrian, who opened at the words, *Missus in imperium magnum;* and of Alexander Severus, who had a similar fortune, had conferred additional credit upon this mode of divination. Instead, however, of divining by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, the Christians made use of a Bible for the same purpose; and the practice was carried so far that many of the inferior clergy found in it a very lucrative trade. By the higher ranks it was, however, strongly opposed; and a decree was passed in 465, by the council of Vannes, enacting that whoever was detected in the practice should be excluded from communion with the Church. The pilgrimages to the tombs of the martyrs continued to increase in respectability during this century; and almost the commencement of it was remarkable for a procession, instituted by Chrysostom, which afforded an example, and served as a prelude to future ceremonies of a similar nature.

Three days of fasting and supplication, before the feast of the ascension, were instituted in France, by Mamercus, bishop of Vienne, who appropriated litanies to them which were already in use, but not recited at any particular times; and reserved, as emergencies might require, for deprecating any impending calamity. The feast of the

ascension took place in the period of time which passed between the solemn seasons of Easter and pentecost, and which had hitherto been observed as a season of festivity, in which all fasting and kneeling were prohibited. This fast was far from being universally received in the western Churches, and never obtained in the eastern, which always observed the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide as a festival. There is some reason for believing that these rogation days were observed in Africa prior to this period; and that Mamercus was the adopter, not the institutor, of this observance. From France the custom was generally adopted, though with some variation in the time in which it was observed; and it was in the year 511 established in the council of Orleans. By degrees these litanies were commonly used on Wednesdays and Fridays in all the churches. The liturgies, however, still differed in different places, at the pleasure of the bishops. Peter the Fuller, bishop of Antioch, commanded that, in singing the hymn Trisagium, the performers should add to the words, "O God, most holy," *who hast suffered for us upon the cross!* Another instance occurs in the mission of Lupus and Germanus, who at the desire of the orthodox were sent into Britain to oppose Pelagianism; and who introduced there the Gallican liturgy, which materially differed from that of Rome.

It was not till toward the close of this century that the bishop of Rome was distinguished by a dress materially different from that of the other ecclesiastics. He wore upon his head a kind of bonnet, something higher than usual, and constructed like the mitres used by the priests of Cybele. But Clovis having sent to St. John, of Lateran, a crown of gold, with which he had been presented by Anastasius, emperor of the east, Pope Hormisdas placed it upon his bonnet. In succeeding ages this ornament was increased. Boniface the Eighth, during his contentions with Philip the Fair, in order to demonstrate the superiority of things spiritual to things temporal, and as a mark of his two-fold authority, added a second crown, which in the pontificate of John XXII. received the addition of a third.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Pelagius and Celestius—Opposed by Augustine and others—Semi-Pelagians—Nestorians—Opposition of Cyril—Condemnation of Nestorius—Character of Nestorius—Eutychians—Condemnation in the council of Chalcedon—Decree of union called Henoticon—Monophysites—Peter the Fuller—Theopaschites—Acephali.

THE fifth century is less remarkable than any of the preceding for the number of those who, by the propagation of new opinions, perplexed and destroyed the tranquillity of the Church. One of the earliest and most remarkable was Pelagius, a British monk, of some rank, and very exalted reputation; who, with his friend Celestius, travelled to Rome, where they resided very early in this century, and opposed with warmth the doctrines of original sin, and the necessity of Divine grace.

What reception their doctrines met with at Rome does not appear; but their uncommon piety and virtue excited general approbation. On the approach of the Goths they retired to Africa, where Celestius remained, with a view of gaining admittance as a presbyter into the Church of Carthage. Pelagius proceeded to Palestine, where he enjoyed the favour and protection of John, bishop of Jerusalem. But his friend and his opinions met with a very different reception from Augustine, the celebrated bishop of Hippo.

Whatever parts were visited by these un-orthodox friends, they still asserted their peculiar opinions; and they were gradually engaged in a warm contest, in the course of which they were probably led to advance more than had originally occurred to them. In contending for the truth of their doctrines, they asserted "that mankind derived no injury from the sin of Adam; that we are now as capable of obedience to the will of God as he was; that, otherwise, it would have been cruel and absurd to propose to mankind the performance of certain duties, with the sanction of rewards, and the denunciation of punishments; and that consequently men are born without vice, as well as without virtue." Pelagius is said, moreover, to have maintained "that it is possible for men, provided they fully employ the powers and faculties with which they are endued, to live without sin;" and though he did not deny that external grace, or the doctrines and motives of the Gospel, are necessary, he is said to have rejected the necessity of internal grace, or the aids of the Divine Spirit. He acknowledged "that the power we possess of obeying the will of God is a Divine gift;" but asserted "that the direction of this power depends upon ourselves; that natural death is not a consequence of the sin of Adam, but of the frame of man; and that Adam would have died, though he had not sinned." Isidore, Chrysostom, and Augustine strenuously opposed these opinions; and the latter procured their condemnation in a synod held at Carthage, in 412. They were, however, favourably received at Rome; and Pope Zozimus was at the head of the Pelagian party: but his decision against the African bishops, who had opposed Pelagianism, was disregarded by them, and the pontiff yielded at length to their reasonings and remonstrances, and condemned the men whom he had before honoured with his approbation. The council of Ephesus likewise condemned the opinions of Pelagius and Celestius; and the Emperor Honorius, in 418, published an edict, which ordained that the leaders of the sect should be expelled from Rome, and their followers exiled. Some of the Pelagians taught that Christ was a mere man, and that men might lead sinless lives, because Christ did so—that Jesus became Christ after his baptism, and God after his resurrection; the one arising from his unction, the other from the merit of his passion. (*Cassian de Incarnatione*, lib. i, c. 3, pp. 966, 1017, 1018, 1066.) The Pelagian controversy, which began with the doctrines of grace and original sin, was extended to predestination, and excited continual discord and division in the Church.

The warmth with which Augustine opposed the doctrines of Pelagius betrayed him into expressions which too much favoured the belief that the virtuous and evil actions of men arise from an invincible necessity in their natures; and he appeared to be of opinion that, in

the work of conversion and sanctification, all was to be attributed to a Divine energy, and nothing to human agency. This opinion, though it had many favourers, was opposed by a still more considerable number, and a sect called semi-Pelagians was founded, in which the doctrines both of Pelagius and Augustine were in part acceded to, and in part denied. Cassian, the head and founder of this sect, taught—*that the first conversion of the soul to God was the effect of its free choice;* consequently, that no *preventing* or *predisposing grace* is bestowed by him. Different writers have described the doctrines of the semi-Pelagians in a different manner: some represent them as maintaining that inward grace is not necessary to the beginning of repentance, but to our progress in virtue; others say that they acknowledged the power of grace, but contended that faith depends upon ourselves, and good works upon God: all, however, agree that the semi-Pelagians believed that predestination is made upon the foresight of good works. The five following principles have been laid down as the foundation of the semi-Pelagian doctrines:—That God did not dispense his grace to one more than to another, in consequence of predestination, but was willing to save all, if they complied with the terms of the Gospel; that Christ died for all; that the grace purchased by Christ, and necessary to salvation, was offered to all; that man, before he received grace, was capable of faith and holy desires; that man, born *free*, was consequently capable of *resisting* or *complying* with the suggestions of grace.*

Notwithstanding the opposition of Augustine, the semi-Pelagian doctrines were well received, particularly in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, where Cassian had founded a monastery. They were condemned in several synods; but still continued to be professed by the eastern Christians; and were generally received in the west, till the middle of the ninth century. The disputes concerning liberty and necessity have always produced much rancour and controversy in the Christian world, and are perhaps unprofitable for our limited faculties.

Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, was a zealous opponent of the opinions of Apollinaris, who had taught that the person of Christ was composed of a union of the Divinity with a human body, which was endued with a sensitive, not a rational soul: he particularly condemned the phrase which had been applied by the followers of that heresy to the Virgin Mary, whom they styled the *Mother of God*. The Byzantine prelate was led to take an active part in these disputes by the opposition which had been raised by Anastasius, his friend, and a presbyter of his Church, to the Apollinarian phraseology. The sentiments of Nestorius and Anastasius were, however, so contrary to the blind and superstitious veneration which the devotees of this century were disposed to pay to the virgin, that they excited a fervent opposition among the monks of Constantinople; though the monks of Egypt were convinced by the discourses of Nestorius, and agreed with him that the person of Christ consisted of two distinct natures, the Divine and the human; and that Mary was the mother of the latter only. The imperious Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, highly incensed at the free assertion of these opinions, engaged Celestine, the bishop of Rome, in

* Dr. M'Lean's note to *Mosh. Ecc. Hist.*, cent. v, part 2, c. 5.

his interest; and in 430 assembled a council at Alexandria, in which the opinions of Nestorius were condemned, and no less than twelve anathemas issued against him. Nestorius, in his turn, excommunicated Cyril; and charged him with abetting the Apollinarian heresy, and with confounding the two natures of Christ.

This dispute, which greatly agitated the Christian society, occasioned the convening of the third general council at Ephesus, in 431, in which Cyril had the indecency to preside, though a party concerned; and Nestorius, in the absence of several bishops, who had a right to seats in the council, was condemned *unheard*, confined in a monastery, and afterward banished to Oasis, a solitary place in the deserts of Egypt, where, old and infirm, he soon terminated a life of suffering and persecution. The prelates in whose absence Cyril had proceeded to the condemnation of Nestorius, with their leader, John, bishop of Antioch, being arrived at Ephesus, immediately convoked a synod, in which they excommunicated the imperious bishop of Alexandria, and the bishop of Ephesus, and anathematized all who refused to reject the anathemas of Cyril. The dispute between John and Cyril continued during three years, with equal rancour and fury; but was at length terminated by the interference of the emperor, who persuaded John to conform to the decrees of the Ephesian council.

The opinions of Nestorius were not extinguished with his life. They were zealously maintained by Barsumas, bishop of Nisibis, by whom they were chiefly propagated throughout the east, where Nestorianism still continues to be the prevailing doctrine among the professors of Christianity. Among other causes which contributed to this effect was the reception of these opinions in the celebrated school of Edessa, where the professors not only translated, from the Greek into the Syriac, the writings of the Nestorian authors, but instructed carefully their youth in all their tenets. The Nestorians in Persia, by their influence, procured the expulsion of the Greek Christians, and obtained possession of the see of Seleucia, which indeed is still retained by the patriarch of that sect.

In conjunction with their opinions respecting the Virgin Mary, the Nestorians contended that "the union of Christ's Divinity with his humanity is not a union of nature or of person, but only of will and affection; and that Christ was to be distinguished from God, who resided in him as in a temple."

By those who possess a knowledge of human nature the real causes of deep and continued dissension will rarely be sought, and much seldomer be found, in the avowed object of dispute. In defiance of the contentious spirit of the times, Nestorius might perhaps, in consideration of the zeal he had manifested against other heretics, have been indulged in his opinions, had not the differences between him and Cyril been inflamed by the reciprocal jealousies entertained by the bishops of the principal sees, and by the implacable temper of the Alexandrian bishop: mutual revilings, mutual accusations of riot and sedition, and mutual charges of bribery, in order to obtain a favourable decision, were exhibited by the different combatants in this spiritual contention. Our compassion for the fate of Nestorius is considerably abated by a knowledge of these circumstances, and still more by his arrogant and persecuting temper; his desire of engaging the emperor to unite with him in the

extirpation of heresy, by the promise of both temporal and spiritual rewards; his persecution of the Arians, Novatians, and other sects; and his being forward on every occasion to promote the enacting of laws against heresy. His followers suffered from the prosecution of those councils which he had dictated. Theodosius enacted that the Nestorian ecclesiastics should be expelled from their churches, and, if laics, that they should be excommunicated; and it was enjoined every Catholic to inform against them.

Eutyches, an abbot of a convent of monks at Constantinople, was extremely active in opposing the doctrines of Nestorius, and in procuring his condemnation. Zeal however against his antagonist transported him into expressions which were thought to be a heresy of an opposite nature. Eutyches asserted that there was but *one nature* in Christ, which was the *Divine;* and though Cyril had thus expressed himself, and appealed, for his justification in it, to the authority of Athanasius, *that* happened to be heresy in a monk which was allowable in a bishop; and Eutyches was accused of denying the existence of the human nature of Christ. In a council held at Constantinople, 448, he was excommunicated and deposed, but acquitted in another held at Ephesus, in the following year, which was conducted by Dioscorus, the successor of Cyril, and in which the animosities of the contending parties were carried to such a length that one of the accusers of Eutyches was publicly scourged, and banished to a city of Lydia, where he soon after died in consequence of the bruises he had received.

The accusers of Eutyches were not, however, disposed to submit to the decision of this tumultuous assembly; and, in concert with Leo, bishop of Rome, obtained an order for the fourth general council, which assembled at Chalcedon in 451. In this assembly the opinions of Eutyches were finally condemned, and the Catholic doctrine asserted of two distinct natures in one person united in Christ, without any change, mixture, or confusion. The doctrines of Eutyches were, however, almost generally received in the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria, though not so universally but that continued causes of uneasiness have occurred between the partisans of the different opinions respecting the nature of Christ. The unhappy contest which had arisen in consequence of the Eutychian and Nestorian disputes, induced the Emperor Zeno to publish, in 482, a decree of union called the Henoticon, which was intended to reconcile the contending parties. But this decree, instead of producing the end for which it was designed, though it was subscribed by the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, and by the more moderate and judicious of all parties, and approved by Accacius, bishop of Constantinople, yet gave great offence to the zealous and contentious, by not particularly specifying, among the councils to whose decrees it referred, that of Chalcedon, the mention of which was suppressed by the emperor, in consequence of his understanding that the present opposition arose, not from a dislike to the acts of the council, so much as to the council itself. A new division took place concerning the emperor's *Henoticon;* and the wounded dignity of the council of Chalcedon was vindicated with a rancour and fury which it was the express intention of the edict to suppress.

The Monophysites, who are generally esteemed a sect of the Eutychians, equally condemned the decisions of the council of Chalcedon,

and the opinions of Eutyches, that the *human nature* of Christ was absorbed by the *Divine;* and asserted that the Divinity and humanity of Christ were so united as to constitute only one nature without any change or confusion. The leaders of this were Mongus, bishop of Alexandria, and Peter, bishop of Antioch, who obtained the name of Fullo, from having carried on the business of a fuller in his monastic state. This man, who had usurped the see of Antioch, who was troublesome and contentious, and a warm opposer of the council of Chalcedon, was himself accused of endeavouring to introduce a new sect, whose distinguishing tenet was, *that the Godhead had suffered in and with Christ.* His followers were from this peculiar opinion styled Theopaschites.

The other party, which was supported by Mongus, being deprived of their leader by his submission, were on this account distinguished by the appellation of the Acephali, or Headless. This sect afterward branched out into three others, which were denominated Anthropomorphites, Barsanaphites, and Esaianites, who differed from each other only on account of some unintelligible subtleties, which are now deservedly consigned to oblivion.

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Cyril—Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria—Isidore—Theodorus Arnobius—Antiochus, bishop of Ptolemais—Asterius of Amasia—Peter of Ravenna—Gaudentius of Brescia—Severian of Gabala—Leo the Great—Gregentius—Evagrius—Basil—Philostorgius—Philip Sedetes—Evodius—Orosius—Syagrius—Gennadius—Voconius—Eucherius—Prosper—Diadoculos—Nilus—Maximus of Turin—Cassian—Palladius—Prosper, bishop of Nola—Sidonius—Apollinaris—Salvian—Spurious productions—Socrates—Sozomen—Theodoret—Publication of the Talmud.

It is not amid the gloomy shades of the fifth century that we must expect to discern the glorious light of science. Knowledge of every kind became obscured by monastic folly, and the incursions of the barbarians, who regarded no learning as necessary which did not increase their abilities for conquest or defence. The sun of science was not however entirely set, but shone with a faint and declining lustre. Philosophy was still professed and pretended to be taught in the great schools of the empire; but it was no longer that solid rational knowledge which strengthens and improves the mind, but a composition of absurdity, of subtle and complex sophistry, and of nice and fanciful distinctions.

The three most eminent writers who illumined the fourth century, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine, continued their labours in this, and were the principal opposers of the different heresies which from time to time arose; they are not however exempted from the charge of having substituted logical subtlety in the room of plain sense, and issued the decrees of men for the commandments of God.

Among the earliest writers of this century we find Cyril, who, in the year 412, by the assistance of a military force, obtained the bishopric of Alexandria. A commencement so tumultuous did not indicate a season of great tranquillity to the Church over which he presided; and

these presages were confirmed by the virulence with which he deprived the Novatians of their church, and their bishop of his property. This tyrannical spirit soon exerted itself in the assumption of new authority. The Christians of Alexandria, perfidiously drawn from their own houses in the night by an account that the principal church was on fire, were insulted by the Jews, and several of them were slain. In order to avenge this atrocious offence, Cyril took upon himself the office of the civil magistrate, plundered the Jews in return, both innocent and guilty, and exterminated them from the city.

Orestes, the governor, incensed at this interference, resolved to depress the assuming prelate, who, however, assisted by a body of five hundred monks, (*Socrates*, viii, 14,) repelled his attacks, assaulted him in his progress through the streets, and affected to worship, as a martyr, a sedulous monk who, upon this occasion, had been put to death by the governor, and was supposed to have been privy to the murder of the learned and accomplished Hypatia. This celebrated female, the daughter of Theon the mathematician, was initiated in her father's studies; her judicious comments elucidated the works of the most famous geometricians; and crowds of pupils resorted to her schools in Athens and Alexandria to be instructed in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. This female philosopher was accused or suspected of favouring the cause of Orestes, and preventing a reconciliation between him and Cyril. She became consequently obnoxious to the fury of the savage band of Nitrian monks, and was rudely torn from her chariot, and murdered with every circumstance of aggravated cruelty. The black accusation, that Cyril was not unconcerned in this infamous transaction, has by some writers been controverted; but as no ecclesiastical censure was passed upon it by the bishop, who was always sufficiently ready to fulminate the ecclesiastical thunder; and as the murderers of Hypatia were headed by one Peter, (*Socrates*, viii, 15,) a reader in the Alexandrian Church, there is too much reason for the belief, that, if Cyril was not the immediate instigator of this dreadful action, the death of an opponent, however effected, was not disagreeable to him.

The literary abilities of Cyril were far from excellent. Strongly attached to mysticism and allegory, he was a subtle and crafty disputant, but neither elegant, judicious, nor profound. His works (of which his books against Julian are the principal) are comprised in six folio volumes. His zeal against heterodoxy has atoned with many, not only for his imperfections as a writer, but for his faults as a man; and, notwithstanding his rancour, his ambition, and his accomplishing the ruin of Nestorius, by such lavish bribery as impoverished the Alexandrian Church, his zeal and superstition have effected his exaltation into the calendar of the saints.

Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, and celebrated for his opposition to Origenism and to Chrysostom, has been accused of every mean and perfidious artifice which disgraces and vilifies human nature. He appears, indeed, to have been one of the numberless scourges which continually afflicted the Alexandrian Church. The resentment of this prelate against some Nitrian monks, by whom he had been in several instances offended, induced him to command their immediate surrender of all the writings of Origen, to which they were strongly

attached. The common fate of absurd requisitions is contempt and disobedience; and the monks refused to comply. In consequence of this the arrogant prelate obtained, in the council of Alexandria, the condemnation of all the followers of Origen; and an armed force was despatched to disperse the monks of Nitria, who fled from their deserts, and despatched three of their body to plead their cause before the emperor, at Constantinople, where they were favourably received by Chrysostom, who, however disposed to the doctrines of Origen, might also not be averse to protect those who were persecuted by his ancient and implacable enemy. The proceedings of Theophilus against these monks, who were distinguished by the appellation of the *three tall brothers*, were declared calumnious by commissioners appointed by the emperor to investigate the dispute. The resentment of the bishop against the Byzantine patriarch knew no bounds; it was uniformly exerted throughout the life of the unfortunate prelate, and even manifested after his death, when his name, through the influence of Theophilus, was erased from the sacred diptychs, to which place it was not restored till after the decease of the Alexandrian prelate, and the lapse of several years. Few of the writings of Theophilus are now extant. While he governed the see of Alexandria, he ordained Synesius, a Platonic philosopher, and a disciple and panegyrist of the accomplished Hypatia, to the bishopric of Ptolemais. The sage, however, appears to have been so far from soliciting this honour, that he pleaded against its acceptance his Platonic opinions, as well as his being married to an amiable wife, whom he would neither repudiate nor visit clandestinely. These objections were, however, overruled by Theophilus; and the reluctant Synesius proved, both by his practice and his writings, a considerable ornament to the Church.

Isidore, a priest of Pelusium, at Damietta, an Egyptian city was, both by his manners and his writings, a severe censor of the corrupt manners of the ecclesiastics of the fifth century, and openly condemned the conduct of Cyril and Theophilus. His works consist of a considerable number of epistles, which abound in piety and erudition, and are composed upon select passages of Scripture, the doctrines of the Church, and the monastic state.

One of the most learned prelates of this century was Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, who has added to the character of a valuable writer that of an excellent man. After his decease his memory and his works were condemned on the charge of having imbibed the Pelagian and Nestorian opinions. His commentaries on Scripture, which were peculiarly judicious, are said to be still in the hands of the Nestorians, by whom they are greatly esteemed: the remainder of his works are either lost, or supposed to be extant only in the Syriac language, and in the hands of the Nestorians.

The number of learned men who employed their abilities in the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures was not so considerable as in the preceding centuries, though several still undertook the task of explaining particular parts and books of the Old and New Testament. Arnobius composed a very indifferent exposition of the Psalms; Pelagius wrote a commentary on St. Paul; Cyril, and Victor of Antioch, also composed some commentaries upon Scripture; and Gelasius,

bishop of Rome, earnestly endeavoured to distinguish the canonical from the apocryphal books.

Of the greater part of the writers of the fifth century little more can be necessary than to mention their names and works. Several sermons were published by Antiochus, bishop of Ptolemais. Asterius of Amasia, Peter of Ravenna, Gaudentius of Brescia, and Severian of Gabala, whose eloquence is said to have excited the jealousy of Chrysostom. Leo the Great, bishop of Rome, employed his abilities in efforts for the extension of his see, and in persecuting the Manichean, Pelagian, Nestorian, and Eutychian heretics; several of his letters and sermons still remain. Among the controversial writers we discover the names of Gregentius, Evagrius, and Basil, who defended Christianity against the Jews. The pagans were attacked by Philostorgius, Philip Sedetes, Evodius, Evagrius, and Orosius, a Spanish priest, who, at the request of Augustine, selected a catalogue of the most remarkable events, from the time of Jesus Christ, to prove that the calamities which afflicted the Roman empire could not, as the pagans supposed, result from their neglect of the worship of the gods.

The principal opposers of heresy, besides those already enumerated, were Syagrius, Gennadius, and Voconius. Lessons of morality were inculcated by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, Prosper, Diadoculos, and Evagrius, few of whose fragments have reached posterity; and by Nilus, the disciple of Chrysostom, who, after having been governor of Constantinople, renounced the world, and retired to the wilderness of Sinai. Several homilies of Basil, bishop of Seleucia, and of Maximus, bishop of Turin, still remain. Cassian composed several books of instruction for the monastic state, and some other performances; and Palladius composed lives of the monks, which he has styled *Historia Lausiaca*. Prosper, bishop of Nola, and Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, wrote several poems; and the learned, the charitable, but self-austere Salvian published four books on alms, addressed to the Catholic Church, and a treatise upon providence. A multitude of other authors of inferior celebrity may be seen in the catalogue of Gennadius, a priest of Marseilles, who has collected a very considerable number of the names of those ecclesiastical authors who either were his predecessors or contemporaries. Many spurious productions made their appearance during the fifth century, which were pretended to be the productions of the ancient fathers of the Church, and were exhibited to combat the doctrines which were to be overturned, or to support such as were to be established. Among these were the works which bear the name of Dionysius the Areopagite: they were first quoted in the conference between the Severians and the Catholics, which was held at Constantinople in the year 533.

The three great contemporary ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, flourished in this century; to whom may be added Philostorgius, who composed a history of the Church. The first of these authors received his education at Constantinople, and, after some time spent in study, professed the law, and pleaded at the bar, whence he obtained the appellation of Scholasticus, a name generally given to advocates. His history is written with accuracy and judgment, though deficient in elegance, and with much plainness and

simplicity of style.* As he entertained favourable opinions of the Novatians, he has been accused of having adopted their opinions, but without reason. (*Valesius, Vit. Socrates.*) It is probable that, as he was prudent and moderate, and a friend to civil and religious liberty, these liberal sentiments, in an uncharitable age, were the only grounds for the accusation of heterodoxy.

Hermias Sozomenus, who likewise flourished in the reign of the younger Theodosius, was also educated for the law: his extreme credulity respecting miracles excites the disgust of his readers, though his style is much superior to that of Socrates. From the great similarity between their respective performances there is some reason to believe that the one must have copied the other: if so, as the history of Socrates was first composed, Sozomen must have been the transcriber. (*Valesius, Vit. Soc.*)

The history of Theodoret appears to have been written posterior to these, and, in several instances, it has supplied their deficiencies. The talents and learning of this bishop appear to have been considerable, but his impartiality was not sufficient for an historian. The writings of Theodoret were not confined to ecclesiastical history; he wrote several discourses and commentaries upon Scripture, in which he abridged Chrysostom. He was dedicated, by his parents, to the service of the Church, even before his birth, and with the same view passed his youth in a monastery. In opposition to his own wishes, he was afterward ordained bishop of Cyre, and in this situation he boasted (and if true, in such an age, he might be permitted to boast,) that neither he nor any of his clergy had ever been at law, or had ever, by their conduct, deserved a prosecution; and that he himself had not only dispensed the ecclesiastical revenues in improving the city, but had dispensed his patrimony to the necessities of the poor. (*Theodor.*, ep. 31, et ep. 113, ad Leon.) His opinions relative to Cyril and the Nestorian controversy were so obnoxious to the prevailing party that, in that dispute, the emperor threatened to depose him from his see. This menace was not, however, executed; and during the time when he had the utmost reason to expect it, the fears of the amiable bishop must have been considerably soothed by the apprehensions of others for his safety, and the attachment which was manifested toward him by the people of his diocess. In the fifth general council, in the year 553, his writings concerning Nestorianism were vehemently condemned.

The close of this century or the beginning of the next, was remarkable by the publication of the Talmud. (*Basnage, Hist. des Juifs*, iii, 606.) This celebrated piece of Jewish literature, containing, as the rabbins pretend, the oral laws which God delivered to Moses, consists of two parts, each of which is divided into several books. The first part, *Mishna*, contains the text; the second is a kind of commentary upon that text, which is styled *Gemara*. This oral law or tradition of the Jews was collected after the destruction of the temple, in the year 150, by Rabbi Judah, and is preferred by that people even to the Scriptures. They suppose it was orally delivered by Moses to Israel, and unlawful to be written. When Jerusalem, however, was destroyed,

* The learned reader will easily perceive the obligation which the compiler of this history is under to the excellent and accurate Socrates.

they were constrained to write in order to preserve it; but wrote it in such a way that it could be understood by none but themselves. The Mishna and Gemara complete the two Talmuds; the first, that of Jerusalem, in 230; the second, that of Babylon, five hundred years after Christ. The Talmuds, however intended, confirm in reality the history of Jesus Christ. The existence and actions of a person of that name are recorded in that of Babylon; and many texts relative to the Messiah are confirmed and explained by these books.

THE SIXTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Evil effects of the decisions in the council of Chalcedon—Emperor Anastasius—Intrigues of the monks—Two of them appointed to the sees of Antioch and Constantinople—Tumults in Constantinople—Vitellianus marches to attack Constantinople—Deceived by Anastasius—Emperor Justin—Eutychians depressed—Justinian—Theodora—Riots between the factions—Condemnation of Origen—Of Theodore, Theodoret, Ibas, &c.—Opposition of the Roman pontiff Vigilius—General council at Constantinople—Vigilius banished—Retracts, and is recalled—Disputes whether one of the trinity had suffered—Whether the body of Christ was corruptible or not—Justin II. favours the Eutychians—Bishops of Rome claim universal supremacy—Contests for the succession to that see—Rivalship between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople—Mutual persecutions between the Arians and orthodox—Change of religion in barbarians—Title of Most Catholic King—England—Saxons converted by Augustine—Archbishopric of Canterbury founded—Spirit of the British clergy.

THE decisions of the council of Chalcedon, in the preceding century, had, as we before stated, increased instead of extinguished the fierce flame of ecclesiastical discord. Their effects, during the greater part of the sixth century, were not less destructive to the peace of the Christian world. Anastasius, the successor of Zeno, was a firm and strenuous supporter of the Henoticon, published by his predecessor; and the crime of being a Eutychian was generally laid to his charge. The successive patriarchs of Constantinople, who, from professing themselves the steady opponents, had become the zealous advocates of the Chalcedonian decrees, were, by the intrigues of an Egyptian monk, and the authority of the emperor, punished for their temerity by the deprivation of their sees. The imperial interference was, however, less favourable to the tranquillity of the empire than to the ambition of the insidious monk Severus, who obtained the episcopal throne of Antioch, while that of Constantinople was filled by Timothy, another of the same fraternity. The innovations which the Constantinopolitan prelate attempted to introduce into public worship were extremely obnoxious to his turbulent subjects. They rosè, furiously assaulted the Eutychian party, which was favoured by their bishop, and a tumult ensued between the orthodox and heretical factions, in which several lives were sacrificed. The inferior clergy and people of Antioch were involved in similar disturbances. Many anathemas against the Chalcedonian decrees were fulminated by the patriarch of Antioch; but his decisions were rejected and despised by several of the bishops within his own jurisdiction, who warmly refused to acknowledge the heterodox Severus as their lawful superior. These disturbances were augmented by the influence of Vitellianus, one of the emperor's generals, who avowedly patronized the cause of orthodoxy, (and of Macedonius, the deposed prelate of Constantinople,) and approached the imperial city at the

head of an army, which, though hastily levied, was formidable from its numbers and its chief. Vitellianus loudly threatened the deposition of the heretical emperor, if he dared to reject his propositions, which consisted in his consenting to the restoration of the banished bishops, and the convention of a fifth œcumenical council, again to consider the articles of faith. Anastasius at first refused to accede to the proposed terms; but, little prepared to oppose so formidable a body, after having seen himself deprived of the government of Mæsia and Thrace by his antagonist, he was compelled to promise a full compliance with his demands. But the faith of princes and politicians is almost proverbially insecure. The emperor had, by his artful assurances, induced his honest but less politic rival to disband and dismiss his turbulent army, and to retire to his government in Thrace; but no sooner had he obtained the accomplishment of these preliminary conditions than, in defiance of all the rules of equity and honour, of candour and humanity, he protected the Monophysite party, and treated his Catholic subjects with additional rancour and violence.

The death of Anastasius proved the dawn of a brighter day to the Catholic party. Justin, his successor, whose valour and address had exalted him from the humble station of a shepherd's boy to the possession of a throne, was little qualified to enter into the subtleties of theological and metaphysical disquisitions, since in fact he could neither write nor read, and his character, previous to his being invested with the purple, naturally leads us to believe that his acuteness and penetration had been directed rather to the improvement of the soldier than the divine. The cause of the council of Chalcedon was, however, immediately and vigorously espoused by the orthodox emperor, who insisted on the strict performance of all its decrees. Severus was deposed and exiled, the Catholic bishops obtained the restoration of their sees, and the sect of the Eutychians was persecuted and depressed.—The zeal of the emperor in the cause of orthodoxy was still farther manifested: the Arians appeared extremely obnoxious to him; and, by a public edict, he commanded them to be deprived of their churches throughout the whole extent of his dominions.

The decrees of synods and councils, and the deprivation of dignities, are insufficient at once to eradicate prejudices deeply rooted in the mind, and nourished to maturity by careful culture, and the invigorating sunshine of royal favour. The zeal of Justin, and the cares of Justinian, his associate and successor, were steadily but ineffectually employed in the extirpation of heresy. On the decease of Justin, his nephew was gratefully regarded by the Catholic party as the firm supporter of their cause. The retrospect of his religious sentiments afforded them the most glowing hopes of his future favour, and the certain establishment of what they regarded as religious truth. The first actions of his reign tended to realize these hopes. Speculations concerning the Divine nature, and theological discussions, were indeed the principal employment of Justinian; and the result was an absurd and cruel attempt to compel all his subjects to a perfect conformity of opinion with himself in all matters of religion, for which purpose severe edicts were issued against his heretical and infidel subjects. But religious factions invaded his palace, his bed, and his throne. His empress, Theodora, was an equally zealous and a more inflexible friend to the Eutychian

party than her husband to the Chalcedonians: and the subjects of the eastern empire, ranged under the banners of those great theological combatants, were alternately reviled and depressed. Nor was theirs a war merely of words; riots and tumults were continually excited by the contending parties; and the same factious spirit which had manifested its influence in the commencement of the century in the seditions of the circus, concerning the blue and green factions, in which innumerable lives were sacrificed, was now employed in directing anathemas against all who differed from whatever was considered to be the true faith, or in pursuing the inextricable labyrinth of theological disquisition.

The mysticism and obscurity of Origen were so congenial to the taste and spirit of the times, and particularly to the eastern monks, that all the decrees of councils, and all the anathemas of the clergy, were ineffectual in obstructing his doctrines. The private disgust of an individual procured from the emperor a public disapprobation of these opinions. Pelagius, the Romish nuncio, envious of the distinction shown by the emperor to Theodore, the bishop of Cesarea, a Eutychian, and a strenuous defender of Origenism, incited by his persuasions and artifices the zealous Justinian to condemn the doctrines of Origen, and to command them to be entirely suppressed. This decision was approved by the patriarch of Constantinople and the other bishops; and Theodore received, in this indirect but certain mode, a severe blow, which was soon after followed by a determination of the emperor to condemn the sect of the Acephali, which was favoured by the bishop of Cesarea. This design was however counteracted by the artifices of the empress, and by Theodore himself, who had been consulted on the most effectual methods which could be taken for their extirpation. The avowed opponent of the decrees of Chalcedon, in order to favour his own party, and to distress his adversaries, had the address to persuade the emperor that rescinding those passages in the edicts of the fourth general council, which had declared the orthodoxy of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyre, and Ibas of Edessa, and condemning their writings, which were peculiarly obnoxious to the Eutychians, would completely remove the objections of the Acephali, and unite them in entire communion with the Catholic Church. The censure of three persons of doubtful reputation was so small a consideration for the important acquisition of a number of orthodox believers, that Justinian readily consented to publish an edict in condemnation of these writings, which was celebrated by the name of the *Three Chapters*. This was followed by the convention of a council at Constantinople, in which the sentence of the Three Chapters was confirmed. In the acts of this council the utmost pains were employed by the members to preserve inviolate the dignity of the council of Chalcedon, by the denunciation of an anathema against all who contemned or refused to acknowledge its authority. But the propagation of edicts, which so evidently censured the decrees of the Chalcedonian council, was little correspondent to this apparent zeal; and the opprobrium thrown upon that assembly, and upon the memory of wise and respectable men who had died in communion with the Church, was warmly opposed by the western bishops, and by Vigilius, the pontiff of Rome. The contentious prelate soon afterward visited Constantinople, where,

either by the persuasive influence of royal entreaties, or the force of a temporary conviction, he was prevailed upon to acquiesce in the edict, and joined in the condemnation of the Three Chapters. His assent to these measures was however soon withdrawn. The refractory bishops of Africa immediately separated from his communion, and affected to consider him as an apostate from the faith. Wearied with this opposition, Vigilius retracted his censure of these celebrated works, and once more professed his firm adherence to the decisions of Chalcedon.

Destitute of real importance, as this controversy certainly was, it produced an uninterrupted succession of commotions and cabals. Justinian enforced his former decree by the promulgation of a new edict; and highly resented the wavering and contumacious conduct of Vigilius, who retired into the church of St. Peter, to screen himself from the effects of the emperor's resentment. Sacred as were the rights of sanctuary, such was the indignation of Justinian, that the pontiff would have been immediately torn from his asylum, had not the populace tumultuously interfered, and by their means the bishop escaped. Mutual recrimination and mutual resentment continued during a considerable period to exasperate the minds of the emperor and the refractory bishop. Tired with these repeated oppositions in a concern which he had so much at heart, Justinian convoked, in the year 533, a general council at Constantinople; at which Vigilius, though earnestly importuned by a deputation from the assembly, of three patriarchs, and a number of the most respectable bishops, refused to attend. During the deliberations of this assembly, Vigilius, in his letters to the emperor, severely censured their condemnation of Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas; and arrogantly attempted by his apostolical authority to prevent any decision contrary to his own. This had however no effect upon the council in which the versatility of the Roman bishop was exposed; the decrees of the four preceding general councils were fully acknowledged, and to those who had been already condemned in these conventions were not only added the names and writings of Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas, but anathemas were pronounced against all who should approve their errors. These decisions were warmly opposed by Vigilius, who by his obstinate resistance provoked the emperor to send him into banishment. His retreat from the busy world, which either afforded his passions an opportunity to subside, or else the operation of his natural versatility, produced another dereliction of the opinions to which he had so obstinately adhered; and again he publicly condemned the Three Chapters. His death soon succeeded his recall.

The religious speculations of the emperor were not confined to this troublesome controversy. He took an active part in that which was agitated concerning the question, whether it could with propriety be said that one of the trinity had suffered. The affirmative was asserted by the monks of Scythia, and favoured by Justinian, but was opposed by the monks of Constantinople. The bishop of Rome, at the request of the emperor, published a decree in favour of the Scythian monks, and asserted the propriety of saying that one of the trinity had suffered; since Jesus Christ, one of the persons in the glorious trinity, had suffered in the flesh. The opinions of the emperor were not, however, uniformly consonant to the faith of councils and the decrees of the fathers; and his Catholicism in the evening of his life was

obscured by a dark cloud. The tendency to religious disputation, so prevalent in all the subjects of the empire, was considerably increased by the approbation and example of the emperor; and numberless were the unprofitable and unimportant controversies which were continually in progress. Among these, a dispute had arisen whether the body of Christ, during his residence upon earth, was corruptible or incorruptible. The zealous emperor, who had so strenuously laboured for the orthodoxy of his subjects, and the extirpation of the pagans, Arians, with every other species of heretics, whether from the natural imbecility of age, the versatility of the human mind, the persuasions of the empress,* or the collected force of all these motives, professed himself a disciple of the incorruptibles, in the year 545. Thus, by publishing an edict declaratory of his belief, he at length enrolled his name among the heresiarchs. These disputes, which were sustained by the controversial spirit of the emperor, continued to flame out with greater or less violence during his reign; but, after his decease, gradually declined, and were soon extinguished.

The Eutychian party acquired a steady and zealous protector in Justin II., the nephew and successor of Justinian. From the discouragements and persecutions they had met with from former emperors, their numbers had, however, considerably declined; and their sect appeared to be rapidly expiring.

The claims to supremacy, which had for preceding centuries been asserted by the bishops of Rome, were at first faintly urged, and promoted by artful and almost imperceptible means. They now, however, insisted upon superiority, as a Divine right attached to their see, which had been founded by St. Peter; and this doctrine, which had appeared to influence the conduct of some of the Romish bishops of the preceding century, was no longer concealed, or cautiously promulgated, by those who possessed the see during the present period. But, however extensive their authority, the bishops of the ancient capital still remained, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, subject first to the jurisdiction of the Gothic kings, and, upon the retaking of Rome, to the Greek emperors; who, in imitation of their barbarian predecessors, claimed additional rights. Such, however, was the extensive influence of the papal intrigues, that there were few among the potentates of the western empire who were not, before the close of the succeeding century, subjected to the authority of the bishops of Rome.

A station so elevated, which lay open to the ambition of such numbers, who, lacking the advantages of birth, fortune, and even talents, could never have obtained any of the honourable offices of civil life, was eagerly contested for, and frequently obtained by fraud, chicanery, and the practice of whatever was the most opposite to the conduct of a genuine believer in the Gospel of Christ. During the progress of the sixth century the peace of the Romish Church was thrice invaded by

* The persuasives of a beautiful woman may perhaps have some weight, even with the most intrepid theologian; nor was Justinian insensible of female beauty. But the attractions of Theodora were not confined to her personal charms. When, in a popular tumult against the life of the emperor, he would have abandoned the city, and endeavoured to escape, with an intrepidity unusual to her sex, she persuaded the emperor rather to resign his life than his empire; and exclaimed, "that a kingdom was a glorious sepulchre."

the contests of rival pontiffs. Symmachus, a deacon of Rome, and Laurentius, who, upon the death of the bishop, Anastasius, had, by different parties, been elevated to the vacant see, continued for several years to assert their discordant pretensions. After repeated struggles, and the claim of a prior right, the party of Symmachus at length prevailed. They were materially assisted by the pen and abilities of Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, who descended to employ the most abject flattery in the behalf of Symmachus, whom he addressed not with the common adulatory terms appropriated to royalty, but in those which approached to divinity; asserted that he was *judge in the place of God, and vicegerent of the Most High.* The Church was again divided by the reciprocal claims of Boniface and Dioscorus: the premature death of the latter terminated, however, this clerical war. But the century did not close without another similar disturbance in this unhappy church. The intrigues of Vigilius procured a secret order from the Empress Theodora to Belisarius, who was then at Rome, for the deposition of the reigning bishop, Silverus, and the investiture of Vigilius in all the rights of the deposed prelate. The unhappy Silverus was, in consequence of this command, deprived of his dignities, and banished; but, upon the interference of Justinian, he returned to Italy, with the delusive expectation of regaining his rights. The good fortune, however, or the superior artifices of Vigilius once more prevailed; his antagonist was resigned to his power; and was confined by him in the islands of Pontus and Pandataria, where, in penury and affliction, he terminated his wretched existence. Whether the testimonials which were produced to clear Pelagius, the successor of Vigilius, from the crime of having been accessory to the death of this insolent, versatile, and ambitious prelate, were sufficient to prove his innocence to mankind, cannot easily be now ascertained. His judges, however, were satisfied; and posterity will perhaps not disapprove the appearance of that retributive justice which seems to have punished Vigilius by the operation of the very same passions which had produced the misery and death of his predecessor.

The advantages attendant upon the acquisition of such enormous power were alloyed by jealousies and apprehensions. The bishops of the Byzantine see, scarcely less arrogant and ambitious than their brethren of Rome, refused to acknowledge their pre-eminence, and laid claim to similar authority. The arrogant pretensions of these rival sees involved them in continual dissensions; which were prodigiously increased by the conduct of John the Faster, a prelate distinguished for his austerity; who, in a council held at Constantinople in the year 588, assumed the title of *œcumenical* or *universal bishop*; which had been conferred by Leo and Justinian upon the patriarch of Constantinople, though unaccompanied by any accessions of power. This appellation, which implied a pre-eminence difficult to be endured, was opposed by Pelagius the Second, who was then bishop of Rome; and earnestly contested by his successor, Gregory the Great, who asserted in lofty terms the rights of the Romish see to an entire supremacy over the whole Christian world.

The barbarian conquerors of the wes ern parts of the empire had, as was before observed, in general adopted the heretical opinions of Arius; and they continued with few exceptions, to be for some time

hostile to the Catholic faith. Thrasimund, king of the Vandals, more accomplished, but less tolerant, than many of his contemporary monarchs, offered the most liberal incentives to apostacy; and deprived the African Catholics of their churches, which he commanded to be shut up, and two hundred and twenty bishops to be banished to Sardinia, (*Ruinart*, pp. 570, 571,) where they languished in exile during fifteen years. Their restoration to peace and freedom, under his successor, Hilderic, proved only a prelude to that state of authority and consequence which they obtained from the conquest of Africa by the victorious Belisarius, the great and successful general, but latterly the unfortunate victim, of Justinian. The resumption of their pristine rights was not accompanied with the mild virtues of the primitive Christian. Still smarting from the severities they had recently experienced, they resolved to inflict equal punishments upon their persecutors; and the Arians were, in their turn, exposed to the sufferings they had inflicted upon the Catholics.

The decline of Arianism, in every part of the western empire, was accelerated by hasty steps. Clovis laboured to establish Christianity wherever he carried his victorious arms; and the Gauls, before the close of the sixth century, submitted to the government and to the religion of the Franks. By the natural vicissitudes of humour to which all monarchical governments must be exposed, the inhabitants of Italy were placed alternately under the dominion of an orthodox or an heretical monarch. Narses, the eunuch, the general of Justinian, and the rival of Belisarius, reduced the country under subjection to the empire; from which the whole, except the cities of Rome and Ravenna, was again dismembered, and governed by a succession of petty kings. The professors of the Gospel in Italy groaned for several years under the dominion of their pagan conquerors, by whom they were cruelly oppressed; but at length Christianity, according to the faith of Arius, was received and professed by Autharis, the third monarch of the Lombards. The faith of this ferocious people becoming gradually more refined and improved, Theodalinda, the relict of Autharis, was induced to profess the Nicene doctrines; and the Lombards gradually assumed, with their greater purity of faith, the more gentle virtues of Christians. The Visigoths of Spain continued their adherence to Arianism till the year 586; when, convinced by the powerful arguments, or influenced by the authority and example of their monarch, Recared, they abjured these errors, and entered within the pale of the Catholic Church. Recared was honoured, on his conversion to the orthodox faith, with the title of the *most Catholic king*. This monarch pleaded to his Arian clergy the testimony of earth and heaven in support of the orthodox cause. The earth had so far submitted to profess the Catholic creed that few of the Christian nations, except the Visigoths, continued to reject its truths; and the testimony of heaven was apparent from the miracles continually performed by the clergy of the Catholic Church. These arguments were supported by the example of the Suevi, their neighbours, who were settled in Gallicia, and who had previously rejected the Arian and adopted the Catholic creed.

Whatever regards a country which early prejudices and deeply-rooted attachments have accustomed us strongly to revere, is pecu-

liarly interesting and important to the human mind. England, which during this century was vanquished by the Saxons, at first experienced from her pagan conquerors a severe persecution. Toward the close of this century, however, Bertha, the believing wife of Ethelbert, one of the most considerable of the Anglo-Saxon princes, excited in her husband a favourable opinion of her own religious faith, which was greatly increased by the arrival of Augustine, the monk, who travelled on a mission into Britain, in the year 596. This monk, aided by the labours of his forty companions, whom Gregory the Great had associated with him in this mission, had the happiness to complete, in Ethelbert, the conversion which Bertha had begun. He preached, he persuaded, he threatened; and his labours were so successful that Christianity reared her triumphant fabric upon the ruins of paganism. Heathen temples were converted into Christian churches; Christchurch was formed into a cathedral; and this monk, whom Gregory had invested with full spiritual power over all the British and Saxon clergy, assumed the title of Archbishop of Canterbury. Upon his arrival in Britain, Augustine found the Christians of Britain attached to the tradition of the eastern Churches respecting the time of celebrating Easter, and differing also from the practices of the Church of Rome in the performance of some baptismal rites. This variation was warmly and haughtily condemned by the arrogant monk; but he found not in the British clergy a mean and dastardly submission to his imperious decrees. They refused even to acknowledge him as their archbishop, and would not be prevailed upon to exchange their ancient ceremonies. During six hundred years the Britannic Church never acknowledged any subjection to the power of the Romish prelates; and, for several ages after the mission of Augustine, were so far from conforming to the practices of that Church respecting the paschal controversy, that they observed Easter on a different day.

CHAPTER II.

OF GOVERNMENT, DOCTRINE, RITES, AND CEREMONIES, IN THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Evils of popular elections of the clergy—Bishop of Rome appointed by the Gothic princes—Different modes of appointing to clerical offices in different countries—In France—In Spain—Increase of superstition—Donations to monasteries, &c., to obtain the intercession of the saints—Riches of the Church of Rome—Purgatory—Pictures and images venerated—Increasing respect for the Virgin Mary—Celibacy of the clergy much insisted on—Absurdities concerning marriage—Spiritual kindred—Flagellation inflicted in certain female convents—St. Benedict and his order—Pillar monks—Simeon Stylites, jun.—Introduced into the west—Convents afford a refuge for literature—Conformity of liturgies to those of the metropolitan Churches—Roman missal composed by Gregory the Great—Increased veneration for the sacramental elements—Holy water—Tonsure of priests—Controversy concerning the form of the tonsure—Incredible absurdities respecting relics—Festival of the purification.

THE form of church government, which had been established during the two preceding centuries, received in this little or no alteration. By the laws of Justinian the inferior ranks of the people were totally

excluded from any share in the appointment of their ministers, the choice of whom was restricted to the optimates, or superior orders, and to the clergy. (*Justin. Novel.* cxxiii, c. 1.) The power, indeed, originally exercised by the people appears never to have so universally obtained that on certain occasions it could not be restrained or varied according to different situations and circumstances. (*Bingham Eccles. Antiq.* b. iv, c. 2.) While it continued to be exercised it was frequently so grossly abused, and produced such disturbances in the Church, as to afford a very reasonable pretext for withdrawing it. The evils of a popular election were, as was formerly stated, prevented at Rome after Italy was subjugated by the Gothic princes, who themselves appointed the bishop. In the different kingdoms of the western empire different modes were adopted for adjusting the appointments to clerical offices. A custom prevailed in France for the monarch to dispose of ecclesiastical appointments by sale. (*Fleury*, 354.) In Spain a new regulation for this effect was passed in the council of Barcelona, in the year 599, which ordained that when a bishopric was vacant two or three candidates should be chosen, and elected by the consent of the clergy and people, who should formally present them to the metropolitan and his assistant bishops. This assembly, having previously fasted, was to cast lots for the candidates, leaving the determination to Christ the Lord. (*Bing.*, b. iv, c. 1.) These regulations were far from being favourable to the interests of literature, or even of virtue. The Gothic princes appeared indeed desirous to nominate the worthiest candidate to the pontificate; but they were indifferent judges of learning, and not very likely to esteem in others those qualities which they did not possess themselves, and of which they could scarcely conceive the necessity. The sale of benefices was still more pernicious; and the method of choosing a spiritual guide by lot, even if fairly conducted, was injudicious.

More firmly rooted each succeeding year, the noxious plants of superstition continued to throw out a number of strong and vigorous branches, which were carefully encouraged and cultivated. They were indeed an unfailing source of profit to the corrupt ministers of the Church. The people were instructed that by their liberality to the clergy or to the monastery they conciliated the favour of Heaven, and obtained the intercession of departed saints. Some of the churches were possessed of very considerable estates; but that of Rome, according to Theodorus Lector, in the year 520, chose not to keep any immoveable possessions; and, if it was presented with such, immediately sold them, and the purchase money was divided into three parts, one of which was appropriated to the use of the Church, the second to the bishop, and the third in appointed portions to the inferior clergy. Where the revenues were thus divided, the power of the bishop must have been very considerable. Several councils, indeed, appointed persons to be associated with him in the distribution of ecclesiastical property; but even then the share which was allotted for the exigences of the Church would be distributed chiefly by his direction, and in such a manner as to extend his influence, if it was not appropriated to the indulgence of a baser passion. The property, which had been gradually acquiring by the clergy, had been considerably augmented by the laws of Constantine, (which encouraged bequests to the

Church,) and by an allowance from the public revenue. Constantine also instituted the Church successor to all martyrs or persecuted persons who died without heirs. Upon the demolition of the heathen temples, the buildings, statues, and revenues were sometimes presented to the clergy; and Honorius enacted that the property belonging to all heretics and conventicles should be appropriated to the same use.* The revenues of the Church continued to receive fresh augmentations from the zeal of Justinian, who confiscated to its use the estates and property of all the clergy or monks who forsook the Church or monastery to lead a secular life.

The corrupted doctrines of religion received, if no improvement, no very considerable alterations, in the sixth century. The torments of an intermediate state were indeed loudly insisted upon to the ignorant multitude at this time by the superstitious Gregory, whom the Romish Church has chosen to distinguish by the appellation of Great. This prelate is supposed, by some, to have laid the foundation of the modern doctrine of purgatory, which supposes a punishment to take place immediately after death, and previous to the station assigned as the eternal residence of the soul; but his opinions differed very little from those of Augustine, who preceded him near a century; and Gregory must be regarded as the promoter, not the instituter, of the doctrine. Various have been the opinions respecting the seat of purgatory. Volcanoes, or the ocean, the torments of conflicting elements, or the violent convulsions of hope and fear, have, by the profound explorers of Divine truth, been at different times assigned to the departed soul of man; and the ministers, who inflict punishment, have by some been believed to be angels, and by others demons. The wonderful efficacy of pictures and relics was loudly insisted upon; and the utmost reverence inculcated for the Virgin Mary, around whose head new honours were perpetually gathering. In the reign of Justinian it became common to join the Virgin Mary and the archangels Michael and Gabriel in solemn oaths. The esteem of celibacy so much increased that, though the Arian clergy of the western parts of the empire were in general married, the Latin bishops of the Catholic Church extended in some places the obligation of celibacy to sub-deacons. These regulations made it necessary to renew or enforce with vigour those laws which prohibited the clergy from entertaining in their houses any female who came not within the degrees of near consanguinity. From imposing restraints upon the marriages of the clergy, some marriages which had hitherto been regarded as lawful were discouraged and interdicted among the laity. In the reign of Justinian, in certain degrees of spiritual relationship persons were prohibited from contracting marriages with each other, particularly in that between a godfather and goddaughter, which was supposed to unite their souls in a divine manner, and to induce a paternal affection. Succeeding councils advanced upon these doctrines; and the canon law extended the relationship to the baptizer and baptized, the catechist and catechumen, and ingeniously discovered several degrees of spiritual kindred.

The primitive doctrines of the Gospel were so entirely obscured by superstition, and so imperfectly understood, that great numbers began to conceive that the profession of religion was all that was necessary

* An admirable expedient for promoting unanimity.

for acceptance with God. Provided they were enrolled among the sacred numbers who sought to procure heaven by the neglect of their duties on earth, or believed they performed a full expiation for the most atrocious offences by the infliction of voluntary personal punishment, or the institution of novel rites, or added pomp, in the worship of the monastery, they conceived their salvation most certainly attained Early in this century, Sigismund, king of Burgundy, who, at the instigation of his mother, had cruelly murdered his own son, attempted to appease the vengeance of the Supreme Being, by liberal donations to the monastery of St. Maurice, in Vallais, (which he had founded in honour of the celebrated Theban Legion,) by the institution of a full chorus of perpetual psalmody, and by an assiduous practice of the most austere devotions of the monks. Several new orders were instituted, and exact rules prescribed for their conduct. Cesarius, bishop of Arles, founded, in the year 507, a monastery for women, and distinguished himself among the number of those who composed regulations for the monastic life. In these, the offending nun, who was insensible to the milder punishments of reprimands, or a separation from the social and religious exercises of the society, was condemned to the severe discipline of flagellation, in which, however, the punishment was mercifully confined to forty stripes, save one.

Benedict, the founder of an order which through successive ages is still distinguished by his name, was a monk of Sublaquam, in the diocess of Tyber, where he erected in the adjacent wilderness twelve monasteries, each containing twelve monks; one of which, from a variety of causes, increased so much in splendour and reputation as to be not only exempted from episcopal power, but to hold fourteen villages under its peculiar jurisdiction. The rules prescribed by this monk, for the regulation of his disciples, were milder with respect to discipline, and more reasonable in their tendency, than those of any of his predecessors; and his order acquired a degree of reputation so favourable to its increase, that it nearly absorbed all the other monastic institutions of the western empire. Some of them indeed were distinguished by the different appellations of Cistercians, Grandimontenses, and several others; but twenty-three monastic orders have been traced to this source. From the newly-peopled wilderness of Sublaquam, Benedict departed to Mount Cassian, where he employed his time in the arrangement and perfecting of his rules, and where he died about the year 545.

To expatiate upon the extravagances and absurdities practised by the different orders of monks,—either in the gloomy cloisters of their convents, or in their dreary retreats in the deserts, or to recount the artifices practised by them in their commerce with the world,—would afford a detail little edifying or agreeable. Pillar monkery continued to seduce its votaries, not only in the east, where Simeon Stylites, junior, in imitation of his fanatical predecessor, lived sixty-eight years upon different pillars, but it extended to the west, which in general appears to have been more distinguished by the knavery than the fanaticism of its monastic disciples. Vulfilaic, however, a monk of Lombardy, ascended a pillar at Treves, where he endured the inclemencies of the winter; and with apparent reluctance obeyed the commands of the bishops, who represented to him that the cold climate of Germany

was not calculated for these devotional exertions. A number of the austere penitents, whose madness had probably occasioned their severities, and whose fanaticism in return heightened their mental imbecility, obtained a safe retreat from the world, in a hospital established in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, for the reception of those monks who, in rashly attempting to pursue the lives of hermits, had sustained a deprivation of reason, which they had afterward recovered.*

Degraded by superstition and ignorance, as the cloistered retreats certainly were, they however became almost the only refuge to which learning and philosophy could retire from the tumults of war and the desolations of barbarism. The founders of many orders had extorted from their followers a solemn obligation to employ a certain portion of their time in the daily study of those treatises of celestial wisdom which were deposited in the rich mines of ancient theology. An accumulation of absurdity would, in an ignorant age, be necessarily admitted at the same time: but this obligation occasioned the reception of a fund of genuine knowledge into these gloomy repositories; and perhaps prevented the very faculty of interchanging our ideas by writing, or of increasing our stores of knowledge by the perusal of books, from being once more sunk in oblivion.

That a zeal for discipline was not totally extinguished among all the members of the Christian Church appears from the frequency of particular councils for its enforcement during this century. The various abuses they endeavoured to rectify, and the restraints they attempted to impose, would, if no other monument existed, convince us that there were few crimes of which a minister of religion might not be supposed to be guilty. The arrogance and profligacy of the clergy have been already remarked; their hospitality may in some degree be conceived by a canon of the council of Maccon, in the year 585, which enacts that bishops shall not keep mastiffs to worry beggars. Toward the close of the preceding, or the commencement of the sixth century, the bishops, who had hitherto exercised the power of forming their own liturgies, agreed to conform to that of the metropolitan Church. The national liturgies, in the western empire, commenced upon its being divided into different kingdoms. In these liturgies different creeds were used, varying in expression, though agreeing in doctrine, previous to the formation of the Nicene creed. Creeds were not, for a considerable time, introduced into the daily worship of the Church. In the year 515, Timothy, the successor of Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, to demonstrate his detestation of his predecessor, whom he considered as an enemy to the Nicene faith, commanded the Nicene creed to be repeated every time Divine service was performed in the church. Previous to this time, it had only been recited on Maundy Thursday, when the bishop catechised those who were to be baptized at Easter; and was repeated at Antioch whenever the sacrament was administered. Gregory the Great composed the Roman mass, or missal, distinguished by his name, which at first was intended for the particular use of the Romish Church, but was afterward enlarged, improved, and admitted into other churches. Superstitious practices had crept even into the performances of the common devotions of the Church: and it was

* The loss, says Dr. Jortin, is not to be questioned; the recovery is more questionable.

ordered by Vigilius, that those who celebrated mass should always direct their faces toward the east.

The rite of baptism does not appear to have been administered with any variations from the forms of the preceding century; but material alterations in the celebration of the Lord's Supper took place during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, who introduced a number of ceremonies into almost every part of religious worship. Frequency of communion, from the superstitious opinions which prevailed respecting this rite, had abated by degrees: it appeared, indeed, in some places, in danger of being wholly laid aside. In a council at Arles, in the year 506, the laity were commanded to communicate three times annually, on the three great festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. A reverence for the sacramental elements was strongly insisted upon by the clergy; and as it was customary to consecrate a larger portion than was immediately necessary for the communicants, in order that it might be in readiness to be distributed to the sick, it was, in the year 567, enacted in the council at Tours, that it should no longer be deposited in a chest, but upon the altar, to excite the devotion of the people. The holy water, or a mixture of salt and water, which was made use of for sprinkling those who entered into or departed from the church, is first mentioned in an edict of Vigilius, in the year 538, but was probably introduced anterior to that period. The tonsure of the priests, among other ceremonial observances, was very generally enforced in this century, and became indeed an essential part of the ordination of the clergy. This practice occasioned in the Church nearly as violent disputes as those concerning the celebration of Easter. The question agitated was, whether the hair of the priest and monks should be shaven on the forepart of the head, from ear to ear, in the form of a semicircle; or on the top of the head, in the form of a circle, as an emblem of the crown of thorns worn by Jesus Christ. The sects usually shaved according to the former, and the Romish missionaries conformably to the latter practice; but the time when the custom was introduced is unknown. The early fathers of the Church had endeavoured, by their exhortations, to prevent the extremes of cutting the hair like the priests of Isis and Serapis, and that of wearing long hair in imitation of the luxurious manners of the barbarian soldiery. Their followers had, however, in this, as in many other instances, no reluctance to the imitation of foreign superstition; and that mark, which once distinguished the priests of the Egyptian deities, has since that period marked the heads of Christian prelates; and has obtained the name of the Roman tonsure.

Every superstitious practice of this period met with a steady and zealous patron in Gregory the Great, who encouraged the use of pictures and images in churches, and strongly insisted upon the efficacy of relics. Gregory refused, however, to transport any part of the body of St. Paul to Constantinople, since he asserted that this sacred relic was endued with powers so formidable that the temerity of those who dared to approach it was punished by their being seized with terror, or perhaps visited with a frightful apparition. He graciously sent to the empress, who had preferred this request, a portion of the filings of St. Paul's chain, to place in the church then building at Constantinople in honour of that apostle. The ingenuity of the relic-mongers favoured

them with a happy device for multiplying the virtues of relics, without a multiplication of the relics themselves. Instead of distributing the pious remains of a saint, they touched the body with a piece of cloth, called *brandeum*, which immediately received the wonderful power of healing diseases, and even sometimes of working still more extraordinary miracles. Some impious Greeks, having dared to doubt of the efficacy of such relics, were convinced of their infidelity, by Leo, bishop of Rome, who took a pair of scissors, and cut the sacred cloth, from which drops of blood are said to have immediately gushed out.

As pomp and splendour were affected in the performance of every religious rite, the churches vied with each other in magnificence. A curious altar was presented to the church of St. Sophia, by Justinian and Theodora, composed of every material which could be procured. Gold and silver, every kind of precious stone, wood, and metals, were blended together; and the table composed of this mass was adorned with an inscription, in which the royal donors solemnly made an offering of it to Christ, and entreated him, that they, together with the empire, might be preserved in the orthodox faith. Many festivals were, during this century, introduced into the Church, the most considerable of which was the feast of the purification of the blessed virgin. The lupercalia, or feast of Pan, which was constantly celebrated by the pagans, with burning tapers, was succeeded by the Christian festival of the purification. Like its predecessors, this feast was solemnized with a blaze of tapers; and was called candlemas, from the lights used on that occasion. The day of consecrating a church was also in many places observed as an anniversary festival.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Decay of several sects—Jacobites—Aphthartodocitæ—Severians—Agnœtæ—Theodosians—Tritheists—Philoponites, &c.—Damianists.

NATIONAL wars for the extension of dominion, and continual attempts to enforce obedience to spiritual authority, were circumstances little favourable to the tranquillity of the Christians, during the sixth century. Fewer sects, however, arose during this than at any preceding period; and some of those divisions which had most successfully assailed the peace of the Christian world were nearly terminated. Donatism breathed her expiring sighs; and the doctrines of Arius, which were so extensively embraced, were forsaken by an immense number of those by whom they were professed, and have ever since been confined to comparatively a very inconsiderable number of Christians. Eutychianism, favoured by the imperial smiles, was, however, revived from the languor and oblivion into which it had been visibly sinking. But it owed still more to the conduct of Jacob Baradæus. By his activity and eloquence this drooping sect was restored to life and vigour; its votaries were numberless; its different factions were reconciled; and its credit and authority were extended through Egypt, Abyssinia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. The newly-revived sect assumed the name of their new

chief: they are still distinguished by the appellation of Jacobites; and to this day constitute the bulk of those Christians who reside within the jurisdiction of the bishops of Antioch and Alexandria.

The doctrine concerning the incorruptibility of the body of Christ, though espoused by the emperor, was steadily opposed by the orthodox party, who bestowed upon their adversaries the names of Aphthartodocitæ, Phantasiasts, and Manicheans, from some real or fanciful resemblance to that sect. Among the most zealous of these defenders of the faith was Severus, bishop of Antioch, who asserted the corruptibility of the body of Christ. The adherents of Severus were, in consequence of this opinion, styled Corrupticolæ, Phthartolatræ, and Severians. Themistius, a deacon, and one of the Severian sect, pursuing still farther these frivolous speculations asserted that Jesus Christ, as man, might be ignorant of certain things. They who adopted this sentiment were distinguished by the name of Agnœtæ, or by that of their leader. The doctrines of Themistius were opposed by the Theodosians, the followers of the degraded patriarch of Alexandria.

The Eutychian controversy produced, toward the close of this century, a new sect, called the Tritheists. This sect, which taught that the Father, Son, and Spirit, were three coequal, distinct beings, who partook of one common, undivided nature, divided into the Philoponists, and Cononites, according to the names of their respective leaders, who agreed in the doctrine of the three persons in the Godhead, but differed in some opinions concerning the resurrection of the body. Peter Damian, the patriarch of Alexandria, in attacking their errors, proceeded too far on the other side, and incurred the charge of Sabellianism. The Damianists distinguished the Divine essence from the three persons, and denied that each person was God, when considered abstractedly from the other two; but asserted that there was a common Divinity, by the joint participation of which each person was God. The Tritheists, together with the other sects of the Eutychians, fell into that of the Jacobites, a denomination which is common to them all; although some, from the countries they inhabit, are distinguished by the names of Copts and Armenians.

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Decay of learning—Controversial and party writers appropriate the rewards which ought to be the portion only of useful learning and true genius—Ruin of Platonism—Succeeded by the philosophy of Aristotle—Boethius—Philoponus—Leontius of Neapolis—Isidore of Seville—John Scynthopolis—Leontius—Zachary of Mytilene—Facundus—Fulgentius—Maxentius—Eulogius—Theodore—Cassiodorus—Basil of Cilicia—Evagrius—Gregory of Tours—Gildas—Procopius—Agathias—Fortunatus—Arator—Orontius—Columbanus—Justus—Avitus—Primasius Victor of Capua—Procopius of Gaza—Cassiodorus—Gregory the Great—Justinian—Tribonian—Code, Pandects, and Institutes of Justinian.

IF, in traversing the obscure and mazy paths of superstition and ignorance, which distinguished this century, we take only a cursory view of surrounding objects, we shall probably be excused by our fellow-travellers, who will find few refreshing and cultivated shades to

invite their stay, few blooming and elegant productions to arrest their attention. The dreary night of ignorance began to gloom; and the road to truth, no longer pleasant and cheerful, was pursued through dismal and inextricable labyrinths.

The interests of real learning and philosophy are so necessarily connected with truth, that in an age when duplicity and falsehood were so generally employed in the propagation of all opinions, we cannot be surprised to observe the dominion of real science nearly destroyed. The liberal rewards and honours which were offered by the emperors for the encouragement of learning, were counteracted by their attachment to theological disputation, which naturally contracts the faculties of the human mind. Those bounties which should have been directed to the reward of ingenious exertions were conferred upon the subtle disputant, and the nice investigation of absurd and unmeaning terms. Nor were the schools erected under the jurisdiction of cathedrals and monasteries calculated for inculcating and disseminating knowledge, since their unskilful and illiterate teachers considered philosophy and literature as not only unnecessary, but pernicious.

The later Platonism, or that compound of Pythagorean, Platonic, and Chaldaic principles, which had been so popular among the pagan philosophers, received a severe blow from the exertions of Justinian against paganism, and his imposition of perpetual silence upon the Athenian schools. Seven philosophical teachers of the Grecian superstition, with grief and indignation, agreed to depart from the empire, and to seek in a foreign land the freedom which was denied in their native country. They had heard, and they credulously believed, that the republic of Plato was realized in the despotic government of Persia; but they were soon convinced of their mistake. The monarch, Chosroes, concealed the most savage dispositions under the disguise of philosophy; and they were extremely scandalized by the licentious practices of an eastern nation, so different from the Christians, whose doctrines they affected to despise, but whose precepts they could not but approve. They made a precipitate retreat, but they returned not to their former reputation: their numbers had declined, and their followers disappeared. They terminated their lives in peace and obscurity; and with them ended the long list of Grecian philosophers. To this sublime and ingenious, but in many respects fanciful system, that of Aristotle soon succeeded, which was introduced into the theological disputes; and, like its precursor, served to confound and perplex the reasonings of the Christian world.

Boethius, a senator of Rome, and an admirer of that wisdom which illuminated ancient Greece, was the most distinguished person who introduced the Aristotelian philosophy into the explanation of the doctrines of Christ. The abilities of Boethius gave celebrity to every opinion he embraced; and a few were disposed to dissent from the sentiments of the first philosopher, orator, and theologian of the sixth century. His misfortunes were not less remarkable than his literary abilities. Born to the possession of an ample fortune, and descended from one of the noblest families at Rome, Boethius prosecuted, in ease and independence, the most abstruse or the most elegant studies, and adorned all the duties of public and private life by his strict regard to

justice; by his eloquence, which was always exerted in the cause of humanity and innocence; and by his liberality to the distressed. Such conspicuous merit was felt and rewarded by the discerning Theodoric, who honoured this illustrious senator with the titles of consul and master of the offices; and afterward gratified his paternal ambition, by creating his two sons consuls at the same time, and at an early age. "Prosperous in his fame and fortunes, in his public honours and private alliances, in the cultivation of science, and the consciousness of virtue, Boethius might have been styled happy, if that precarious epithet could be safely applied before the last term of the life of man.

"A philosopher, liberal of his wealth and parsimonious of his time, might be insensible to the common allurements of ambition, the thirst of gold and employment: and some credit may be due to the asseveration of Boethius, that he had reluctantly obeyed the divine Plato, who enjoins every virtuous citizen to rescue the state from the usurpation of vice and ignorance. For the integrity of his public conduct he appeals to the memory of his country. He had always pitied, and often relieved, the distress of the provincials, whose fortunes were exhausted by public and private rapine; and Boethius alone had courage to oppose the tyranny of the barbarians, elated by conquest, excited by avarice, and, as he complains, encouraged by impunity. In these honourable contests, his spirit soared above the consideration of danger, and perhaps of prudence. The disciple of Plato might exaggerate the infirmities of nature and the imperfections of society; and the mildest form of a Gothic kingdom, even the weight of allegiance and gratitude, must be insupportable to the free spirit of a Roman patriot. But the favour and fidelity of Boethius declined in just proportion with the public happiness; and an unworthy colleague was imposed, to divide and control the power of the master of the offices. In the last gloomy season of Theodoric, he indignantly felt that he was a slave; but as his master had power only over his life, he stood, without arms and without fear, against the face of an angry barbarian, who had been provoked to believe that the safety of the senate was incompatible with his own. The senator Albinus was accused, and already convicted, of the presumption of *hoping*, as it was said, the liberty of Rome. 'If Albinus be criminal,' exclaimed the orator, 'the senate and myself are all guilty of the same crime. If we are innocent, Albinus is equally entitled to the protection of the laws.' These laws might not have punished the simple and barren wish of an unattainable blessing; but they would have shown less indulgence to the rash confession of Boethius, that, had he known of a conspiracy, the tyrant never should. The advocate of Albinus was soon involved in the danger, and perhaps the guilt of his client: their signature (which they denied as a forgery) was affixed to the original address, inviting the emperor to deliver Italy from the Goths; and three witnesses of honourable rank, perhaps of infamous reputation, attested the treasonable designs of the Roman patrician. Yet his innocence must be presumed, since he was deprived by Theodoric of the means of justification, and rigorously confined in the tower of Pavia; while the senate, at the distance of five hundred miles, pronounced a sentence of confiscation and death against the most illustrious of its members. At the command of the barbarians, the occult science of a philosopher was stigmatized with the

names of sacrilege and magic. A devout and dutiful attachment to the senate was condemned as criminal, by the trembling voices of the senators themselves; and their ingratitude deserved the wish or prediction of Boethius, that after him none should be found guilty of the same offence.

"While Boethius, oppressed with fetters, expected each moment the sentence or the stroke of death, he composed, in the tower of Pavia, the *Consolation of Philosophy;* a golden volume not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit, from the barbarism of the times, and the situation of the author. The celestial guide whom he had so long invoked at Rome and at Athens now condescended to illumine his dungeon, to revive his courage, and to pour into his wounds her salutary balm. She taught him to compare his long prosperity and his recent distress, and to conceive new hopes from the inconstancy of fortune. Reason had informed him of the precarious condition of her gifts; experience had satisfied him of their real value; he had enjoyed them without guilt; he might resign them without a sigh; and calmly disdain the impotent malice of his enemies, who had left him happiness, since they had left him virtue. From the earth, Boethius ascended to heaven, in search of the *supreme good;* explored the metaphysical labyrinth of chance and destiny, of prescience and free-will, of time and eternity; and attempted to reconcile the perfect attributes of the Deity with the apparent disorders of his moral and physical government. Such topics of consolation, so obvious, so vague, or so abstruse, are ineffectual to subdue the feelings of human nature. Yet the sense of misfortune may be diverted by the labour of thought; and the sage who could artfully combine in the same work the various riches of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, must already have possessed the intrepid calmness which he affected to seek. Suspense, one of the worst of evils, was at length determined by the ministers of death, who executed, and perhaps exceeded, the inhuman mandate of Theodoric. A strong cord was fastened round the head of Boethius, and forcibly tightened, till his eyes almost started from their sockets; and some mercy may be discovered in the milder torture of beating him with clubs till he expired. But his genius survived, to diffuse a ray of knowledge over the darkest ages of the Latin world: the writings of the philosopher were translated by the most glorious of the English kings; and the third emperor of the name of Otho removed to a more honourable tomb the bones of a Catholic saint, who, from his Arian persecutors, had acquired the honours of martyrdom, and the fame of miracles." (*Gibbon*, iv, p. 36.)

The crimes committed by this illustrious senator against the monarch of Rome were not confined to the treasonable wish of restoring the liberty of the people and the power of the senate; Boethius had written in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the trinity, and, in his zeal for religion, had attacked, not only the Nestorians and Eutychians, but even Arianism itself, though professed by Theodoric. A knowledge of all the arts and sciences was diffused by the indefatigable pen of Boethius. In the celebrated work, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, he has exhausted every topic of consolation which the philosophy of the Grecian schools could suggest; but has entirely omitted the firmer supports which are afforded by Christianity under the afflic-

tions of the present state. It has been conjectured, and probably the conjecture may be well founded, that Boethius intended to have perfected his treatise by the addition of a sixth book, on the topic of Christian consolations. As it is evidently transmitted in an imperfect state, it is not reasonable to suppose, from the omission, that Boethius was more sensible to the consolations of a philosopher than to those of a Christian, or was a firmer believer in the doctrines of Stoicism than in those of the Gospel.

The various controversies which engaged the attention of the Christian world produced a multitude of writers, more considerable indeed from their numbers than their abilities. The errors of the pagans were attacked by Philoponus, and those of the Jews by Leontius of Neapolis, and Isidore of Seville. The names of Anastasius, John Scynthopolis, Leontius, Zachary of Mytilene, Facundus, Gulgentius, Maxentius, and Eulogius, are distinguished among the controversial writers of this century. But the greater part of them, in detailing their own perplexed opinions, were little calculated to convert their readers; and must, by the substitution of rancour and vehemence in the place of argument and reason, have induced disgust rather than conviction.

Like the controversialists, the historical writers of this century are little distinguished for their excellence. A collection of the histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, was compiled by Theodore, who continued the historical accounts to the reign of the elder Justin. A compilation of the same materials was made by Cassiodorus, to which he added a short chronicle. Basil, of Cilicia, wrote also an ecclesiastical history, which was continued by Evagrius, but greatly corrupted by fabulous accounts. The annals of France, by the famous Gregory of Tours, are written in a style utterly devoid of simplicity and elegance; and his eight books of the lives of the saints are replete with weakness, superstition, and credulity; nor do the inconsistent accounts in the work *Concerning the Destruction of Britain*, by our countryman, Gildas, deserve a much higher character. Those historians who were the most deserving of attention were Procopius and Agathias, the former of whom accompanied Belisarius in the Italian and African wars; and acquired so considerable a share of reputation under the successive emperors that he was honoured with the office of quæstor, and with the important station of præfect of Constantinople. He composed two books concerning the Persian war, two books of the Vandalic, and four of the Gothic. In these performances, wherever he has occasion to mention Justinian or Theodora, he always speaks of them in the most honourable terms; and, in his account of the *edifices of Justinian*, extols the emperor for his devotion and liberality, his mildness and magnificence, and the empress for her piety and zeal. But the external professions of courtiers do not always accord with their real sentiments; and Procopius, if he be, as there is much reason to believe, the author of the Secret Anecdotes, has more than unsaid every thing he had advanced in favour of his benefactors, and has left a perpetual record of their dishonour and of his own duplicity. The historical accounts of Procopius terminated in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Justinian; but were continued by Agathias, who published his history in the year 593. Each of these

writers has been charged with paganism; and, however this accusation may have been controverted in favour of the former, against the latter it remains in full force. If the charge against both be true, they are distinguished by being the two last pagan historians who have written in Greek, and of whose works there are any considerable remains. Religious poetry was, during this century, cultivated for very different purposes: for that of giving popularity to the fabulous miracles of the saints; and in the more laudable view of endeavouring to embellish the truths of the Gospel. Fortunatus composed in verse the Life of St. Martin; and Arator made a poetical translation of the Acts of the Apostles. Among the other religious poets of this century were Orontius, who wrote a Warning to the Faithful; and Columbanus, the disciple of the British abbot, Congal, whose ardent zeal for monachism was attended with such success that his followers were dispersed through Ireland, Gaul, Germany, and Switzerland.

Were we to judge of the excellence of the commentators of this period by the number of their expositions, we should form an exalted idea of their value. But they were, with few exceptions, an ill-disciplined band, little calculated for the performance of important actions. Commentaries upon Scripture were composed by Justus, who wrote upon the Song of Solomon; by Avitus, upon the Apocalypse; by Primasius, upon the Epistle to the Romans; and by Victor, of Capua, who composed the Harmony of the Gospels. The most distinguished expositors of the sixth century were Procopius, of Gaza, upon the book of Isaiah; Cassiodorus, who commented upon the Psalms, the Canticles, and other parts of Scripture; and Gregory the Great, who expounded the book of Kings, and the Song of Solomon. To the merit of being a firm consubstantialist, Cassiodorus added those virtues which recommended him to the most exalted approbation of the Arian monarchs under whom he lived, who rewarded his distinguished excellence by the gift of some of the most considerable offices in their disposal. After the enjoyment of several public honours, Cassiodorus, at the advanced period of one hundred years, closed his life in a monastery, where, in tranquillity and retirement, he had long employed himself in the pursuits of literature, which were enlivened by his knowledge of philosophy and mechanics.

Gregory, whose birth, rank, advancement of the papal power, and whose literary abilities, acquired him, in this age of ignorance, the appellation of Great, was descended from an illustrious patrician family. His rank and abilities, at a very early age, procured him the office of præfect of Rome; but he relinquished all the pleasures and all the employments of a secular life, to devote himself to retirement in one of the monasteries which he had erected with his ample patrimony. His retreat was, however, distinguished by his reputed talents, and by the circumstances with which it was accompanied: and Gregory was soon summoned from his retirement, by his appointment as deacon of the Church, and his subsequent office of nuncio from the apostolic see to the Byzantine court. In this situation he boldly assumed, in the name of St. Peter, a tone of independent dignity which would have been criminal and dangerous in the most illustrious layman. He also engaged in a dispute with the patriarch of Constantinople, whether the bodies of the just, at the general resurrection, were to be really solid,

or thinner than air. He returned to Rome with increased reputation; and on the death of Pelagius II., for whose recovery he had distinguished himself by the frequency of his public intercessions, he was dragged from the cloister to the papal throne, by the unanimous voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people. He resisted, however, or appeared to resist this elevation, and secretly conveyed himself to the neighbouring woods and mountains. This retirement might perhaps afford leisure for the abatement of his dread of the pontifical dignity; or, as security naturally renders men fearless, he might become less cautious in concealing his retreat: however this may be, the abode of Gregory was discovered, as it was reported, by a celestial light; he was brought forth from his concealment, consecrated, and invested with the full possession of the Roman see. In this station, which he enjoyed more than thirteen years, his labours were invariably directed to what he conceived the benefit of religion, or to the aggrandizement of the Church of Rome. His inordinate ambition he endeavoured to conceal, perhaps from himself, under a mask of the most profound humility; and condemned, in his rival, the patriarch of Constantinople, the title of universal bishop, which he was too haughty to concede, and too feeble to assume; and which he contrasted and opposed, by styling himself *servus servorum Dei*, servant of the servants of God. Superstition received, in Gregory, a potent and zealous auxiliary; his attachment to relics, to ceremonies, to a splendid variety and change of sacerdotal garments, and to pomp in public worship, was extreme. Till the last days of his life, he officiated in the canon of the mass, which continued above three hours, and which was rendered more splendid by music, and by the introduction of solemn and pompous rites in its celebration. The liberality and moderation of the Roman bishop were very conspicuous in his behaviour toward the Jews who resided within the limits of his jurisdiction; but his pious hatred was strongly exerted against the Christian sectaries, who dared to question the validity of the doctrines of the Church. The numerous publications of Gregory rank him among the most voluminous authors of the sixth century: yet he decried human learning; and, with some justice perhaps, showed his dislike of those who must have contemned him, by committing the works of a number of classical writers to the flames, among which was the historian Livy. He is charged with having still further evinced his zeal against every species of pagan excellence, by the demolition of several valuable monuments of ancient magnificence, lest those who visited Rome might be induced to pay more attention to triumphal arches, and profane productions, than to sacred things. Gregory was a rigid disciplinarian, and loudly insisted upon the perfect celibacy of the clergy, which he took the utmost pains to ascertain. The judgment he has shown, in some instances, in his literary performances, is debased by the most excessive credulity and weakness; and his dialogues contain a multitude of absurd and ridiculous fables, which are dignified by the names of miracles, and the lives of the saints, and confirmed by the credulity or the craft of this pious pontiff, in order to advance the credit of his religion. Posterity has paid to the memory of Gregory a return of the same tribute which he liberally granted to the virtues of his own or the preceding generations; and, after his death, those celestial honours, which at all times have

been freely bestowed by the authority of the popes, were paid to Gregory the Great; who, however, is the last of that order whose name is inscribed in the calendar of saints.

Among the patrons and encouragers of literature during this century must be enumerated the Emperor Justinian, to whom several literary performances have been ascribed. At a very early period of his reign, this monarch projected a reformation of the Roman jurisprudence; and, in conjunction with nine others of the most celebrated professors of the civil law, the learned Tribonian at length accomplished this arduous, but necessary task, which Justinian had prescribed. The new *Code* was perfected in fourteen months, and honoured by the name and signature of the emperor. A more arduous operation still remained; to extract the spirit of jurisprudence from the decisions and conjectures, the questions and disputes, of the Roman civilians. Seventeen lawyers, with Tribonian at their head, composed from these materials the *Pandects*, which were accomplished in three years. To these were added, by the command of the emperor, and the diligence of the imperial delegates, the *Institutes*, which are divided into an elementary treatise, comprised in four books; and, like the Code and Pandects, to which they were designed as an introduction, are honoured with the name of the emperor. The Code made its appearance in the year 528, and the Institutes in 533, a month before the publication of the Pandects, which had however been previously compiled. In 534, the emperor published a more accurate edition of the Code, which he enriched with several of his own laws, and some decisions in the most intricate and difficult points of jurisprudence; and gave to this performance the title of *Novels*. In a rescript of Justinian, dated in the year 541, no mention is made of the consuls; and from this period the custom of counting years from the consulates, which had prevailed from the time of the Roman republic, entirely ceased; and the year of the reigning emperor was introduced, and continued to be used; though some years previous to this Dionysius Exiguus, in his Cyclus Paschalis, had introduced the mode of computation now generally used in the Christian world, from the birth of Christ.

THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Reigns of Justin, Tiberius, and Maurice—Phocas—Heraclius—Monothelite controversy—Vain attempts for reconciling theological differences—Constantine and Heracleon—Constans—Silence enjoined concerning theological speculations—Controversy continued, notwithstanding the imperial edict—Persecution of Pope Martin I.—Constantine Pogonatus—Sixth general council—Condemnation of the Monothelites—Attempt to raise a dead man as a proof in favour of Monothelism—Roman pontiffs—Boniface III.—Agatho—Pope's claim to infallibility—Controversies in the west—Inflexible rancour of the Jews—Conquest of Jerusalem by Chosroes—Generosity of Heraclius—Jews baptized—Persecution of the Jews in Spain—Laudable and tolerant spirit of the Spanish clergy—Conversion of pagan nations—Mohammed—His origin—Doctrines—Flight—Assumption of regal and sacerdotal power—Conquests—Causes of his success—Destruction of the Alexandrian Library—Vices of the clergy—Superior clergy whip the inferior ministers—Assume temporal power—Confusions at Rome, occasioned by the election of a pope—Destruction of the patriarchates of Alexandria, &c., by the Mussulmen.

THE reigns of Justin, Tiberius, and Maurice, the immediate successors of Justinian, were distinguished by a rare but happy calm in the ecclesiastical affairs of the east: nor did the imperial interference occasion any alteration during the reign of the ambitious Phocas, the murderer and successor of the amiable and unfortunate Maurice. On his ascension to the throne he made a solemn promise to the Byzantine patriarch to defend and to preserve inviolate the orthodox faith of the councils of Nice and Chalcedon; and in this solitary instance the perfidious prince was firm to his engagement: nor did he concern himself more with the doctrines than with the practice of religion. The enormities of his conduct soon deprived him of a sceptre which he so unworthily retained. Exasperated by injuries, the people of Constantinople were easily induced to forget their allegiance to a cruel and insidious prince; and Heraclius, the African prætor, had little difficulty in obtaining possession of the imperial throne.

The orthodox zeal of the new emperor did not permit him to be an indifferent spectator of religious affairs. He engaged with warmth in the nice decisions of theology; and his ardour for religion was rewarded by the gratitude of the people and clergy, who, in his war against the Persians, recruited his exhausted treasury with a considerable sum, derived from the sale of the magnificent gold and silver vessels which had been appropriated to the decoration or to the uses of the church. (*Gibbon*, vol. v, p. 510.) On his victorious return from the Persian war, Heraclius entered into the theological question, which for some years had been much agitated, concerning the existence of *two wills* in Christ. The orthodox belief consisted in his possessing the wills and operations peculiar both to his divinity and humanity. The doctrine of one will was, however, strongly insisted upon by many of the clergy,

and was adopted by the emperor, who conceived that the profession of a doctrine, certainly harmless, and possibly not quite without foundation, might reconcile the Jacobites of Egypt and Syria (whose opinions it approached) to the orthodox faith. Heraclius, therefore, indulged the laudable but impracticable design of effecting ecclesiastical union Zeal for religion might perhaps instigate him to this measure ; but probably policy had some share in a design which was intended to prevent the defection of numbers, who, like the Nestorians, might secede, not only from the Church, but from the empire.

Prompted by these motives, the imperial theologian, by the advice and concurrence of several of the Monophysite party, published an edict which asserted that after the union of the two natures in Jesus Christ there existed only one will and one operation. Athanasius, the Armenian bishop of the Monophysites, and Sergius, the Byzantine patriarch, who favoured that sect, had laboured to persuade the emperor that this declaration would induce the Monophysite party to receive the Chalcedonian decrees ; and, provided it were assented to by the orthodox, would terminate the controversy. Cyrus, bishop of Phasis, a zealous Monothelite, or asserter of one will in Christ, was promoted by the emperor to the vacant see of Alexandria, and confirmed the favourite opinion of his benefactor by the decrees of a provincial council. This perplexed doctrine, illustrated and modified according to the opinions or ingenuity of its different adherents, was explained by them in terms which admitted of such various significations that it was accepted by considerable numbers who were restored to communion with the Church.

But however acceptable this romantic project for the restoration of union, among a people who delighted in controversial disquisitions, might be to many, still, although it was supported by the efforts of Honorius, the Roman pontiff, and of the Byzantine patriarch, it met with a violent opposition, and occasioned contests not less pernicious to the tranquillity of the Church than those which it was designed to prevent.

The emperor and the heads of the eastern and western Churches were regarded as the betrayers of the orthodox faith ; and the heretical Monothelites, and the schismatical asserters of two wills, regarded each other with mutual distrust and implacable aversion. Disappointed in these endeavours for ecclesiastical harmony, Heraclius had recourse to another method, and published the Ecthesis, or Exposition of the Faith ; in which all controversies upon this subject were strictly prohibited. This exposition was the production of Sergius, bishop of Constantinople, and was approved by his successor, Pyrrhus, and several of the eastern bishops. But it met at Rome with a very different reception. On the decease of Honorius, the more orthodox Severian had obtained the pontificate, who continued warmly to condemn the Monothelite doctrine, and to oppose the Ecthesis ; and it was openly condemned in a council by his successor, John the Fourth, and by Theodore, who, in the year 642, succeeded to the papal see.

The short and tumultuous reigns of Constantine and Heracleon admitted not of the imperial interference in religious disputes ; they still continued, however, to disturb the peace of the Christian world ; and Constans had scarcely assumed the purple before he published

the Type, an edict of a similar nature to that of his grandfather Heraclius, which enjoined profound silence upon this long-disputed question. This proclamation might suppress, but could not extinguish, the heated passions of the theological disputants. Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem, had been among the most zealous opposers of Monothelism, and had condemned this heretical opinion in a provincial council. His labours in the cause of orthodoxy ended not with the subjugation of his see by the Saracens, in the year 636; he still continued, by his writings and example, to animate the clergy and the monks. They detected a latent heresy in the language, and even in the silence of the Greeks; they were joined by the Latin Churches; the obedience of Pope Honorius was retracted and censured; and the execrable heresy of the Monothelites, which was said to have revived the errors of Manes, Apollinaris, and Eutyches, was formally condemned. As the representative of the western Church, Pope Martin I., in his Lateran synod, anathematized the perfidious and guilty silence of the Greeks. One hundred and five bishops, chiefly the inhabitants of those parts of the western empire which remained in subjection to Constans, presumed to reprobate his execrable *Type*, no less than the impious *Ecthesis* of Heraclius. Such an insult could not pass with impunity. Martin was removed from Rome, and was afterward exiled to Naxos, a small island in the Archipelago; and his oracle, Maximus, a seditious monk, of the same party, was banished to Bizyca.

Whatever had been the perverseness and obstinacy of this pontiff and his associate, humanity must, notwithstanding, recoil at their sufferings. Martin was, after a series of expedients in order to escape punishment, taken prisoner by the exarch, Calliopas, and sent to his place of banishment. His voyage, which was imbittered by apprehension, captivity, disease, and insult, was succeeded by a year's imprisonment, in which he endured extraordinary hardships. Nor were his sufferings mitigated at the expiration of that period: on his return to the imperial court, he was exposed to the insults of the populace, by whom he was reviled and contemned as a rebel, and was confined in a common prison. After a captivity of more than three months, during which he was oppressed with a violent dysentery, and denied the comforts of suitable food, he was summoned before the senate; refused the indulgence of a seat, though from disease and weakness he was unable to stand; and was charged with treason against the state. His asseverations of innocence, and the powerful plea he exhibited of the impossibility of his committing the crime, were ineffectual. The unhappy pontiff was divested of his sacerdotal garments, loaded with chains, was ordered to be led through the city, preceded by the executioner bearing a drawn sword, and at length to be cut in pieces. Immediate death was not, however, inflicted upon the miserable Martin; he was thrown into successive prisons, and sent into banishment on the inhospitable shores of the Tauric Chersonesus; where a famine, and the inattention of his friends, who neglected, or who perhaps feared, to administer to his relief, added extreme penury to the overflowing cup of his sufferings, and he died amidst these calamities in 656. (*Bower's Hist. of Popes*, vol. iii, p. 55.)

Though the spirit of discord was, by these severe proceedings, in some degree repressed, it was not overcome. The bishops of Rome

successively adhering to the decrees of the Lateran council, and the example of Martin, continued in a state of separation from the Greek Church. In order to unite, and if possible to restore peace to the Church, the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, by the advice of Agatho, the Roman pontiff, convened at Constantinople a general council, which is called the sixth. This assembly commenced in November, 680; and, after eighteen meetings, terminated in the following September, after having confirmed the decrees of the Romish synods by the condemnation of the Monothelites, and of the deceased pontiff, Honorius. The emperor presided personally in this convention, and the arguments or the persuasions of the Duothelites were of sufficient efficacy to induce the son of Constans to relinquish his infant creed, while the example, or perhaps the influence, of the royal proselyte converted the Byzantine pontiff and a majority of bishops. The Monothelites, with their chief, Macarius, bishop of Antioch, were condemned to the temporal and spiritual pains of heresy. The eastern provinces condescended to accept the documents of the west: the creed which teaches that two wills, and two operations, were existent in Jesus Christ, was finally determined; and the articles of the Catholic faith irrevocably defined. During the debates of this synod, the aged and fanatical Polychronius was called upon to declare his faith; who proposed a more summary decision of the orthodox belief than the controversies of this assembly, by offering to restore to life the body of a dead man. Many of the judges in this cause were too well acquainted with the nature of modern miracles not to have some reason to be apprehensive of this mode of decision: they probably took care, however, that the body was actually dead; and consented to the trial. But in vain did Polychronius deposit his written confession of faith upon the body; in vain did he whisper, during several hours, into the ears of the deceased: the vital spark was totally extinguished; and the insane ecclesiastic, who, notwithstanding the failure of this proof, still persisted in the doctrine of one will and one operation in Christ, was degraded from his sacerdotal function, and anathematized by the clergy and people.

The state of religion in the western parts of the empire underwent few alterations during this century. Those claims to dominion and supremacy which at first were but faintly urged by the Roman pontiffs, were continually extending, and as continually successful: new titles, and even those which had occasioned the warmest opposition from the followers of St. Peter, when conferred upon their brethren of Constantinople, were eagerly sought for, and gratefully received by the bishops of Rome for themselves. The artful Boniface III., who had for some years resided as nuncio at the imperial court, did not disdain to insinuate himself into the good opinion of the infamous Phocas, nor to receive with gratitude the effects of his favour. The Romish patriarchs were permitted in future to assume the title of œcumenical or universal bishops: this title, however, was unaccompanied by any new powers, and only served to increase the animosity which invariably subsisted between the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople; the latter of whom saw with extreme uneasiness the deprivation of his own dignities and the accumulation of those which were possessed by his haughty rival. The title of pope, which in fact merely signifies the name of father, was equally bestowed upon the bishop of Rome and those who

possessed the other considerable sees; and Cyprian had been complimented with the title of pope of Carthage, by Cornelius, bishop of Rome. About the seventh century the prelates of the Roman see began, however, to appropriate this title to themselves. But the demands of ambition and vanity are insatiable: and the leaders of the Romish Church were so little contented with the honours they had already acquired, that Agatho laid claim to a privilege never yet enjoyed by man; and asserted that the Church at Rome never had erred, nor could err in any point, and that all its constitutions ought to be as implicitly received as if they had been delivered by the divine voice of St Peter. (*History of Popery*, vol. ii, p. 5.) These insolent pretensions to infallibility, when they were first asserted, were resisted by many bishops of the western churches, and by several princes. The Spanish monarchs, particularly, chose not to consider the Roman pontiff even as the head of the Church; but claimed nearly the same degree of supremacy over the churches in their dominions, which the kings of England since the reign of Henry VIII. have exercised over theirs.

The rage for religious disputation, which was so general in the eastern parts of the empire, extended, though in an inferior degree, its influence to the west. The Pelagian controversy was warmly agitated both in Gaul and Britain; and considerable numbers of the Lombards, uninfluenced by the example of the court, still continued their attachment to the doctrines of Arius. The sceptre, no longer swayed by the hands of a firm consubstantialist, was transferred to the valiant Rotharis, a zealous Arian. His regard to justice was not, however, in this instance, less conspicuous than in the other transactions of his reign: he forebore to compel his Catholic subjects to the violation of their consciences by an external profession of his own religious creed; but in all the cities of his dominions permitted the appointment of two bishops, an Arian, and a consubstantialist. The other barbarian princes continued in a firm adherence to the decrees of the council of Nice. They presided in the ecclesiastical councils, entered into every debate concerning faith or discipline, and their barbarian subjects were admitted to the performance of the sacred functions of religion.

The increase of Christianity was beheld by the Jews with the utmost rancour of which the human mind is susceptible; and this passion was continually augmented by the severe edicts which at various times had been promulgated against them by their Christian rulers. The wars between the Persians and the Roman emperor afforded them an opportunity for the gratification of their revenge. The conquest of Jerusalem was meditated and achieved by the zeal and avarice of Chosroes, who enlisted for this holy warfare an army of six and twenty thousand Jews: these saw with exultation the capture of the city; the flames bursting out from the stately churches of Helena and Constantine; the demolition of the sepulchre of Christ; and the precious relic of the cross conveyed, together with its sacred guardian, the Christian patriarch, into Persia. The massacre or captivity of ninety thousand Christians was the consequence of the conquest of Chosroes. Many of them were disposed of by the inhuman Persian to his Jewish adherents, and in their subjection to these masters endured evils which were poorly compensated by the gift of life. The victories of Heraclius restored them once more to the enjoyment of their rights; but his

conduct toward the Jews was marked by a spirit of revenge, unworthy of a conqueror who had generously set at liberty fifty thousand Persian captives.

These unhappy people were destined to experience the severe vengeance of the exasperated monarch; they were ignominiously banished from the seat of their fondest wishes, from the holy city; and the miserable captives were compelled to a punishment, the greatest that could be conceived, that of receiving the sacred rite of baptism in the Christian Church.

The unhappy situation of this people was considerably increased by the punishments which their factious and seditious conduct excited not only in the eastern but western parts of the empire. Their wealth, however, rather than their contumacy, or their attachment to the Mosaical rites, might occasion many of the evils for which their religion was the avowed pretext.

Sisebut, the Gothic monarch in Spain, suddenly attacked his Jewish subjects; compelled the timid to receive the sacrament of baptism, and confiscated the effects of the obstinate. The Spanish clergy had not, however, so far forgotten the benevolent doctrines of the Gospel as to regard this circumstance with approbation, or even with indifference. They openly opposed the cruelty and folly of these severe proceedings: in their provincial council they forbade the forcible imposition of the holy sacraments; but their superstition, and mistaken zeal for the honour of the Church, permitted them not to liberate from this most cruel slavery those who had been partakers of the initiatory rite of Christianity, and who had been, though by the most unworthy means, enrolled among the professors of the Gospel. They decreed that those who had already been baptized should still be constrained to the external profession of the Christian religion.

The decrees of this council were probably mollified by the influence of the president, Isidore, bishop of Seville, who dared to condemn the mode of conversion prescribed by the Gothic monarch. (*Chron. Goth.* p. 728.) The decree of the council of Toledo, in the year 633, was, however, less favourable to this persecuted people. A decree passed that the children of the Jews should be forcibly taken away from their parents, and placed in monasteries, or in the hands of religious persons, where they might be instructed in the principles of Christianity. (*Fleury, Hist. Ecc.* viii, p. 367.) Toward the close of this century a charge was exhibited against them which afforded a pretext for additional severity: they were accused of treason against the state; and in the council of Toledo their possessions were confiscated; their persons condemned to perpetual slavery to the Christians, who were earnestly exhorted not to tolerate them in the exercise of their religion; and their children were doomed to be taken from them, at the age of seven years, to be educated in the Christian faith, and to be afterward married to Christians. (*Fleury, Hist. Ecc.* ix, 125.)

The boundaries of Christianity were, in this century, still farther expanded by the assiduity of the Nestorians in the east, and the zeal of several monks in the west. Missionaries from the monastic orders of Britain, Scotland, and Ireland, travelled into Germany, with the design of propagating or preserving the knowledge of Christianity. The Frieslanders were converted; and the Picts in England, together with

the monarchs of the Saxon Heptarchy, acknowledged the truths of the Gospel. But Christianity received, at an early period of this century, a most fatal blow from the doctrines and conquests of Mahomet, or Mohammed, the archimpostor of the east. Descended from the most illustrious tribe of the Arabians, and from the most illustrious family of that tribe, Mohammed was, notwithstanding, reduced by the early death of his father to the poor inheritance of five camels and an Ethiopian maid-servant. In his twenty-fifth year he entered into the service of Cadijah, an opulent widow of Mecca, his native city. By selling her merchandise, in the countries of Syria, Egypt, and Palestine, Mohammed acquired a considerable part of that knowledge of the world which facilitated his imposture and his conquests: and at length the gratitude or affection of Cadijah restored him to the station of his ancestors, by bestowing upon him her hand and her fortune.

"According to the tradition of his companions," says Mr. Gibbon, "Mohammed was distinguished by the beauty of his person, an outward gift which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused. Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul, and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue. In the familiar offices of life, he scrupulously adhered to the grave and ceremonious politeness of his country; his respectful attention to the rich and powerful was dignified by his condescension and affability to the poorest citizens of Mecca: the frankness of his manner concealed the artifice of his views; and the habits of courtesy were imputed to personal friendship, or universal benevolence. His memory was capacious and retentive, his wit easy and social, his imagination sublime, his judgment clear, rapid, and decisive. He possessed the courage both of thought and action; and, although his designs might gradually expand with his success, the first idea which he entertained of his Divine mission bears the stamp of an original and superior genius. The son of Abdallah was educated in the bosom of the noblest race, in the use of the purest dialect of Arabia; and the fluency of his speech was corrected and enhanced by the practice of discreet and seasonable silence. With these powers Mohammed was an illiterate barbarian; his youth had never been instructed in the arts of reading and writing; the common ignorance exempted him from shame or reproach; but he was reduced to a narrow circle of existence, and deprived of those faithful mirrors which reflect to our mind the minds of sages and heroes. Yet the book of nature and of man was open to his view; and some fancy has been indulged in the political and philosophical observations which are ascribed to the Arabian *traveller*. He compares the nations and religions of the earth; discovers the weakness of the Persian and Roman monarchies; beholds, with pity and indignation, the degeneracy of the times; and resolves to unite, under one God and one king, the invincible spirit and primitive virtues of the Arabs. Our more accurate inquiry will suggest that, instead of visiting the courts, the camps, the temples of the east, the two journeys of Mohammed into Syria were confined to the fairs of Bosra and Damascus; that he was only thirteen years of

age when he accompanied the caravan of his uncle; and that his duty compelled him to return as soon as he had disposed of the merchandise of Cadijah. In these hasty and superficial excursions, the eye of genius might discern some objects invisible to his grosser companions; some seeds of knowledge might be cast upon a fruitful soil: but his ignorance of the Syriac language must have checked his curiosity; and it cannot be perceived, in the life or writings of Mohammed, that his prospect was far extended beyond the limits of the Arabian world. From every region of that solitary world, the pilgrims of Mecca were annually assembled, by the calls of devotion and commerce. In the free concourse of multitudes a simple citizen, in his native tongue, might study the political state and character of the tribes, the theory and practice of the Jews and Christians. Some useful strangers might be tempted, or forced, to implore the rites of hospitality: and the enemies of Mohammed have named the Jew, the Persian, and the Syrian monk, whom they accused of lending their secret aid to the composition of the Koran. Conversation enriches the understanding, but solitude is the school of genius; and the uniformity of a work denotes the hand of a single artist. From his earliest youth, Mohammed was addicted to religious contemplation: each year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew from the world, and from the arms of Cadijah: in the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca, he consulted the spirit of fraud or enthusiasm, whose abode was not in the heavens, but in the mind of the prophet. The faith which, under the name of *Islam*, he preached to his family and nation, is compounded of an eternal truth, and a necessary fiction: *That there is only one God, and that Mohammed is the apostle of God.*"

The doctrines of Mohammed were artfully adapted to the prejudices of the Jews, the several heresies of the eastern Church, and the pagan rites of the Arabs. To a large proportion of mankind they were rendered still more agreeable by the full permission of all sensual gratifications, which were not only allowed to the faithful believer in this world, but his share of enjoyment, as well as his capacity for it, were promised to be increased in the groves and fountains of paradise, where seventy-two houris, of resplendent beauty, were allotted to the embraces of the sincere, though most insignificant believer.

In order to prove that Jesus Christ was the prophet, not the Son of God, and endued only with powers a little superior to those of Moses, the impostor had recourse to the assertion that all texts to the contrary were interpolations in the sacred Scriptures, the validity of which, with these alterations, he fully allowed. In the retreats of Hera, Mohammed professed he had the felicity of communing with the angel Gabriel, who revealed to him those sentiments concerning the nature, the will, and the attributes of the Supreme Being, which compose the Koran. This system, which was slowly formed, and gradually promulgated, was at first probably inspired by fanaticism, and was afterward perfected by artifice. The first proselytes of Mohammed were his faithful wife Cadijah, his servant Zeid, his pupil Ali, and his friend Abubeker. His religion slowly advanced within the walls of his native city, Mecca, during ten years. In this situation, the prophet was surrounded by enemies jealous of the power of his family, and incensed at his pretensions; and his death, which was resolved upon by the

princes of Mecca, was only prevented by a nocturnal and precipitate flight to Medina; the memorable era of the Hegira, which happened in the 622d year of the Christian era, and still discriminates the lunar years of the Mohammedan nations.

The fame of Mohammed had preceded his flight; and the profession of *Islam* had already been acknowledged at Medina, where the prophet was received with the loyal and devout acclamations of five hundred of the citizens. From the time of his establishment at Medina, Mohammed assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal functions, and was invested with the prerogative of forming alliances, and of waging war. He urged the command of Heaven to propagate his religion by every possible means: thousands enlisted under his warlike banner, who were gratified with the distribution of the spoil, which was regulated by a Divine law; a fifth was reserved by the prophet for pious and charitable uses, and the remainder was shared in adequate portions by the soldiers. These rewards, the eternal recompenses of paradise, and the persuasive tenets of fate and predestination, induced the companions of Mohammed to face danger, and to meet undauntedly that death which they believed it impossible to shun.

Encouraged by the conquest of his own country, the victorious prophet carried his arms into the Roman territories, with invincible courage and astonishing success. In the sixty-third year of his age, the happiness of his faithful disciples was imbittered by the indisposition of their master, who believed himself poisoned through the revenge of a Jewish female; and, after a lingering disease, the prophet terminated his existence in the year 632. Of the issue of his twelve wives Fatima, the wife of Ali, alone remained; and the sceptre of Arabia was transferred from the family of Mohammed into the hands of Abubeker who assumed the title of caliph, a name which equally implies a spiritual and a temporal command. The successors of the prophet propagated his faith, and imitated his example; and such was the rapidity of their progress that, in the space of a century, Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, had submitted to the victorious arms of the Arabian and Saracen conquerors.

That the Christian subjects of those countries should submit to the dominion of these barbarians is not wonderful: they had little power to resist; and the forces of the empire, attacked in various places, could afford little opposition to the incursions of these powerful invaders.—But that their forced profession of the Mohammedan faith should soon become so generally acceptable to the professed believers in a Gospel of peace and purity, may excite more surprise. Let it, however, be remembered, that Christianity no longer retained the same form it had assumed in the primitive Church; the substance had been lost in pursuing the shadow. Weakened and divided by their absurd controversies, and no longer united by the virtues prescribed in the Gospel, the Christians of the seventh century became an easy prey to the victorious followers of Mohammed, whose tenets concerning the lawfulness of bloodshed, rapine, and violence, in the propagation of religion, could not be very obnoxious to the feelings of those who had viewed, without abhorrence, the same means employed in the propagation of opinions they had themselves approved. Adapted as the doctrines of the great eastern impostor were to the jarring sectaries, the warmest contenders

in Christian theology were among the foremost of the apostates. Unwilling to relinquish any abstruse nicety, or unreasonable scruple, for the peace of the Church, they surrendered the whole of their religion at the mandate of their barbarian conquerors; at least the whole which remained to them,—the profession and appellation of Christians.

The Nestorians and Monophysites, abhorred and detested by their orthodox brethren, were eagerly received and protected by the sagacious impostor; and repaid this service by bearing arms for the extension of his power over their oppressors.

Under the successors of Mohammed, the Christians, who were averse to his faith, suffered incredible hardships, and devastation and bloodshed marked the footsteps of the professors of the faith of Islam. In the victorious progress of Amrou, a Saracen general, Egypt was the fruit of his conquests; and a circumstance which arose after the capture of Alexandria is strongly expressive of the character of the first caliphs. Amrou had, in his leisure hours, amused and improved himself by the conversation of *John Philoponus*, a celebrated grammarian of that city, and a polite scholar. Philoponus earnestly besought his patron to gratify him with the present of the Alexandrian library; but the request of a favourite was not sufficient to make the victorious general forgetful of the obedience which was due to the caliph. The request was therefore preferred to Omar, who replied with the spirit of a fanatic, "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless, and deserve not to be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed." The sentence was executed with blind obedience; and such was the incredible number of the volumes, that, during six months, they supplied fuel for the baths, which contributed to the health and convenience of the populous capital of Egypt.

The heretical opinions of those who had asserted that Jesus Christ was possessed of only one will and one operation, proved so much more obnoxious to the members of the Church, convened at the third general council of Constantinople, than the increasing immoralities of the clergy, that the synod was dismissed, if not without any person adverting to the necessity of discipline, at least without having enacted a solitary canon for the regulation of clerical conduct.

The enormities which were, however, committed, demanded instant regulation; and several provincial conventions attempted to remedy the disorders which threatened the dissolution of Christianity itself. Almost every crime which disgraces humanity entered into the dark catalogue of clerical vices, which were augmented by the arrogance and cruelty of their conduct toward the inferior clergy. The council of Prague, in the year 675, passed a public censure upon those of the superior clergy who whipped, as slaves, the inferior ministers of the Church; or who compelled their deacons to perform the menial office of carrying the bishop upon their shoulders. (*Fleury*, viii, 680.) The authority exercised by the clergy extended as well to the superior as to the inferior classes of mankind; and the twelfth council of Toledo, in the year 681, presumed to release the subjects of Wamba from their allegiance to their sovereign. In vain did the deposed monarch endeavour to regain his kingdom, by the plea that the habit of a monk, with which he had been invested, had been put upon him, under the pretence

of his being a penitent, at a time when his disorder had rendered him insensible. But the two characters of a monk and a king were deemed incompatible by his haughty and arrogant judges. Ervige was declared to have a lawful claim to the allegiance of the people; and the unfortunate Wamba was prohibited from the exercise of temporal jurisdiction, which was not adapted to the situation of a king who was condemned to perform penance.

At a time when the manners of the ecclesiastics were so extremely corrupt, we can scarcely be surprised at any instance of atrocity. The Romish see was a prize worthy of the utmost ambition and avarice, and it was eagerly aspired after by various contenders. The intrigues of Peter and Theodore for the pontificate had scarcely ceased, by the appointment of Conon to that see, when the early death of the Romish patriarch afforded a new opportunity for contention between Theodore (who seized upon the Lateran palace) and Paschal. Each contender being elected by his own party, the magistracy and the people were obliged to interfere; in consequence of which, the election of Sergius to the unoccupied see destroyed the pretensions of the two competitors. The submission of Theodore soon followed; but his rival, the Archdeacon Paschal, was with great difficulty compelled to resign his pretension. An accusation of magic was, however, soon preferred against the turbulent priest, who was, in consequence of the charge, deposed from his station in the Church, and condemned to spend the remainder of his life in a monastery, forgotten, or remembered with abhorrence, by a credulous and superstitious people.

The patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, which had already suffered repeated defalcations of power, were during this century abolished by the conquests of the victorious Saracens. Nominal bishops* were indeed appointed to those sees, which had been subjected to the power of the Mussulmen: but toleration was not the virtue of the followers of Mohammed; and, however the Arabian caliphs might be disposed to favour those sects by whom their conquests had been originally advanced, the orthodox Christians were severely oppressed, and the prelates strictly prohibited from the exercise of the episcopal function in their diocesses.

CHAPTER II.

OF GOVERNMENT, DOCTRINE, RITES, AND CEREMONIES, IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Council assembled for the reformation of the clergy—Clergy permitted to retain their wives—Superstitious observance in the celebration of the Lord's Supper—Efficacy of masses asserted—Pilgrimages—Divination—Privileges of monks extended—Boniface IV. converts his house into a monastery—Licensed to perform every clerical function—Alteration in Nicene creed—Festival of the exaltation of the holy cross—Of the annunciation—Deposition and nativity of the blessed Virgin—Church of All Saints—Rights of sanctuary—Public penance.

In order to supply the omissions of the sixth general council, and to provide a remedy for the disorders of the clergy, another council was

* Called bishops *in partibus infidelium.*

convened at Constantinople, by the Emperor Justinian II., in the year 692. This convention obtained the name of the *Quinisext council*, from its being considered as a supplement to the two last general conventions; and the *council in Trulla*, from the synod being assembled in a chamber of the imperial palace, which was covered with a dome or cupola, and called *Trulla*. This council, among various regulations respecting discipline, was so favourable to the marriage of the clergy, as to decree that the separation of those of the clerical order, who were already married, from their wives was contrary to the command of Christ. It condemned the Saturday's fast, prohibited the representation of Christ under the symbol of a lamb, and raised the Byzantine patriarch to a rank equal with that of the pontiff of Rome. Several of the western churches refused to consider as valid the acts of a synod, which, while it confirmed the faith established by former councils, so strongly militated against their opinions and practices; and the Quinisext council has been branded, by the zeal of the Romish adherents, with the names of *an illegitimate council*, *a false synod*, *a convention of malignants*, *and a diabolical council*. (*Fleury*, ix. 110.) Its canons have, however, been always acknowledged and observed by the Greek Church.

The doctrines of religion underwent few alterations in this century; its superstitions were, however, generally received, and their authority confirmed by the sanction and approbation of the multitude. The different fathers of the western Church vied with each other in the invention of new superstitions; and appear to have believed, that, in order to distinguish themselves as the champions of the Church, it was necessary to refuse the aid of truth and reason in support of her cause. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which in the first ages of the Church had been received with the utmost plainness and simplicity, was now accompanied by various superstitious observances prescribed by the authority of councils. The council of Toledo, in the year 646, prohibited its being received after having eaten the smallest particle of food; and that of Trulla confirmed this decree, with the addition of a command to the receiver to take it stretching out his hands in the form of a cross. The superstitious opinions respecting the sacrament extended to the eucharistical wine, which, when mixed with ink, rendered the contract with which it was signed peculiarly sacred. The element, the type of that blood which was shed for the happiness of mankind, was made a vehicle for conveying the bitterest rancour and uncharitableness. When Theodore, the Roman pontiff, deposed and anathematized Pyrrhus, the Monothelite, (who, to conciliate his favour, had publicly abjured his errors, but afterward upon finding that the protection of that pope was rather an impediment to his restoration to the Byzantine see, from which he had been deposed, retracted what he had abjured,) the haughty bishop, calling for the sacred chalice, dipped his envenomed pen in the consecrated wine, and then subscribed his condemnation, which was attended with every superstitious ceremony that could fill the mind with terror and dismay.

The superstitions which increased the power and authority of the clerical order, were at the same time fruitful sources of wealth. The doctrine of the efficacy of masses repeated by ecclesiastics was strenuously urged; and such was their supposed virtue, that they were

thought capable of alleviating not only the pains, and refreshing the weariness of the sick, but of procuring the captive a temporary release from his bonds. (*Jortin, Ecc. Remarks*, vol. iv, p. 432.) The doctrine of pilgrimage afforded a profit not less considerable: such indeed were the benefits accruing from the visits of devout pilgrims to the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul, that the Romish missionaries exerted every art of persuasion to induce their proselytes to avail themselves of a practice which so materially lessened the difficulties they must encounter in the paths of salvation. The people, the priest, and the monarch, were equally infected with the most desperate superstition. When Heraclius had ravaged the Persian dominions, he opened the book of the Gospels, in order to be determined, by the first sentence which caught his eye, upon the choice of his winter quarters. Interest, however, which is a stronger principle than superstition, in the minds of most men, sometimes opposed its dictates. When, upon the return of Constantine Pogonatus from Sicily, a party of his subjects would have persuaded him to adopt his two brothers as partners in the empire, in imitation of the sacred trinity, the emperor was not sufficiently accessible to such a reason to agree to the request. He put to death the projectors of a scheme so absurd; and commanded the noses of his unfortunate brothers to be taken off, which occasioned a deformity that amounted to a perpetual exclusion of the unhappy sufferers from any share in the administration of the imperial affairs.

The progress of monastic power has been traced through the preceding centuries. Arising from an obscure original, its claims and its accessions, though great, were gradual; but though slow, were effectual. The privileges of the monastic orders were considerably extended in the council, (*Concil. Rom.* iii, *five Lateran. Conc.* v, p. 1608,) said to have been convened by Gregory the Great, in which the monks were permitted to elect their abbot either from their own society or that of any other monastery; and the bishops were prohibited from taking a monk from his cell, in order to introduce him into the clerical order, without the consent of his superior; and from interfering with the revenues of the monastery. Their power was completely established in the year 606, by Boniface IV., whose attachment to the monastic state was such as to induce him to convert his house at Rome into a monastery. This prelate granted to the monks authority to preach, to baptize, to hear confession and to absolve, and in fine to perform every clerical function. These regulations, which released the monks from their former allegiance to the bishops, occasioned, by the gratitude of that body, a considerable accession of power to the Roman see; and, by collecting into one channel the streams which had been extensively dispersed, made the difference between the powers of the Roman pontiff and the other bishops still more excessive.

The simple expressions which had been deemed sufficient, in the first ages of the Church, for declaring the assent of its members to the truths of Christianity, received considerable additions from the zealous attention of the fathers of the Church, to guard against the admission of heretics. In the fourth council of Toledo, in the year 633, the leaders of the Spanish churches asserted their belief that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. This opinion had been long maintained among the Greeks, and during this age was

introduced into the west: (*Jortin*, iv. 437:) but it was not till the ninth century that it was generally received in the Latin Church; when the word *Filioque*, expressing the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, was added to the creed.

Festivals on various occasions were added to the Christian rites during this century, among which the Virgin Mary appears to have been particularly distinguished. The feast of her annunciation was instituted, in the council of Constantinople, in the year 692; the remembrance of her death was commanded to be observed, and was denominated the deposition of the Virgin; and the feast of her nativity was established toward the close of this century. Few of the saints had indeed been forgotten in the distribution of celestial honours: but Boniface IV. obtained a grant of the pantheon at Rome; and, in order that no one might be neglected, he piously dedicated it to all the saints. The edifice, therefore, which among the pagans had served as a memorial of all the gods, was consecrated by the Christians to the remembrance of all their saints, and a festival to their honour was instituted in a succeeding century.

The rights of sanctuary, as we have already seen, were admitted at an early period into the Christian Church; and they were soon very liberally claimed by those who had violated the peace of society and refused to submit to its laws. Imperial edicts and clerical decrees were repeatedly issued to restrain the privileges of asylum to the perpetrators of lesser crimes, while those who had committed grosser offences were commanded to be surrendered up to justice. Under the pontificate of Boniface V. the licentious and profligate obtained farther immunities by one of his decrees, which ordained, that, whatever the offence of the criminal, none should dare to take him forcibly from his sanctuary in the church. This political measure, while it promoted a general spirit of depravity, became a considerable accession to the power and aggrandizement of the Church. It at length indeed extended almost to the annihilation of the civil authority, and demanded the exertions of the sovereigns of Europe to restrain it within decent limits.

The observance of public penance, an institution admirably calculated for the preservation of good order in the Church, had, as has been already stated, considerably declined. But the necessity and advantage of private confession and penance were earnestly inculcated by several of the fathers of the Church; and particularly by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, who for some time fully established this regulation in his church. Penitentiary discipline received considerable alterations and improvements from this prelate, who, from the canons of the Greek and Latin Churches, published a Penitential Office, which distinguished the degrees of atrocity in different sins, according to their nature and consequences, and appointed the penalties suitable to the various degrees of transgression. From England this book extended throughout the west; and became the model of various publications, similar in their nature, but in their execution far inferior.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Monothelites—Aginians—Chazinarians—Gnosimachi—Lampetians—Ercetæ—Paulicians—Their opinions—Persecution—Resistance.

THE history of the Monothelites was so closely interwoven with the general transactions of the seventh century, that little more can be necessary to be added concerning them. The orthodox belief, that Jesus Christ was possessed of the wills and operations peculiar both to his divinity and humanity, was first opposed by Theodore, bishop of Pharon, who contended that the humanity was so united to the divinity that, although it fully possessed its own faculties, yet its operations must be ascribed to the divinity. Cyrus, bishop of Phasis, adopted the opinions of Theodore; and the sect of which they were the leaders were termed Monothelites, from their affirming that the two natures in Christ were so constituted, that he possessed only one will and one operation, which they termed Theandric. Protected and nurtured by imperial approbation, the Monothelites became a very considerable sect. The decisions of the sixth general council at Constantinople, determined that their opinions were not consistent with the purity of the Christian faith; the Monothelites were formally condemned; and, though sometimes the objects of royal favour, were in general contemned and depressed. Thus persecuted, they retired to the neighbourhood of Mount Libanus, but in the twelfth century abjured their schismatical opinions, and were admitted into communion with the Romish Church. Our concern for the difficulties they sustained after their condemnation, cannot but be lessened by a consideration of the cruelties which in the day of their power they were tempted to commit against their orthodox brethren. The Abyssinian Church appears still to have retained the opinions of the Monothelites; and has continued to disown the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and the greater part of the doctrines of the Romish Church.

In an age of gross ignorance, and in which the spirit of inquiry was checked by ecclesiastical censures and imperial laws, few deviations from established opinions were likely to arise. The greater part of the sects of this period were indeed of small importance and short duration. Among the principal of them were the Aginians, who condemned matrimony, and the use of certain meats; the Chazinarians, who were adorers of the cross; the Gnosimachi, who opposed the tenets of Gnosticism; the Ercetæ, who affirmed that, in order to render prayer acceptable to God, it should be performed dancing; and the Lampetians, who asserted that man ought to perform no action against his free agency, whence all vows were undoubtedly unlawful: in all other respects this sect professed the doctrines of Arianism.

Whether we contemplate the importance, the duration, or the effects which they are believed to have produced, the Paulicians are undoubtedly the most considerable sect of the seventh century. According to the opinions of some celebrated writers, this sect derived its appellation from the attachment of its professors to the Apostle Paul. Their teachers represented the four disciples of the apostle of the Gentiles; the names of the apostolic churches were applied to the congregations

which they assembled; and the epistles of Paul, together with the gospels, were carefully investigated by the Paulicians, who contended that in these books was contained every article of primitive Christianity. They openly rejected the validity of the Old Testament, and the epistles of St. Peter: they disclaimed the visions which had been published by the oriental sects; condemned the doctrines of Manes, and complained of the injustice of being considered as his followers. Every object of superstition was despised and abhorred by these primitive reformers. Yet their doctrines were not exempted from absurdity: instead of confessing the human nature and substantial sufferings of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celestial body, which passed through the virgin, like water through a pipe; and with a fantastic crucifixion, that eluded the impotent malice of the Jews. Their unphilosophical creed extended also to the eternity of matter.

The teachers of this sect were only distinguished by their Scriptural names, by their zeal or knowledge, and by the austerity and simplicity of their lives. Their disciples were considerably multiplied, not only in Armenia, their original station, but in Pontus and Cappadocia. They were, however, soon involved in the horrors of persecution; and during the period of one hundred and fifty years their patience sustained whatever evils misguided zeal could inflict. Michael I. and Leo the Armenian, were foremost in the race of persecution; but the prize was obtained by the Empress Theodora, who restored the images to the oriental churches, and under whose reign one hundred thousand Paulicians (under which odious name it is probable several Iconoclasts were included) were extirpated. In conjunction with the Saracens, this persecuted sect resisted in arms the intolerant emperors of the east; and the son of Theodora fled before the heretics whom his mother had condemned to the flames. The insurgents penetrated into the heart of Asia, repeatedly overthrew the imperial troops, and for more than a century the Paulicians continued to defend their religion and liberty.

Inflexible in their opinions, and unconquerable either by imperial arms or arguments, the Paulicians continued to dissent both from the Greek and Latin Churches. In the beginning of the thirteenth century their primate resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed by his vicars the filial congregations of Italy and France. At the close of the seventeenth century, the sect still inhabited the valleys of Mount Hæmus, tormented by the Greek clergy, and greatly corrupted in their religious tenets. In the west, if indeed they penetrated into the west, the favour and success of the Paulicians must be imputed to the powerful though secret discontent which animated the most pious Christians against the Church of Rome. They are conceived by some to be the leaders of the venerable band who settled in the country of the Albigeois, in the southern provinces of France, who purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology, and became the intrepid opposers of every superstition and usurpation of the Church, and the glorious leaders of the Reformation.

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Decline of learning—Greeks fond of intricate theological questions—Timotheus—Anastasius—Philoponus—Conon—Eusebius—Nicias—Julian Pomerius—Thomas, bishop of Heraclea—Paterius—Hesychius—Isidore—General ignorance of ethics—Antiochus—Leontius—John Moschus—Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury—Tayon, bishop of Saragossa—Ildefonsus—Maximus—John the monk—Adhelm, abbot of Malmsbury—George Pisides.

FROM the increasing ignorance of that body of men, to whom literature, in the ages which preceded and which succeeded this period of barbarism, has been indebted for the most important services, it may naturally be inferred that the cause of learning must necessarily decline; and that, among a people immersed in superstition and ignorance, few good writers would be found. Few, indeed, were they in number, and small and confined were the labours of that few. True philosophy, which had gradually receded, now disappeared, and scarcely left a trace by which her footsteps upon earth could be discerned. Logical distinctions and subtle sophisms usurped her place, and were applied to the investigation of every difficult point, which, if they found not already sufficiently obscure, they enveloped in a cloud, through which the most discerning eye could scarcely penetrate.

The taste for investigating difficult theological questions was much more prevalent among the Greeks than the Latins; and we consequently find many more controversial writers in the eastern empire. Timotheus, in a work concerning the reception of heretics, attacked the various heresies which divided the Church. Particular errors in doctrine were assailed by various writers. The Monothelites by Maximus, and his disciple Anastasius. Paganism was assaulted by Philoponus, the grammarian, of Alexandria, and chief of the sect of the Tritheists, in a discourse concerning idols, which was intended to refute the assertions of the philosopher Jamblichus; but his zeal against paganism was not sufficient to screen him from the imputation of maintaining heretical opinions himself. Conon and Eusebius, his two disciples, attacked his opinion of the three natures in God: and Nicias, who had exerted his abilities against the enemies of Christianity, refuted several of the erroneous opinions of Philoponus; and composed a discourse against the heretic Severus, one of the leaders of the sect of the Corruptícolæ. Julian Pomerius, who had attempted, but unsuccessfully, the explanation of some difficult passages in the sacred writings, obtained some applause by his arguments against the Jews.

Very few of the writers of this century attempted to elucidate and explain the Holy Scriptures. Collections were indeed made from the writings of former ages, and particularly from those of Augustine and Gregory the Great. Thomas, bishop of Heraclea, composed a second Syriac version of all the books of the New Testament. Paterius published an exposition both of the Old Testament and the New. Hesychius, priest of Jerusalem, wrote some commentaries upon the book of Leviticus, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. The zealous Maximus, whose labours in the Church were not confined to the discussion of any one matter respecting religion, published a solution of several questions relating to the sacred Scriptures. But it is not among the writers

of this century that we are to expect either sound argument or clear expression. Isidore, bishop of Seville, composed some commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures, and wrote an Abridgment of the Arts and Sciences; some treatises of grammar and philosophy; several moral discourses, and other literary works. This illustrious prelate, who derived his origin from Theodoric, king of Italy, presided near forty years over the Church of Seville, and was one of the few characters of the seventh century who did not conceive the knowledge of human learning to be incompatible with the practice of religion.

If, in contemplating the annals of this period, we are compelled to observe the gross deviations from rectitude in the conduct of mankind; a perusal of the moral writers of this century will convince us that, if the science of ethics was not practised, it was scarcely understood. Superstition had sapped the foundations of moral knowledge; and the venerable fabric, instead of being supported by those whose interest and duty were concerned in its preservation, was in several places secretly undermined, and its ruin nearly completed, by the practice of those fanatical vagaries, which were esteemed a full compensation for the neglect of the great duties of life. A pandect of the Holy Scriptures, upon the duties of Christians, was published by Antiochus, a monk of Palestine. The mystical morality of Maximus, that of Hesychius, and of the few other moral writers of this century, was little calculated to promote the interests of genuine virtue.

The historical writers of this period are not entitled to a very exalted eulogium. The lives of the saints, a favourite species of composition in this superstitious age, were degraded by absurdity, and an endless train of wonders and miracles. Leontius, bishop of Cyprus, composed the memoirs of John the Almoner, bishop of Alexandria, whose virtues were entitled to the affection and applause of his contemporaries. George, the successor of John in the Alexandrian see, wrote a life of Chrysostom, which is, unhappily, distinguished only by its falsehood. It yields, however, in absurdity, to *The Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschus, a priest and monk, which contains a relation of the actions and miracles of the hermits of different countries; and details not only the contests which were endured by these men with the world and the flesh, but their conversations with evil spirits, their conflicts with demons, and their victories over whole legions of the powers of darkness.

The celebrated Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, has been already noticed. This eminent ecclesiastic was a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia, and was appointed by the pontiff Vitalianus to the see of Canterbury; but was obliged to defer his consecration for three months after his arrival in England, on account of his head being shaven in the manner of the eastern monks. The Romish see acquired a powerful advocate in Theodore, who adopted the rites and ceremonies of that church; and extended the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury, by the concurrence of the Saxon kings, over all England. Before his death, he had the additional satisfaction of seeing the Scottish Church united to the Roman see, adopting all her ceremonies, and acknowledging the authority of his own metropolitan church. His Penitentiary is the only celebrated part of his literary labours.

The writers on theological subjects were little, if at all, superior to their contemporaries in the other branches of literature. A body of

divinity, extracted from the works of Gregory and Augustine, was composed by Tayon, bishop of Saragossa; and the doctrines of theology, derived from the same source, were brought together by several other writers, in a similar manner. The best epitome of divinity, collected in this century, was that by Ildefonsus, bishop of Toledo, a prelate distinguished for his erudition and abilities; who composed, besides his sermons, a work upon ecclesiastical writers, and some letters. Maximus, a warm and vehement opponent of the Monothelites, who had tinged his pen with the gall of controversy, and was a commentator, and a writer of morality, drew up also, though by no means in a masterly style, a work concerning the nature of theology. This monk, whose active and vindictive temper suffered him not to remain an idle spectator of the controversial affairs of this period, and whose talents raised him to the highest station among the Greek authors of this century, was descended from a noble family at Constantinople, where he enjoyed the post of secretary of state to the Emperor Heraclius. Hence he retired to the monastery of Chrysopolis, of which he became the abbot; but the apprehensions of the incursions of the barbarians, and the erroneous opinions propagated at Constantinople, compelled him to retire into the west; and he settled in Africa. Internal tranquillity was not, however, his object in this retreat. He fulminated his denunciations against the heresy of the Monothelites; and excited the African bishops, and the pontiff of Rome, to declare their detestation of those heretics, and of the Type of the Emperor Constans. Maximus was followed in his retreat by the Monothelite Pyrrhus, who had been compelled by Constans to abandon the Byzantine see. Here the angry combatants again entered the lists of controversy; and the opinions of one will, or of two wills, in Christ, were espoused by their numerous respective adherents. The African bishops, alarmed at a contention which disturbed the tranquillity of their church, applied to the governor to summon Pyrrhus and his opponent to a public discussion of their opinions. They met in the presence of the governor, the bishops, and the assembled nobility. Each of the contending parties offered his reasons; and every sophism, every subtlety, that ingenuity could devise, were exerted in the debate; at the close of which the politic Pyrrhus, who required the protection of the bishop of Rome, affected to be converted by the arguments of his opponent; and, though he afterward retracted his confession, abjured, first in Africa, and afterward at Rome, the heretical doctrine of one will. The attempt of the Byzantine monk to oppose the celebrated decree of Constans was not, however, equally successful. He was forcibly conveyed back to Constantinople, by the commands of the emperor; whence he was banished to Byzica, a small village in Thrace. Again he was recalled to the imperial court: but banishment had not subdued his spirit; and again his contumacy, or his zeal for the truth, was punished by his being publicly scourged through the twelve districts of the city, and by the cruel deprivation of his tongue and his right hand. His disciple, Anastasius, participated in the guilt and the sufferings of his friend. Thus mutilated, the unhappy Maximus was not permitted the sad privilege of undisturbed sorrow; he was imprisoned in a strong castle, where he closed a life spent in the most active exertions in what he, probably, considered the cause of the Church.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Justinian II.—His licentiousness and cruelty—Philippicus—Professes Monothelism—Breaks down the images—Anastasius—Leo the Isaurian—Iconoclastic controversy renewed—Violent commotions—Constantine Copronymus—Council of Constantinople—Leo III.—Irene—Her vices—Dethrones and murders her son—Council of Nice—Idolatry re-established—Incursions of the Saracens—Conquer Spain, &c.—Increase of the papal authority—Alliance with the Carlovingian family—Unjust deposition of Childeric—Charlemagne—His ambition—Declared emperor of the west—Image worship not allowed by the French clergy—Dissensions between the Greek and Latin Churches concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost—Other causes of dissension—Character of Charlemagne.

THE interference of the emperors in matters of religion had, as was formerly observed, occasioned violent commotions in the empire and the Church. Under Justinian II., who reigned at the beginning of this century, they were not destined to experience greater tranquillity from the profligacy and wickedness of the emperor, than they had formerly derived from the absurd attempts of his predecessors to compose religious differences. Justinian was, both in principle and practice, inimical to virtue, and consequently to the happiness of his subjects; and, without intermeddling in theological disputes, he contrived to harass and distress the Church. The destruction of buildings dedicated to religion will always, in some degree, be repugnant to the feelings of a virtuous mind; and, in a superstitious age, the demolition of a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, for the erection of a banqueting house, was an offence which was calculated to excite the most violent detestation against the emperor. Nor was this the only instance in which he consulted the gratification of his passions at the expense of the clergy. In revenge for the attachment of the patriarch Callinicius to his rival Leontius, he caused the eyes of that prelate to be put out; and, in addition to this inhuman punishment, banished the unhappy patriarch to Rome, where he had the mortification of depending, for a precarious subsistence, upon the Roman pontiff, whose authority he had always opposed and contemned.

Philippicus, his successor, resumed the imperial exertions for the extinction of erroneous opinions. The heterodox cause of Monothelism reared her dejected head under this emperor, who was a zealous adherent to the opinions of that sect; and whose example and influence promoted their interests among persons of the most exalted rank and dignity. His zeal for Monothelism was demonstrated by every insult which could be shown to whatever had opposed the establishment of his favourite opinion. He convened a synod, which was easily induced to condemn the sixth general council; and the picture of this assembly, which had reprobated his darling prejudices, was indignantly

torn from the walls of the great church of St. Sophia, and demolished by the command of the emperor, and the consent of the obsequious patriarch. This measure, the first that was adopted in a contest which rent asunder the peace of the Church during the remainder of this century, was followed by an order, transmitted to the Roman pontiff, for the demolition of all pictures or images which adorned the walls of the churches. But the haughty Constantine received not these commands with submission, nor consented to obey them. He opposed, by a formal protest, the imperial edict; and demonstrated his contempt of the order, by immediately placing pictures of the sixth general council against the walls of St. Peter's church: and, in a synod which he convened at Rome, he not only condemned the conduct of Philippicus in this instance, but excommunicated him as a heretic; pronounced him unworthy of the empire, and authorized and exhorted his subjects to revolt. Whoever regards the measures taken by either party as altogether the effect of religious principle, will probably be mistaken.—Philippicus might have suffered the offending picture to decorate the walls of the great church, had it not perpetuated and aggravated the remembrance of a council which had anathematized opinions that had met with his approbation; and Constantine would perhaps have submitted to the edict of the emperor, had he not wished for an opportunity of discarding the authority of the Byzantine court, and asserting the independence of the Roman see.

The punishment which was justly incurred by this contumelious and arrogant behaviour of the Roman pontiff, was prevented by the violent and sudden death of Philippicus. His successor, Anastasius, a man of learning, and a zealous Catholic, was little disposed to resent the indignities offered by the Roman pontiff. In the short period of his reign he endeavoured to repair the breaches which had been made in the peace of the Church: but he was soon compelled to resign the imperial diadem; and assumed the habit of a monk, in order to preserve his life.

Leo, the Isaurian, who was invested with the purple in the year 716, had been gradually raised from the station of a private soldier in the guards of Justinian. He was crowned by the patriarch Germanus; and engaged, by a solemn oath, to defend and preserve the orthodox cause, and to continue a decided enemy to Monothelism. His zeal in the cause of Christianity was indeed manifested at an early period of his reign. In 721, a Syrian impostor had seduced the Jews, on the pretence of being their expected Messiah, and had occasioned several disturbances. Leo, through a mistaken zeal to advance the truths of religion, enacted a law against the Jews, compelling them to receive baptism, (*Theoph. Cedren. Zonar. in Leone Isaurio,*) and to conform to the religion of the empire. Under this emperor, the contests concerning image worship, which had for some time lain dormant, were again revived; measures against the prevalence of this pernicious superstition were conceived, and executed with resolution and intrepidity; and sharp and continued tumults agitated the whole Christian world. Synods clashed against synods; the miraculous efficacy of those painted pageants was insisted upon; the saints declared the justice of their cause by signs and portents; and the charges of idolatry and impiety were reciprocally and virulently applied to each other by the contending parties

The emperor was charged with being perverted by the Mohammedans, who had not only sneered at the Christians for their attachment to images, but had actively demonstrated their abhorrence of this superstition, and attempted its abolition. The Caliph Yezid, instigated by a Jew, had commanded all the images in the Christian churches of his dominions to be destroyed; and in 726 Leo published a severe edict against this species of idolatry, in which he strictly prohibited their receiving any kind of worship and adoration, and commanded them to be removed from all the churches. The prejudices of the multitude, however, are not to be subverted by royal edicts; and this cause, which they imagined the cause of Heaven itself against a disobedient and impious monarch, was supported by legions, who flocked with eagerness to the standards of the degraded saints, and to that of the patriarch Germanus, who preached and wrote in their defence. The emperor deposed the disobedient prelate, and raised the pliant Anastasius to the vacant see. But their united efforts were ineffectual: the people believed themselves released from their obedience to an impious apostate, who had betrayed the faith; and, beholding with horror the images of their Saviour and of the saints ignominiously torn in pieces, or burned by the command of Leo, they assembled in a tumultuous manner, demolished the statues and pictures of the emperor, and surrounded the gates of the royal palace; but, after being repulsed with great slaughter, they were compelled to a temporary compliance with the offensive edict.

The successful struggle of Leo for the demolition of idolatry in the imperial city did not, however, influence the conduct of his subjects in the other parts of the empire, nor render his measures acceptable to the Roman see. The horrors of civil discord raged in the islands of the Archipelago, in Asia, and in Italy. Gregory II., who had opposed, with great vehemence, the attempts of the emperor, respecting image worship, endeavoured to soften his resentment, by claiming great merit from the measures he had taken in Italy, in restraining the growing power of the Lombards; and wrote to Leo, earnestly entreating a revocation of the imperial edict. But the emperor, zealously attached to the cause he had espoused, and entirely convinced that Gregory had been actuated rather by motives of self-interest than a regard for the empire, was so far from acceding to this request, that he despatched private orders to the exarch of Ravenna, and to the governor of Rome, to apprehend the contentious prelate, and send him to Constantinople. The people of Rome were too little attached to the emperor, to suffer the execution of this order; the bishop excommunicated the exarch; and by letters exhorted the Venetians, with Luitprand, king of the Lombards, and all the cities of the empire, to continue steadfast in the Catholic faith.

Not satisfied with this mark of opposition, Gregory absolved the people of Rome from their allegiance to the emperor; it is also reported that he occasioned the tribute, which had been annually paid from Rome and Italy into the imperial treasury, to be withheld. This step was the signal of revolt: the imperial officers were massacred or banished; the people of Rome refused to acknowledge the authority of the emperor, and chose new magistrates; the inhabitants of Ravenna submitted to the dominion of Luitprand; and the inhabitants of Naples

murdered their duke, Exhiliratus, the imperial governor, together with his son, and one of his principal officers. Leo, exasperated by these proceedings, confiscated the revenues which had been paid from Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia, to the Roman pontiff, and subjected the clergy of those countries, and the various churches of Illyricum, to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Byzantine see.

The emperor opposed the worship of images with reiterated fury; and enforced his prohibition by threatening the guilty opposer of his laws with severe and exemplary punishments. A favourite image of Christ, which was destroyed, was the signal of another rebellion; and the adorers of images, who were called Iconolatræ, and their opponents, the Iconoclastæ, mutually resisted, detested, and persecuted each other.

The death of Leo, and that of Gregory III., who died the same year, and whose attachment to image worship had not been less decisive than that of his predecessor, did not restore tranquillity to the Church and the empire. Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine Copronymus, who renewed his father's edict, and spoke in equally pointed terms against the practice of idolatry. He chose, however, to enforce his opinions upon the people by the milder and universally acknowledged authority of a general council, rather than by the mandates of an imperial law. In 754, he convened at Constantinople a council, consisting of 338 bishops, in which not only the worship but the use of images was unanimously condemned. A considerable destruction of the objects of idolatrous worship ensued. The decrees of the assembly, which the Greeks regarded as the seventh general council, were received by great numbers, though not universally, even in the eastern churches, but were utterly rejected at Rome. The opposition made by this rational but too zealous emperor to the reigning superstition was not confined to the worship of images: he opposed the invocation of saints, and the adoration of relics; and evinced his confirmed abhorrence of the monks, whom he regarded as the great supporters of superstition. An edict was published at Constantinople, and in all the cities of the empire, forbidding any person to embrace a monastic life, under severe penalties. (*Theoph. ad Ann. Const.* 19, *&c.*, *ad Ann. Const.* 19, 23.) At Constantinople most of the religious houses were suppressed; and the monks compelled not only to marry, but to lead their brides in public procession through the streets. Leo III., who succeeded Constantine in 775, was not more favourable to the cause of idolatry than his progenitors: he openly declared his abhorrence of image worship; and punished with severity those who had presumed to pay any kind of adoration to the saints, to the Virgin Mary, or to their images. The zeal of Leo for the propagation of religion was gratified by the conversion of Elrich, monarch of the Bulgarians, who, impelled by an irresistible desire to embrace Christianity, resigned his crown, and repaired to Constantinople, where he was entertained by Leo with every demonstration of affection and esteem; and, after he had received the sacrament of baptism, was created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empress.

The infant son of Leo, who was but ten years of age, was the nominal successor of his father; but the reins of government were assumed by the ambitious Irene, who transacted all the affairs of the empire;

and not only resisted the efforts, which at a more mature age were made by her son to throw off her yoke, with intrepidity and success, but with her own hands chastised him for his temerity. This weak prince, who appears to have continued, with the exception of a few intervals, under the supreme government of this artful and profligate woman, occasioned great contests among the clergy by divorcing himself from his first wife Mary, and, at the instigation of Irene, espousing another. The flagitious empress was not however contented with rendering him odious in the eyes of the people: by her orders he was at length seized, and tormented with the most shocking cruelty; and by his death, and that of the brothers of her late husband, she seated herself without a rival upon the imperial throne. The atrocious conduct of Irene was justified, in the eyes of the friends of image worship, by her zeal in their defence; many eulogiums were composed to the honor of this princess, who was afterward converted into a saint, and as such stands recorded in the Greek calendar.

Under the administration of Irene, the Iconolatræ enjoyed not only a respite from their sufferings, but the utmost protection and favour.—New images decorated the walls which had lately been deprived of their ornaments; and she adopted the popular measure of annulling the edicts of former emperors against the worship of idols. In 786, in concert with Adrian, bishop of Rome, a council was convened by the Emperor Constantine at Constantinople; but, being disturbed by the officers of the army and the soldiery, it was in the following year transferred to Nice in Bithynia, where the impiety of the image breakers was severely condemned, the adoration of images and of the cross re-established, and severe punishments were denounced against the daring transgressors of the established rites. The superstitious dogmas of this assembly were supported by false records and spurious manuscripts, and confirmed by a chain of such arguments as admirably suited the wisdom of the cause. The assembled fathers expressed their abhorrence of images made to represent the Deity; but gave a full sanction to the crucifix, which they commanded to be solemnly dedicated, and placed upon the walls of churches or private houses, and upon the public roads. Images of our Lord were also to be made, as well as of the Virgin Mary, (who was called the *immaculate mother of God*,) of the venerable angels, and of all the saints.

This species of worship was so passionately admired by the Greeks, that they esteemed the second Nicene council as a signal blessing derived to them from the interposition of Heaven; and, in commemoration of it, instituted an anniversary festival, called the feast of orthodoxy. In this council the legate of the bishop of Rome attempted, in the name of his master, to explain the worship due to the saints as an inferior kind of homage, which he called *dulia*; the adoration due to the Supreme Being was said to be of a more exalted nature, and was called *latria*. The versatile bishops, who under the former reigns had professed their dislike to the worship of the saints, scrupled not to make their peace with Irene, and to secure their continuance in their possessions by a recantation of those opinions which were deemed heretical by the second council of Nice. Deplorable was the state of the eastern empire during the eighth century: government was weakened by perpetual revolutions for electing or deposing different empe-

rors. Military discipline decayed; learning was neglected or despised; every species of atrocity was practised under the mask of religious zeal; and the empire was repeatedly invaded. In Syria and Palestine, several cities were destroyed by dreadful earthquakes; an extraordinary darkness, which lasted from the beginning of August to October, and occasioned little distinction between night and day, overspread that country; and this was followed by the plague, which broke out in Calabria, soon spread over Sicily, Greece, and the islands in the Ægean sea, and at length reached to Constantinople, where it raged furiously during a space of three years.

The incursions of the Saracens were grievously felt both in the eastern and western provinces. In the reign of Philippicus these fierce barbarians invaded Thrace, took the city of Pergamus, and committed dreadful ravages in various parts of the empire: they even marched up to the gates of the imperial city; and during thirteen months, in which they besieged Constantinople, war, famine, and the pestilence successively prevailed. To add to the affliction of the eastern Christians, the Caliph Omar, exasperated at the courage and resolution of those patriots, who compelled him to abandon the design of taking the capital of the east, vented his chagrin against his Christian subjects, by first prohibiting them the exercise of their religion, and soon afterward by commanding the renunciation of their faith, and the profession of Mohammedanism, upon pain of death. So circumstanced, it is not wonderful that the weak, the indifferent, or the timid, should yield to the will of their intolerant masters. Christianity was in some places entirely extirpated; but a few still maintained, with unshaken constancy, the religion of Christ at the hazard of their lives. In 714, the Saracens invaded Spain, and destroyed the empire of the Visigoths in that country, which had been established for upward of three hundred years. Their conquests extended to the maritime coasts of Gaul, and to the islands of Sicily and Sardinia: wherever they settled, these ferocious barbarians attempted to propagate the doctrines of Mohammed, and to abolish a religion so opposite to all their favourite principles. In Spain and Sardinia the Christians suffered the most severe oppressions from the rigid laws which were enacted by their barbarous conquerors.

The irruption and settlement of the Saracens in the south, the fierce and bloody conflicts of barbarous and pagan nations in the north, and the universal corruption of religion, and decay of learning, exhibit a gloomy picture of the state of Europe during the eighth century.—Amidst this wreck of virtue and excellence, the papal power attained during this century to an unexpected height; and that alliance was formed between superstition and despotism, which many for succeeding ages proved the scourge of mankind. To trace these great events to their source it will be necessary to direct our attention more particularly to the state of Italy, and to its connections with foreign powers.

Ravenna, which, together with several other cities in Italy, was not in the power of the Lombards, but governed by an officer of the emperor, who had the title of exarch, had, in the revolt against the edict of Leo, fallen into the hands of Luitprand, king of the Lombards. Gregory, the Roman pontiff, could not, however, behold without apprehension the increase of a power which in time might become inimical to his authority; he therefore engaged Ursus, duke of Venice, to as-

sert the rights of the empire, and to retake the cities of the exarchate during the absence of Luitprand, by whom they were again subdued in a succeeding popular revolt. Incensed at Gregory III., who had received into his protection Thrasimund, duke of Spoletta, the daring revolter against the king of the Lombards, Aistulphus, the successor of Luitprand, besieged and subdued Ravenna, and terminated the race of exarchs, who had reigned with a delegated authority from the time of Justinian.

The trembling pontiff, in dread of an invasion from this incensed Lombard, solicited the assistance of Charles Martel, mayor of the palace to Childeric, king of the Franks, whose power might be serviceable in repressing the enemies of Gregory; though the indifference he had demonstrated to the interests of the clergy, in distributing abbeys and bishopricks to the laity, and assigning the tithes to his soldiers, had afforded no very favourable specimen of his regard for the Church. The effects of this negotiation were prevented by the deaths of Charles and of Gregory. The new pontiff, Zachary, became reconciled to Luitprand; and, considering the weakness of the imperial power in Europe, embraced the opportunity to disavow an authority which at this time was little more than nominal.

The alliance, however, between France and the Roman see did not end here. Pepin, the son of Charles, succeeded to the office of his father; but not content with the power, which in virtue of his employment he enjoyed, of regulating all the affairs of the kingdom, he aspired to the title of king, and formed the design of deposing the weak and unfortunate Childeric. The enormous powers which had been acquired by the Roman pontiff over the successors of the barbarian conquerors of the western provinces, made it unsafe to transact so important an affair without its concurrence; and Pepin was by his devoted servants, the states of the realm, advised to consult the pope to resolve the question—"Who best deserved to be king—he who was possessed of the power, or he who was only possessed of the title?" The necessities of the party consulted were not less than those of Pepin; and Zachary, oppressed by the apprehension both of the Lombards and Greeks, declared that, in his opinion, he ought rather to be styled a monarch who was invested with the powers attached to that office, than he who possessed only the regal title. The last descendant of Clovis was in consequence of this decision immediately divested of the external marks of royalty; and, with his infant son, compelled to assume the monastic habit, and to retire from the pleasures and engagements of public life to the solitude of a cloister. Stephen, the successor of Zachary, was not less favourable to the perfidious Pepin. In a journey which he made into France, he absolved the usurper from his oath of allegiance to the deposed king, anointed him, and invested him with the regal crown. The object of Stephen in this journey was not, however, to confirm the aggrandizement of Pepin. He wanted his assistance against the increasing power of the Lombards; and enforced his entreaties not only by promises both of temporal prosperity and eternal happiness, but by denunciations of inevitable damnation if he refused to comply. He preached not in vain. Pepin, whose ambition had made him regardless of the rights of his sovereign, was from the same principle obedient and grateful to that power which had secured the crown

to his posterity. He entered Italy with his army; and, after several encounters, compelled the Lombard king to surrender the possession of all those territories which the Greek emperors had possessed in Italy, into the hands of the bishop of Rome. The grant of twenty-two cities was the liberal demonstration of Pepin's gratitude to the pontiff, or it was the expiation by which he attempted to compensate for his perfidy and treason. Pepin by this liberal grant secured a temporal principality to the successors of the poor and humble Peter.

The alliance between the king of the Franks and the pontiff of Rome was confirmed by mutual necessities, and strengthened by mutual obligations. In the pontificate of Adrian I. the restless and enterprising Lombards invaded the provinces which had been granted by Pepin to the pope. His son Charlemagne did not, however, permit them to resume their authority; he asserted the rights of the Roman see; and, entering with a powerful army into Italy, subdued the Lombards, assumed to himself the title of their king, and was crowned at Rome in the year 774. Additional donations to the pope, and a confirmation of the grants bestowed by his father, were the fruits of this additional extent of dominion to Charlemagne. Several cities and provinces were ceded by him to the Roman see, under the specious pretext of atoning for his sins by munificence to the Church. But to the policy rather than to the piety of the monarch must his liberality be ascribed. Such indeed was his thirst of dominion that he is believed to have despatched an embassy to Constantinople, to propose a matrimonial union between himself and the ambitious Irene. This proposal, which might have accomplished the reunion of the eastern and western empires was counteracted by the intrigues of a favourite eunuch, and the spirit of the Grecian nobles: the infamous princess was confined first in a monastery, and afterward banished to the island of Lesbos, where the anguish of disappointed ambition shortened a life which was long since forfeited to justice by repeated crimes. Disappointed therefore in this project, Charlemagne secretly aspired after the title of emperor of the west; and his magnificent donations were intended to conciliate the affection of the pontiff, and to engage him in the promotion of his designs. Among the other gratifications to the pope, Charlemagne granted an injunction for introducing the Gregorian office and mode of singing into the churches of France and Germany, in conformity with that of Rome.—Leo was not ungrateful for these favours: on Christmas day, in the year 800, he conferred upon his munificent and obedient patron the object of his ardent aspirations, and saluted him with the title of emperor, in the church of St. Peter, at Rome, amid the acclamations of the Roman people. Leo was rewarded for his assistance by the grant of jurisdiction over the city of Rome and the adjacent territories, which were however subordinate to the supreme dominion of the western emperor.

Entire agreement between Charlemagne and the Roman pontiff, in matters of faith, was not the bond by which they were united; theirs was the political connection of mutual interest, not of religion. Charlemagne, by the advice of the French prelates, who were no friends to the second council of Nice, had ordered a judicious divine to compose *Four Books concerning Images*, which refuted the absurd decrees of the Nicene assembly with judgment and with spirit. These books he

sent in 790 to the Roman pontiff, Adrian, who attempted to answer and refute the objections of Charlemagne. The prince, however, in 794, assembled a council, composed of three hundred bishops, at Frankfort, in which the important question concerning the worship due to images was agitated and examined. In this council, the opinions supported in the *Four Books*, of the lawfulness and expediency of placing pictures in churches, either as ornaments to the building, or as useful in refreshing the memory, was allowed, but the worship of them absolutely forbidden; and, according to the testimony of Roger Hovedon, and other English writers, the British churches assented to this decision.

The first idea of transubstantiation appears to have arisen during this century, though it was long before it was generally adopted, or before it assumed the name. The Constantinopolitan fathers, in 754, among other things against images, having said that Christ had no otherwise left us an image of himself than in the eucharist; the Nicene fathers, in 787, alleged in opposition that this was not the image of Christ, but his very body and blood; which first assertion of this monstrous absurdity, as well as many others, was made by the *Iconolatræ*, or worshippers of images.

The investigation of the important question respecting images was not the sole difficulty by which the consciences of the Christians were distracted during this century. The Greeks reproached the Latin Church with having added the word *filioque* to the Byzantine creed, and asserted that the Divine Spirit proceeded only from the Father; while the Latins, on their part, affirmed that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. In a council held in France, in 776, at which the ambassadors of the emperor assisted, the controversy was examined and agitated; and the conduct of the Spanish and Gallic clergy, who had interpolated the word *filioque* into the creed of Constantinople, was severely arraigned. But the conference terminated in the usual mode. Each party continued inflexibly attached to the opinions they had embraced, and no alteration was obtained on either side.

Many additional causes occurred to increase the mutual dislike of the contending patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople: nor was either party averse to any opportunity of exhibiting their respective pretensions and reciprocal antipathy. Either convinced by the arguments, or obedient to the commands of their sovereign, the bishops of Constantinople had steadily opposed the decision of the Roman see respecting the worship of images; their power and riches had been extended by the measures taken by the emperor to humble the haughty successors of St. Peter; and the question respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit was a new source of rancour and contention between those rival brethren. Instances of the most flagitious conduct are to be found in the characters of these respective bishops. Anastasius, the Byzantine patriarch, who, upon the deposition of Germanus, and the manifestation of his attachment to the opinions of the Iconoclasts, had been raised to the vacant see, had the audacious villany, in the ensuing reign, in order to support the claims of a usurper to the throne, to calumniate the emperor as a believer in the simple humanity of Christ, and to confirm his testimony by swearing on the wood of the cross which he held in his hand. This atrocious conduct was resented by the emperor; he

ordered the prelate to be publicly scourged, and to be carried through the city mounted upon an ass, with his face to the tail; but he added not to his ignominy the deserved mortification of a deprivation from the see. (*Theoph. ad Ann. Const.* 1.) The conduct of Zachary, in relation to Pepin's claim to the kingdom of France, was scarcely less atrocious than that of Anastasius. Indeed, whatever vices have disgraced the annals of mankind, are to be found among these degenerate and corrupted ecclesiastics. Compulsion and artifice were continually employed to procure the possession of the see of Rome. In 767, Constantine, of a noble family, obtained possession of the papacy; and, after his accession to the pontificate, was ordained sub-deacon, deacon, and bishop, in order to enable him to retain the seat he had usurped. Great commotions were the consequences of this attempt; an armed force from the king of the Lombards subdued Constantine, and compelled him to retire; and he received afterward, from his successor, the reward of his violence, by a cruel and premature death.

The name of Charlemagne, whose ambition and policy so considerably augmented the revenues of the Church, makes a conspicuous figure in the annals of ecclesiastical history. Nor were these accessions the only advantages derived to the Christian world from the zeal of this monarch. No less from the political motive of subduing them under his power, than from the desire of propagating religion, he abolished the idolatrous worship of the Saxons, destroyed the temples of their gods, and, more indeed by compulsion than by argument, induced them to a nominal profession of Christianity.

His aversion to superstition was ardent and sincere, though it was sometimes sacrificed to motives of policy; and his veneration for the sacred writings was unaffected. Every encouragement was extended by him for the promotion of literature, and of that branch in particular which relates to the illustration of Scripture. In his capitularies he imposed several salutary restraints on the monastic orders; he reformed the ritual of the Latin Church, and ordered it to be received in all the churches of his dominions. That his attempts to restore the knowledge of true religion, and to animate his subjects to the vigorous exertions of genius, should not be successful, will not excite our astonishment, if we consider the state of society at that period. It is greatly to his honour to have made the attempt, and by apparently the most judicious means. Schools contiguous to the principal churches and monasteries were erected by his command, for the instruction of youth in religion and learning. Every encouragement was offered, both by the example and munificence of the emperor, to the exertions of genius; and no measure was left unessayed to civilize the savage manners of the age, to restore Christianity, and to revive the decayed interests of literature.

CHAPTER II.

OF GOVERNMENT, DOCTRINE, RITES, AND CEREMONIES IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Nature and limits of the papal authority—National councils—Increase of monkery—Rites and customs of paganism transferred to Christianity—Reverence paid to the bishop of Rome—Military bishops—Images and donations—New rites of communion—Rites respecting the tonsure of children—Marriage.

FROM the review of the councils held during the eighth century, one might, on a cursory view, be tempted to conceive that the remedies applied to the increasing evils had been efficacious, and that additional restraints were altogether unnecessary. Corruption and profligacy, however, had so far invaded all ranks of society that few were either qualified or disposed to stem the torrent of iniquity and folly. The eastern emperors, and the clergy of the whole Christian world, were occupied by the contest concerning images. In France, Charles Martel applied the revenues of the Church to the support of the state; and Spain, oppressed by the victorious arms of the Saracens, was not in a condition to offer her assistance. Some canons, for the better regulation of the church and the reformation of the clergy, were made in the great council of Nice, and in the lesser councils of Italy, France, and England. These assemblies were all under the supreme dominion of the emperors or kings. The eastern potentates, as long as they retained their Italian dominions, regularly confirmed the election of the Roman pontiff; they assumed the right not only of interfering, but of deciding in controversies of a merely religious nature, which was a privilege unclaimed by the emperor of the west. The power of the Roman bishop was still however confined within prescribed limits. He could determine nothing material by his sole authority; the bishops of provinces under his jurisdiction frequently voted in direct opposition to him. The emperor claimed the sole right of convening and presiding in councils; he occasionally inspected all the affairs of the Church, and enacted regulations respecting the morals and conduct of the clergy; and from the monasteries and churches he derived a revenue proportioned to their possessions.

Under the Gothic princes of Spain the national councils were composed of the bishops and the principal abbots, who, while they agitated the important questions of ecclesiastical discipline and doctrine, excluded the laity from their debates. This business concluded, the great men of the kingdom were admitted into their assemblies, and their decrees were ratified by the consent of the people. Under the dominion of the kings of the second race in France, and in some parts of England, practices somewhat similar prevailed. The nobles took their place in the assembly along with the clergy; civil as well as ecclesiastical business engaged the attention of the assembly; the bishops composed articles for the internal policy of the Church, and the nobles for the prosperity of the state, which were ratified by the sovereign, and obtained the names of chapters or capitularies.

Accessions of power and opulence were not confined to the rapa-

cious see of Rome, but immense riches flowed in various channels into the treasuries of the monasteries and of the churches. A number of convents were founded, and richly endowed; and the revenues of the secular clergy were augmented by the superstitious opinion that the punishments annexed by God to the commission of sin were to be averted by liberal donations to the Church. This opinion, which, during succeeding ages, drew continual supplies of wealth into the ecclesiastical coffers, afforded in this century a pretext for the liberality of princes to the Church. Provinces, cities, and fortresses were added to its possessions; and the monks and superior clergy were invested with the appendages and prerogative of sovereign princes.

In the granting of these investitures we must however, look beyond the avowed motive. Policy was thought to require the attachment of a body of men whose influence was acknowledged by all; whose sacred characters, and spiritual powers were found of the utmost efficacy in restraining the rebellious and turbulent spirit of the nobles; and whose gratitude and services might be secured by ample and liberal donations. The influence of the clergy was indeed rendered enormous by the authority which was attributed to their censures. The thunders of excommunication rolled over the head of the impious offender against the authority of the Church; and all ranks and degrees trembled at the execution of a sentence which deprived them not only of their privileges as citizens, but of their rights as men. The powers of the Romish Church, in particular, were extended by the success of the missionaries of Germany, who bent the necks of that fierce and barbarous people to their spiritual yoke. The hereditary prejudices of the barbarians were, indeed, a fruitful source of the power acquired by the Roman see; and it is to their influence we must ascribe the superior advantages obtained by the western clergy over their brethren of the east. The priests of paganism had obtained an entire ascendency over the minds of an ignorant and superstitious people; every civil and military transaction was regulated by their counsels and authority; and even the domestic transactions of these barbarians were directed by the advice of the ministers of religion. By a very natural and easy transition the powers which had been enjoyed by the pagan priesthood were acknowledged in the ministers of Christ; the haughty barbarians, who had spurned at and subverted the civil authority, fell prostrate at the feet of either their vanquished or conquering enemies who were dignified with the episcopal character; and, on the other hand, it must be confessed that the Romish clergy were not at all averse to receiving every advantage which might be derived from the superstition and ignorance of this people. They readily accepted the honours paid them by the barbarous nations; and the Roman bishop founded his claim as successor to the sovereign pontiff, and to the high priest of the druids, upon pretended authorities drawn from the sacred oracles of God. The reverence with which the bishops of the Roman see were occasionally addressed, exceeded the measure of adulation commonly paid even to royalty. The custom of kissing the feet of the pope, upon his accession to the papacy, was quite established in the eighth century, though for some succeeding ages it was practised upon that occasion only. This custom was derived, in common with various other honours, from the sovereign pontiff, to whose privileges the bishop of

Rome had succeeded. It had been introduced by the emperor and pontiff Caligula; probably in part to obtain one mark of adoration which had never been paid to his predecessors; and partly through the absurd vanity of exhibiting his magnificent slipper of gold, enriched with precious stones.

The introduction of the clergy into military offices was a circumstance not very favourable to their piety or virtue. John, the deacon of the great church at Constantinople, was created admiral of the imperial fleet against the Saracens; and lost his life in a mutiny, the effect of his imprudent severity against the refractory mariners. The troops of Naples were commanded by a sub-deacon; and the different functions of bishop and soldier were executed by Gevilieb, bishop of Mentz. This exemplary churchman directed a challenge in the most violent terms to another warlike bishop, whom he accused of killing his father; nor was the death of his antagonist considered as the smallest impediment to the discharge of his sacred function.

In the second council of Nice regulations were adopted for preventing in some degree the increasing ignorance of the clergy, by the canon which commanded an examination of the candidate for a bishopric, by interrogating him concerning his acquaintance with the liturgy, the gospels, and epistles, and the decrees of councils; and some restraint was put upon their private avarice, by a prohibition to the bishops or abbots to dispose of the goods of their churches or monasteries.

Ignorance is the true and genuine parent of vice; and in an age so unfavourable to knowledge and virtue, we must not expect to find even the clergy exempt from that depravity which contaminated all classes of society. Luxury pervaded the sacerdotal order; and the flagitious conduct of the priests and monks called for repeated restrictions. In the council of Frankfort, abbots were prohibited from inflicting severe punishments on the offending monks; and from the shocking cruelty of putting out the eyes, or cutting off the limbs, of their inferior brethren, whatever might be their offence. The reformation of the clergy, from the deplorable errors and misconduct by which they were disgraced, was an object with several of the bishops, who were shocked at the licentiousness and vice of some of that order. For this purpose, Chrodegandus, bishop of Metz, established the institution of canons, or ecclesiastics, who, without adopting the monastic habits or method of life, should dwell together, and eat at one common table; and should assemble at appointed hours for the celebration of Divine service.—This order was intended to prevent the vices of the clergy, by removing them from mean and temporal pursuits; they were, however, distinguished from the monks by not being confined, in the performance of their ecclesiastical functions, to the walls of their monasteries, but were allowed to discharge the clerical duties in different churches committed to their care. The western nations adopted this new order with celerity: and numerous monasteries were erected for this purpose in Italy, Germany, and France. The worship of images, and the efficacy of donations to the church for the remission of sins, were the reigning tenets of the present age. They had been inculcated at a previous period, and had been increasing for some time in their extent and reputation. False as the foundations for those opinions were, they

were not farther removed from the truth than many other doctrines which disgrace and disfigure the annals of this century. Religion was intermixed with absurdity, and truth and falsehood so blended that it required more than common abilities to separate the useful and excellent from the mass of error.

In the course of the preceding pages, several instances of attempts to regulate and improve the discipline and ceremonies of the Church have been occasionally noticed. In the administration of the Lord's Supper new rites were introduced, and new regulations took place. A superstitious regard for the elements had lessened the number of communicants in this peculiarly Christian ordinance; but the oblations were too important to suffer the clergy quietly to acquiesce in this defection. They contrived therefore a means for continuing these, but without improving in any degree the sentiments of the people, whom they persuaded that, provided they continued the oblations, the service would still be useful to them. Instead of a real communion with the bread and wine, they were therefore presented with a substitute of a much less awful nature, bread over which solemn prayer had been made, and to which they gave the name of *hallowed bread.*

Those who, after partaking of the regenerating waters of baptism, had relapsed into sin, were persuaded that they might regain the purity they had forfeited by their iniquities, by the assumption of the monastic habit, which contained all the virtues of a second baptism. In consequence of this belief, and the increasing veneration for monastic institutions, several monarchs assumed the habits of monks; and, in the short period of little more than two centuries, thirty English kings or queens resigned the splendours of royalty for the retirement of a cloister. The superstitious and indolent Christian committed the welfare of his own soul, and that of his departed friends, to the care of an avaricious monk or priest, who performed, or who affected to perform, in private, those prayers which were to relieve the sufferings of souls detained in purgatory, and to ensure other blessings to his liberal employer. During the long dominion of heathenism, superstition had entirely exhausted her talents for invention; so that, when the same spirit pervaded Christianity, its professors were necessarily compelled to adopt the practices of their predecessors, and to imitate their idolatry.

Among the other superstitious observances derived from this source, were the ceremonies made use of in cutting the hair of children. It had been usual not to cut the hair of a child till it had attained a certain age; and the person to whom the hair was sent was considered as acquiring, by that means, a near degree of relationship to the child.—The pagans usually appropriated the first cuttings of the hair of their infants as an offering to some of their divinities. This pagan rite was, with numberless others, adopted by the Christians; and the *Ordo Romanus* contains several prayers which were anciently repeated upon that occasion, and are called *Orationes ad tonsurandum puerum.* It has already been observed that marriages were solemnized by the clergy, at a very early period, in the Christian world. The imperial laws declared, however, the legality of those matrimonial contracts which were not solemnized by the benediction of the clergy; and, from various reasons, the primitive mode of marrying was considerably neglected. Some of the zealous emperors, who were disposed to reform the abuses which

had been practised in the Church, considered this as a culpable deviation from the primitive mode. In the year 780, it was enacted by Charlemagne that no marriage should be celebrated in any other way than by a benediction, with sacerdotal prayers and oblations. About the year 900, Leo the philosopher, the eastern emperor, revived the same practice in the churches within his jurisdiction, which has continued ever since that period.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Albanenses—Ethnophrones—Opinions concerning the nature of Jesus Christ.

THE great controversy respecting images so fully occupied the attention of the Christian world, as to afford little leisure, whatever might have been their inclination, to attend to many other speculations. The sectaries of this period were even fewer than those of the preceding century, and continued but for a short time to interrupt the unity of the Church.

The Albanenses, who derived their appellation from the residence of their founder, are said to have revived the Gnostic and Manichean doctrine of two principles. They denied not only the Divinity, but even the humanity of Jesus Christ; and asserted that he neither suffered, rose from the grave, nor ascended into heaven. This sect entirely rejected the doctrine of the resurrection; affirmed that the general judgment was already accomplished, that the torments of the damned consisted only in the evils of the present state, that free-will was not given to man, and that there was no such thing as original sin. To these tenets they added the practice of administering baptism only to adults; and affirmed farther the unlawfulness of oaths, and that a man can impart to himself a portion of the Holy Spirit.

The Ethnophrones (Paganizers) professed Christianity, but at the same time associated every practice of the heathen world with the profession of opinions diametrically opposite to them. In conformity to this absurd system, they practised judicial astrology, every species of divination, and carefully observed all the feasts and ceremonies of paganism.

Toward the close of this century some opinions were propagated in Spain, which occasioned considerable disturbance. Felix, bishop of Urgel in Catalonia, was consulted by Elipand, the archbishop of Toledo, concerning the sense in which Jesus Christ was to be called the Son of God; and whether as a man he ought to be considered as the adopted or natural Son of the Father. The reply given by Felix was acceptable to the archbishop—that Jesus Christ, according to his human nature could only be considered as the Son of God by adoption, and a nominal son. This decision, which was propagated by the two Spanish prelates, was extremely offensive to the greater part of the Church.—The censures of several councils induced the timid Felix to make a retractation of his opinions, which however he never sincerely abjured,

but closed his life with a firm conviction of their truth. The dominion of the Saracens proved more favourable to Elipand, who with impunity enjoyed under their jurisdiction the profession of his religious sentiments.

CHAPTER IV

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Universal ignorance—John Demascenus—Theodulphus—Bartholomew—Etherius—Paulinus—Expositors of Scripture—Alcuin—Ambrose Authert—Homilies—Paul the deacon—The Venerable Bede—Byzantine historians—Excellence of the British fathers and missionaries—Boniface—Vigilius, &c.

PERSECUTED, and almost expelled, by the tumults and desolations of the eastern empire, annoyed by the factions and contentions of the west, in every part opposed by increasing superstition and ignorance, the only refuge which was left for oppressed science was in the retreats of monasteries, whence she seldom dawned upon a benighted world. Even the controversies which agitated the passions, and darkened the understandings of the Christians of this period, were discussed in writing by few, if their compositions are compared with the bulky volumes of preceding ages. Those of the Greeks, who were engaged in the great controversy concerning images, obscured and weakened their arguments by logical subtleties: nor were the Latins more successful in the dispute concerning the person of Christ. The veneration for images was strenuously supported; and the sectaries in general were vigorously attacked by John Demascenus, the most distinguished Greek author of this century, who withdrew from the secular and honourable station of counsellor of state, to the retirement of a cloister; and whose adoption of the Aristotelian subtleties, and elucidation of the doctrines of its great master, considerably increased the reputation of that philosophy. Under the title of Four Books concerning the Orthodox Faith, John Demascenus exhibited a complete summary of the doctrines of the Church, which obtained the highest reputation among the Greeks. The doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, was insisted upon by Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, who farther distinguished himself as the author of a treatise upon baptism, and several poems. A refutation of the Koran was written by Bartholomew, a monk of Edessa, in Syria; and the errors of Felix of Urgel, and of the Archbishop Elipand, were attacked by Etherius, a Spanish priest, and by Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia.

Among the expositors of the sacred writings, we shall discover few marks of genius or originality. The prevalent opinions, concerning the faithfulness and excellence of the ancient commentators, were unfavourable to the exertions of reason and criticism; since the divines of this age, in consequence of this sentiment, conceived they perfectly fulfilled their duty in retailing the observations made by their predecessors. The erudition and ingenuity of John Demascenus were not sufficient to elevate him above this prejudice; he satisfied himself with exhibiting a commentary on St. Paul's epistles, extracted from the works of Chrysostom. The encouragement afforded by Charlemagne

to the elucidation of the sacred writings was not so favourable to them as it might have been, had not the ignorance of the age induced both the monarch and his expositors to fanciful and useless inferences, rather than to solid and practical illustrations. The Anglo-Saxon historian styled by way of eminence Venerable Bede, is among the most celebrated expositors of Scripture in this century. Alcuin also, an Englishman, the preceptor and friend of Charlemagne, wrote a commentary on St. John; and Ambrose Authert, who attempted an explanation of the Revelations, obtained a distinguished rank among the sacred critics of this period. Homilies upon the epistles and gospels were compiled by the command of Charlemagne, which the priests were required to commit to memory, and to recite to the people. Alcuin, and Paul the deacon, had the principal share in these performances: others, however, produced similar compilations, the taste for which greatly increased toward the conclusion of this century.

The moral writers of this period are few in number, and very defective in excellence. Virtue was indeed recommended by the powerful argument of example; but it was the example of preceding ages, the piety and morality of departed saints, which was exhibited as a model to their descendants. It must indeed be confessed, that their actions were sometimes rather the result of fanaticism than of piety; and their example, in some respects, much more calculated to incite men to absurdity than to real excellence. Paul the deacon, in his History of the Lombards, must be distinguished in a rank superior to the historians and biographers of the saints. Nor must the labours of Bede be forgotten: both civil and ecclesiastical affairs occupied his time and attention; and the venerable abbot of Farrow has given to the world an Ecclesiastical History, which, though in some respects chargeable with great credulity, is esteemed a faithful account of the transactions which took place during the period in which he wrote. The chronology of Bede is regulated by the Hebrew Bible; and he is distinguished as the first writer who rejected the chronology of the Septuagint. The authors of the Byzantine histories, George Syncella and Theophanes, are deserving of attention.

If in this season of ignorance science might be said to exist, her principal residence must be certainly placed in Great Britain or Ireland. The preceptor of Charlemagne was a Briton; and his court derived its most distinguished literary ornaments from this source. Their superior desire for the promotion of knowledge was proportioned to their superior attainments; and France, Italy, and Germany bear witness to their accomplishments, and to their zeal in the cultivation of *scholastic theology*. Many British missionaries, fraught with religious knowledge, and influenced by a pious desire of imparting to their pagan neighbours the advantages they possessed, despising the difficulties of their way, and the dangers which awaited their arrival, crossed the ocean, and penetrated into the gloomy recesses of the German forests, for the instruction of that fierce and uncivilized people.

One of the most eminent missionaries of the eighth century was Wilfrid, a Benedictine monk, who was descended from an illustrious British family, and whose vigorous and successful labours entitled him to the appellation of the apostle of the Germans. That Wilfrid endeavoured to accomplish the object of his mission by violence and stra-

gem; that he consulted the canons of the Romish Church rather than the dictates of the Gospel; and that he was more solicitous to advance the interests of the papacy than the knowledge of true religion, cannot be denied. The German apostle was subtle, insinuating, and haughty; but his contempt of danger, his zeal, and his abilities, have justly entitled him to the notice of posterity. Repulsed in his first attempt to influence the minds of that furious and ignorant people, he redoubled his efforts to propagate the faith. With unwearied zeal, and persevering diligence, he addressed his arguments both to the reason and to the passions of his auditors. His zeal for the authority of the pope, (whose supremacy was by his means afterward first acknowledged in a council, convened by his archiepiscopal authority, at Mentz,) was honoured by the highest approbation of the Roman pontiff, who consecrated him a bishop, and gave him the name of Boniface; he was distinguished also by the patronage and assistance of Charles Martel. Monasteries and churches were erected, by the assiduity of Boniface and his pious associates, on the ruins of the heathen temples, and consecrated groves of paganism. In the course of his ministerial labours he was engaged in a warm dispute with his disciple Vigilius, upon the validity of baptism which had been performed by a priest, who, ignorant of the Latin language, (which Boniface had introduced into the ritual of the German Church,) had made a small mistake in the words of that ordinance. The Roman pontiff espoused the cause of the validity, and of Vigilius; and Boniface was determined upon revenge. This he effected by attacking the opinions of his disciple, who had heretically asserted the globular figure of the earth, and the existence of antipodes. The apostle, who, unlike his predecessor, was far from being possessed *of all knowledge*, could not comprehend this new system; and concluded that Vigilius, by his strange assertions, could only mean that a world existed under this, inhabited by other men, and illuminated by other planets. In consequence of this idea, he accused Vigilius of the heresy of asserting a plurality of worlds; and Zachary, the pontiff, who conceived the proposition equivalent to a declaration that all men were not descended from Adam, nor involved in his guilt, and consequently that Christ had not died for all, was extremely alarmed at a doctrine which he regarded as totally repugnant to Scripture; he therefore ordered Boniface to convene a council, in which, if the heretic refused to abjure his errors, he was to be degraded and lopped off, as a rotten member, from the body of the faithful. The event of these inquiries is uncertain; but as Vigilius was afterward preferred to the see of Salzburgh, and is honoured as a saint, it is probable that he exculpated himself from the suspicion of heresy. (*Bower's History of the Popes*, iii, 338.) Favoured by princes and by popes, Boniface, in addition to the archiepiscopal see of Mentz, received the farther honour of being created primate of Belgium and Germany. A tranquil death was not, however, the termination of a life devoted to the most active, though frequently injudicious exertions in the cause of Christianity. After forty years spent in his laborious mission, the apostle of Germany, with fifty ecclesiastics, his companions and friends, were, on their return into Friesland, inhumanly murdered by the inhabitants of that barbarous country. Besides his Lives of the Saints, Boniface composed some sermons and letters.

THE NINTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Conversion of Jutland—Of part of Sweden—Of Sclavonia—Of Russia—Mr. Gibbon's sentiments concerning these conversions—Saracens conquer Sicily, &c.—Incursions of northern barbarians—State of the Church and clergy—Injudicious distribution of preferments—Manner of electing popes—Pope Joan—Donations of Lewis the Meek—Dissensions in the Carlovingian family—Increase of the papal power from this and other circumstances—Forgery of the Decretals, &c.—Increase of Monkery—Revival of the Iconoclastic controversy—Council at Constantinople—Progress of image worship in the west—Final schism between the Greek and Latin Churches.

THE spirit of Christianity is but little consonant with the warlike spirit of the ninth century; however, therefore, we may commend the intentions of the illustrious son of Pepin, the means which he employed cannot meet our approbation. A large portion of his life was dedicated to the glorious purpose of establishing the religion of Jesus among the Huns, the Saxons, Frieslanders, and other unenlightened nations: but his piety was blended with violence, and his spiritual conquests were generally achieved by the force of arms. His son Lewis, undeservedly surnamed the Meek, inherited the defects of his father without his virtues; and was his equal in violence and cruelty, but greatly his inferior in all valuable accomplishments. Under his reign a very favourable opportunity was offered of propagating the Gospel among the northern nations, and particularly among the inhabitants of Sweden and Denmark. A petty king of Jutland, named Harald Klack, being expelled from both his kingdom and country in the year 826, by Regner Lodbrock, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and implored his succour against the usurper. Lewis granted his request; and promised the exiled prince his protection and assistance, on condition that he would embrace Christianity, and admit the ministers of that religion to preach in his dominions. Harald submitted to these conditions; was baptized with his brother at Mentz, in 826; and returned into his country attended by two eminent divines, Ansgar or Anschaire, and Authbert; the former a monk of Corbey, in Westphalia, and the latter belonging to a monastery of the same name in France. These venerable missionaries preached the Gospel with remarkable success, during the space of two years, to the inhabitants of Cimbria and Jutland.

After the death of his learned and pious companion Authbert, the zealous and indefatigable Ansgar made a voyage to Sweden, in 828, where his ministerial labours were crowned with distinguished success. On his return into Germany, in 831, he was decorated by Lewis the Meek with ecclesiastical honours; he was created archbishop of the

new church at Hamburgh, and of the whole north, to which dignity the superintendence of the church of Bremen was afterward annexed in the year 844. (*Mosheim.*)

Under the reign of Basilius, the Macedonian, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks in the year 867, the Sclavonians, Arentani, and certain provinces of Dalmatia, despatched a solemn assembly to Constantinople, to declare their resolution of conforming to the ecclesiastical forms and civil jurisdiction of the Greeks. This proposal was received with admiration and joy; and was answered by a suitable ardour and zeal for the conversion of a people which seemed so ingenuously disposed to embrace the truth: a competent number of Grecian divines was accordingly deputed to instruct them in the knowledge of the Gospel, and to admit them by baptism into the Christian Church. (*Mosheim.*) The warlike nation of the Russians, having entered into a treaty of peace with Basilius, were engaged, by various presents and promises, to profess the truths of Christianity; in consequence of which they not only received the ministers who were appointed to instruct them, but an archbishop, whom the Grecian patriarch, Ignatius, had sent among them, to perfect their conversion and establish their church. (*Constantinus Porph. Vita Basilii Macedonis*, s. 96, p. 157.)

Such was the commencement of Christianity among the Russians, who were inhabitants of the Ukraine; and who, a short time before their conversion, fitted out a formidable fleet, and, setting sail from Kiovia for Constantinople, spread terror and dismay throughout the whole empire.

"Truth and candour," says an author, (*Mr. Gibbon,*) by no means too favourably disposed to Christianity, "must acknowledge that the conversion of the north imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and new Christians. The rage of war, inherent to the human species, could not be healed by the evangelic precepts of charity and peace; and the ambition of Catholic princes has renewed in every age the calamities of hostile contention. But the admission of the barbarians into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society delivered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren, and culti vate their possessions. The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The liberal piety of the Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks, to decorate their cities, and instruct the inhabitants: the dome and the paintings of St. Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiow and Novogorod; the writings of the fathers were translated into the Sclavonic idiom; and three hundred noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the lessons of the college of Jaroslaus."

The Saracens had extended their usurpations with amazing success. Lords of Asia, a few provinces excepted, their conquests reached to the extremities of India, and the greater part of Africa. Ever disposed to enterprise, and allured by the fertility of the opposite shores, they willingly listened to the invitation of Count Julian, who, displeased with his sovereign, offered to introduce the Saracens into the heart of

Spain; and this country, which during two hundred years resisted the arms of Rome, was in a few months subdued by the followers of Mohammed. Crete, Sardinia, and Corsica, were added to their conquests, and in 827 Sicily submitted to the faith and jurisdiction of her Arabian conquerors. These conquests were the precursors of an attempt upon Rome: the barbarians penetrated to the walls of the city, and their divisions (*Gibbon*, chap. 52,) alone preserved from subjugation the ancient mistress of the west. The distress of the Romans was increased by the death of their pontiff, Sergius II. In his successor they, however, found a chief fitted for the employments both of the cabinet and the field; and, under Leo IV., the Saracens were repulsed from the shores of the Tiber. It may be easily conceived that the unprecedented prosperity of a nation accustomed to bloodshed and rapine, and which beheld the Christians with the utmost aversion, must have been extremely injurious to the progress of the Gospel, and to the tranquillity of the Church. In the east a prodigious number of Christian families embraced the religion of their conquerors, that they might be suffered to continue in the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions. Many, indeed, refused a compliance so criminal, and with pious magnanimity adhered to their principles in the face of persecution: such were, however, gradually reduced to extreme misery, and not only despoiled of their possessions and advantages, but in time were so entirely debased by the yoke of oppression, as to sink by degrees into the grossest ignorance, and to lose every vestige of Christianity except the mere name, and a few external rites and ceremonies. The European Saracens, particularly those who were settled in Spain, were less intolerant, and seemed to have lost the greater part of their native ferocity. It must, however, be confessed, that this mild and tolerating conduct of the Saracens was not without several exceptions of cruelty.

The European Christians experienced the most severe sufferings from the insatiable fury of the barbarous hordes which issued from the northern provinces. The Normans, under which general term are comprehended the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, whose habitations lay along the coasts of the Baltic Sea, were a people accustomed to carnage and rapine. Their petty kings and chiefs, who subsisted by piracy and plunder, had, during the reign of Charlemagne, infested with their fleets the coasts of the German Ocean; but were restrained by the opposition they met with from the vigilance and activity of that prince. In this century, however, they became more bold and enterprising; made frequent irruptions into Germany, Britain, Friesland, and Gaul; and carried along with them, wherever they went, fire and sword, desolation and horror. The impetuous fury of these barbarians not only spread desolation through the Spanish provinces, but even penetrated into the heart of Italy. In the year 857, they sacked and pillaged several cities of that region. The ancient records of the Franks abound with the most dismal accounts of their horrid exploits.

The first intention of these invaders extended only to plunder: but, charmed at length with the beauty and fertility of the provinces which they were so cruelly depopulating, they began to form settlements in them. Too feeble, or too much occupied by other views, the Euro-

pean princes were not in a condition to oppose their usurpations: on the contrary, Charles the Bald was obliged, in the year 850, to resign a considerable part of his dominions to this powerful banditti; and a few years after, under the reign of Charles the Gross, emperor and king of France, the famous Norman chief, Godofred, entered with an army into Friesland, and obstinately refused to sheath his sword before he was master of the whole province. Such, however, of the Normans as settled among the Christians, contracted a gentler turn of mind, and gradually departed from their primitive ferocity. Their marriages with the Christians contributed, no doubt, to their civilization, and engaged them to abandon the superstition of their ancestors with more facility, and to embrace the Gospel with more readiness. Thus the haughty conqueror of Friesland was induced to profess the Christian religion, after he had received in marriage, from Charles the Gross, Gisela, the daughter of the younger Lothaire.

The licentiousness of the clergy increased at this period, and particularly in those parts where the people still retained any share in the elections. In the east, tumult, discord, conspiracies, and treasons reigned uncontrolled, and all things were carried by violence. In the western provinces, the bishops and clergy were become extremely voluptuous and effeminate. The ignorance of the sacerdotal order was in many places so deplorable that few of them could write or even read, and still fewer were capable of expressing their erroneous opinions in religion with any degree of method or perspicuity: hence it happened that when any affair of consequence was to be committed to writing, they had commonly recourse to some person who was supposed to be endowed with superior abilities.

Many other circumstances concurred, particularly in the European nations, to produce and augment these evils. Among these we may account the calamities of the times, the sanguinary and perpetual wars which were carried on between Lewis the Meek and his family, the incursions and conquests of the barbarous nations, the gross and incredible ignorance of the nobility, and the affluence and riches that from every quarter flowed in upon the churches and religious seminaries. Nor were other motives wanted to dishonour the Church by introducing into it a corrupt ministry. A nobleman, who, from a deficiency of talents, activity, or courage, was rendered incapable of appearing with dignity in the cabinet, or with honour in the field, immediately directed his views toward the Church, aimed at a distinguished place among its chiefs and rulers, and became, in consequence, a contagious example of stupidity and vice to the inferior clergy. Those patrons of churches, who possessed the right of election, unwilling to submit their disorderly conduct to the keen censure of zealous and upright pastors, commonly committed to the most abject, ignorant, and worthless ecclesiastics the cure of souls. Besides all this, it frequently happened that princes, to satisfy the rapacity of their soldiers and domestics, boldly invaded the possessions of the Church, which they distributed among their armies; and in consequence of this the priests and monks, in order to avoid perishing through hunger, abandoned themselves to the practice of violence, fraud, and every species of crime, which they considered as the only means that remained of procuring themselves a subsistence.

The Roman pontiffs were raised to that high dignity by the suffrages of the sacerdotal order, accompanied with the voice of the people; but, after their election, the approbation of the emperor was necessary to their consecration. There is, indeed, yet extant an edict supposed to have been published in the year 817, by Lewis the Meek, in which he abolishes this imperial right, and grants to the Romans not only the power of electing their pontiff, but also the privilege of installing and consecrating him when elected, without waiting for the emperor's consent. But this grant will deceive none who examine the affair with any degree of attention and diligence, since several of the learned have proved it spurious by the most irresistible arguments. It must, however, be confessed that, after the time of Charles the Bald, a new scene was exhibited, and the important change above mentioned was really introduced. That prince having obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the bishop of Rome, returned this eminent service by exonerating the succeeding pontiffs from the obligation of waiting for the consent of the emperors, in order to their being installed in office. Thus, from the time of Eugenius III., who was raised to the pontificate in 884, the election was carried on without the least regard to law, order, or even decency, and was generally attended with civil tumults and dissensions, until the reign of Otho the Great, who put a stop to these disorderly proceedings.

The principle of aggrandizing the Roman see, which had almost invariably governed the conduct of the popes, was not likely to be diminished at a period when they tasted the sweets of uncontrolled power. To render it the more permanent, they attempted to discard the authority of the king of France, from whom so large a portion of their temporal power was derived. Notwithstanding their increased dominion, the pontiffs of this century were, however, little distinguished by any eminent qualities; and to attempt to detail their history would be to amuse the reader with a catalogue of names. Between the reigns of Leo IV. and Benedict III., a female pope has been introduced. This extraordinary or imaginary person is still characterized by the popular name of Pope Joan, but the papal title which is assigned to her is that of John VIII. She is reported to have been a native of Germany, and early to have conceived a strong attachment to literature and science. With a view of gratifying without restraint this favourite propensity, she is said to have assumed the habit of a man, and to have studied at Athens. From Athens she proceeded to Rome, where her eloquence, learning, and popular manners, commanded the admiration of all who heard her in the public disputations of the schools. By successive steps she ascended the papal throne in 854; but, unfortunately, she indulged in passions very inconsistent with the pursuits of literature, or the maintenance of her dignity. After a reign of two years, five months, and four days, the fruit of her indiscretions exposed her in a very improper situation in a public procession; her paramour is said to have been a cardinal, who officiated as her chaplain; and she expired in this very procession, of the pains of labour, in the street, between the theatre called Coliseum and the church of St. Clement. Such is the narrative which was believed for successive centuries, and with so little offence to the Catholics themselves, that her statue is said to have occupied a place among those of the

popes, in the cathedral of Sienna. (*Pagi Crit.* t. iii, p. 624–626.) It is also supported by the testimony of Platina, who dedicated his history to Sixtus IV.; by that of Ranulphus, in his Polychronicon; by Martinus Polonus, afterward archbishop of Cosensa; by Damasius, Pandulphus, Marianus Scotus, Sigibert, abbot of Gemblours, Archbishop Antoine, and is mentioned as a well known fact by both Petrarch and Boccacio. Notwithstanding these authorities, however, the fact has been questioned by some later critics; and their arguments on the subject have been urged with much zeal. They maintain that a person of such abilities would never have exposed herself to the danger of so unfortunate an event as that which occasioned the discovery; and that such an event, had it existed, would have been seized by the keen and ambitious Photius for the purpose of exposing to ridicule the pretensions to infallibility which were so boldly urged by a rival see. It is also alleged that the testimony of a contemporary, Anastasius, links together the death of Leo and the elevation of Benedict, both which events are fixed by him to the year 857.*

From the liberality of the Carlovingian race the see of Rome continued to derive substantial benefits; and though the pretended donations of Lewis the Meek are generally discredited, the circumstances of the family soon afforded a pretence for new usurpations. After the death of Lewis II., a fatal war broke out between the posterity of Charlemagne, among whom there were several competitors for the empire. This furnished the Italian princes, and the Roman pontiff, John VIII.,

* If the story were established as firmly as any other historical fact, it would add no discredit to the Romish Church. The vices of Joan were not so flagrant as those of John XIII., Alexander VI., and others. Of the vicious life of Pope Alexander VI., Dr. Lempriere, in his Universal Biography, gives the following account:—"Alexander VI., pope, a native of Valentia, in Spain, originally called Roderic Borgia. The elevation of his uncle, Calixtus III. to the pontificate, paved the way to his greatness; he was made cardinal, and afterward archbishop of Valencia. On the death of Innocent VIII. his intrigues insured him the papal chair, though he was then infamous for his debaucheries, and offensive to the purity of the holy conclave, as the adulterous father of four sons and one daughter, by a Roman lady of the name of Vanozia. These children followed the example of their dissolute father, and became monsters of profligacy. The two eldest, the duke of Candia, and Cesar, disputed about the incestuous favours of their sister Lucretia, and the hoary father himself is said to have increased the abomination by a horrid commerce with his own daughter. Though thus devoted to the grossest licentiousness, Alexander found the time and means to raise cabals, and to create intrigues in the courts of Europe, and to convert their dissensions to the advantage of the holy see, and the enriching of his favourite Cesar. His death, which happened August 8, 1503, was such as might be expected to conclude an infamous life. The great opulence of Cardinal Corneto and others were strong temptations to the avaricious pope and his profligate son Cesar. These innocent victims were invited to a banquet, but, by some mistake, the poison intended for them was taken by the guilty pontiff and his son. The pope immediately expired, but Cesar survived the accident some years, to perish by the hand of an assassin. This account of the manner of his death is doubted by some. His life has been written in English by Alexander Gordon, 1729, folio, and by Burchard in Latin."

Dr. Mosheim, in reference to the account of Pope Joan, makes the following remark:—"Upon a deliberate and impartial view of this whole matter, it will appear more than probable, that some unusual event must have happened at Rome, from which this story derived its origin, because it is not at all credible, from any principles of moral evidence, that an event should be believed and related in the same manner by a multitude of historians, during five centuries immediately succeeding its supposed date, if that event had been destitute of all foundation." (*Eccl. Hist.* new edition, in two volumes, vol. i, page 215.)

with a favourable opportunity of assuming to themselves the right of nominating to the imperial throne, and of excluding from all part in this election the nations who had formerly the right of suffrage; and if the opportunity was favourable, it was seized with avidity, and improved with the utmost dexterity and zeal. Their favour and interest were earnestly solicited by Charles the Bald, whose entreaties were rendered effectual by rich presents, prodigious sums of money, and most pompous promises; in consequence of which he was proclaimed emperor in 876, by the pontiff, John VIII., and by the Italian princes assembled at Pavia. Carloman, and Charles the Gross, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Italy and in the Roman empire, were also elected by the Roman pontiff and the Italian princes. After the reign of these princes, the empire was torn in pieces; the most deplorable tumults and commotions arose in Italy, France, and Germany, which were governed, or rather subdued and usurped, by various chiefs; and in this confused scene, the highest bidder was, by the assistance of the avaricious pontiffs, generally raised to the government of Italy, and to the imperial throne.

Thus the power and influence of the popes, in civil affairs, arose in a short time to an enormous height, through the favour and protection of the princes in whose cause they had employed the influence which superstition had given them over the minds of the people. The increase of their authority in religious matters was not less rapid nor less considerable; and it arose from the same causes. The European princes suffered themselves to be divested of the supreme authority in religious affairs, which they had derived from Charlemagne; the power of the bishops was greatly diminished; and even the authority of both provincial and general councils began to decline. The Roman pontiffs, elated with this dangerous prosperity, were eagerly bent upon persuading all, and they had indeed the good fortune to persuade many, that the bishop of Rome was constituted and appointed by Jesus Christ supreme legislator and judge of the universal Church; and that therefore the bishops derived all their authority from the Roman pontiff, nor could the councils determine any thing without his permission and consent. (*Mosheim.*)

In order to gain credit to this new ecclesiastical system, so different from the ancient rules of Church government, and to support the haughty pretensions of the pontiffs to supremacy and independence, it was necessary to have recourse to the authority of ancient deeds. Some of the most ingenious and zealous partisans of the court of Rome were therefore employed in forging conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and similar records, by which it might appear that, in the first ages of the Church, the Roman pontiffs were clothed with the same spiritual majesty and supreme authority which they now assumed.

Among these fictitious supports of the papal dignity, the famous decretal epistles, as they are called, said to have been written by the pontiffs of the primitive times, deserve chiefly to be stigmatized.—They were the productions of an obscure writer, who fraudulently prefixed to them the name of Isidore, bishop of Seville. Some of them had appeared in the eighth century; but they were now entirely drawn from their obscurity, and produced, with an air of ostentation and triumph, to demonstrate the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs. The decisions

of a certain Roman council, which is said to have been held during the pontificate of Silvester, were alleged in behalf of the same cause: but this council had never been so much as heard of before the present century; and the accounts now given of it proceeded from the same source with the decretals, and were equally authentic.

The monastic life was now universally in the highest esteem; and nothing could equal the veneration that was paid to such as devoted themselves to the gloom and indolence of a convent. The Greeks and orientals had been long accustomed to regard the monkish orders and discipline with the greatest admiration; but it was only since the beginning of the last century that this passion was indulged among the Latins to such an extravagant length. In the present age its boundaries were still farther extended: kings, dukes, and counts forgot their true dignity, even the fulfilling with zeal the duties of their high stations; and affected that contempt of the world and its grandeur which they mistook for magnanimity and real devotion.

After the banishment of Irene, the controversy concerning images was renewed among the Greeks; and was carried on by the contending parties, during the half of this century, with various and uncertain success. The Emperor Nicephorus, though he did not abrogate the decrees of the council of Nice, nor order the images to be taken out of the churches, yet deprived the patrons of image worship of all power to molest or injure their adversaries, and seems upon the whole to have been an enemy to that idolatrous service. But his successor, Michael Curopalates, surnamed Rhangabe, pursued very different measures. Feeble and timorous, and dreading the rage of the priests and monks who maintained the cause of images, he favoured that cause during his short reign, and persecuted its adversaries with the greatest rancour and cruelty. The scene again changed upon the accession of Leo the Armenian to the empire, who abolished the decrees of the Nicene council relating to the use and worship of images, in a council assembled at Constantinople in 814; without however enacting any penal laws against their idolatrous worshippers. This moderation, far from satisfying the Patriarch Nicephorus, and the other partisans of image worship, only served to encourage their obstinacy, and to increase their insolence; upon which the emperor removed the haughty prelate from his office, and chastised the fury of several of his adherents with punishment. His successor, Michael, surnamed Balbus, or the Stammerer, was compelled to observe the same conduct, and to depart from the clemency and indulgence which in the beginning of his reign he had discovered toward the worshippers of images, whose idolatry however he was far from approving: the monks in particular excited his indignation by their fanatical rage, and forced him to treat them with particular severity. But the zeal of his son and successor, Theophilus, in discouraging idolatry, was still more vehement; for he opposed the worshippers of images with great violence, and went so far as to condemn to death some of the more obstinate supporters of that impetuous faction. Upon the death of Theophilus, which happened in the year 842, the regency was intrusted with the Empress Theodora, during her son's minority This superstitious princess, fatigued with the importunate solicitations of the monks, deluded by their forged miracles, and not a little influenced by their insolent threats

assembled in the same year a council at Constantinople, in which the decrees of the second Nicene council were reinstated in their lost authority, and the Greeks were indulged in their corrupt propensity to image worship, by a decisive law. Thus, after a controversy which had been protracted during the space of a hundred and ten years, the cause of idolatry triumphed over the dictates of reason and Christianity; the whole east, the Armenians excepted, bowed down before the victorious images; nor did any of the succeeding emperors attempt to recover the Greeks from this superstitious phrensy, or to restrain them in the performance of this puerile worship. The council which was held at Constantinople under Photius, in the year 879, and which is reckoned by the Greeks the eighth general council, added force and vigour to idolatry, by maintaining the sanctity of images, and approving, confirming, and renewing the Nicene decrees. The same council expunged the word *filioque* from the creed.

The triumph of images, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of Roman pontiffs in their favour, was obtained with much more difficulty among the Latins than it had been among the Greeks: for the former still continued to maintain that invaluable, and indeed inalienable, privilege of judging for themselves in religious matters; and were far from being disposed to submit their reason implicitly to the decisions of the pontiff, or to consider any thing as infallible and true which had human authority only for its foundation. Most of the European Christians steered a middle course between the idolaters and the Iconoclasts; between those who were zealous for the worship of images, on the one hand, and those who were totally averse to the use of them, on the other. They were of opinion, as was already stated, that images might be suffered as the means of aiding the memory of the faithful, and of calling to their remembrance the pious and virtuous actions of the persons they represented; but they detested all thoughts of paying them the smallest degree of religious homage or adoration. Michael Balbus, when he sent, in the year 824, a solemn embassy to Lewis the Meek, to renew and confirm the treaties of friendship and peace which had been concluded between his predecessors in the empire and Charlemagne, charged his ministers, in a particular manner, to conciliate the king of the Franks to the party of the Iconoclasts, that they might gradually suppress, by their united influence, the worship of images, and thus restore concord and tranquillity to the Church. Lewis, upon this occasion, assembled a council at Paris in 824, to examine the proposal of the Grecian emperor; in which it was resolved to adhere to the decrees of the council of Frankfort, which allowed the use of images in the churches; but severely to prohibit treating them with the smallest marks of religious worship. In time, however, the European Christians departed gradually from the observance of this injunction, and fell imperceptibly into a blind submission to the decisions of the Roman pontiff, whose influence and authority grew daily more formidable. Toward the conclusion therefore of this century, the Gallican clergy began to pay a certain degree of religious homage to the sacred images; and their example was followed by the Germans, and other nations.

Notwithstanding this apostacy, the Iconoclasts were not destitute of adherents among the Latins. The most eminent of these was Clau-

dius, bishop of Turin, by birth a Spaniard, and a disciple of Felix, bishop of Urgel. This zealous prelate no sooner obtained the episcopal dignity through the favour of Lewis the Meek, than he began the duties of his function in the year 823, by ordering all images, and even the cross itself, to be cast out of the churches, and committed to the flames. The year following he composed a treatise, in which he not only defended these vehement proceedings, and declared against the use, as well as the worship of images; but also broached several other opinions that were contrary to the notions of the multitude, and to the prejudices of the times. He denied, among other things, in opposition to the Greeks, that the cross was to be honoured with any kind of worship; he treated relics with the utmost contempt, as absolutely destitute of the virtues which were attributed to them; and censured with much freedom and severity the frequent pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and the offerings at the tombs of saints, which produced such immense emoluments to considerable bodies of ecclesiastics. It is not to be supposed that such a stand in defence of liberty and common sense should pass without opposition. Theodomin, bishop of Turin, Jonas, bishop of Orleans, and some others, attempted to refute him in voluminous answers, and probably not without success in the apprehension of no small portion of their readers.

But of all the controversies which this age produced the most interesting is that which ended in the total disunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. A vindictive and jealous spirit of animosity and contention had for a long time prevailed between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, and had sometimes manifested itself in positive acts of violence. In this century it arose to an enormous height; and broke forth into a most violent flame in the year 858, when the learned Photius was chosen patriarch of Constantinople, by the Emperor Michal, in the place of Ignatius, whom that prince expelled from his see, and forced into exile. This violent proceeding, though it was justified and applauded by a council assembled at Constantinople, in the year 861, was far from being attended with general approbation. Ignatius appealed from this council to the Roman pontiff, Nicholas I., who espoused his interests; and in a council assembled at Rome, in 862, excommunicated Photius, as unlawfully elected; as well as his abetters, for having been concerned in so unrighteous a cause. The new patriarch, however, was so far from being terrified or dejected by this excommunication, that he returned the compliment to the Roman pontiff; and, in a council assembled at Constantinople, in the year 866, declared Nicholas unworthy both of the place he held in the Church, and also of being admitted to the communion of Christians.

The Roman pontiff alleged a specious pretext for appearing in this contest with so much violence, and exciting such unhappy commotions in the Church. This pretext was the innocence of Ignatius, whom, upon an accusation of treason, whether true or false, the emperor had degraded from his patriarchal dignity. This, however, was no more than a pretext; ambition and interest were the true though secret springs which directed the conduct of Nicholas, who would have borne with patience, and even have beheld with indifference, the unjust sufferings of Ignatius, could he but have recovered from the Greeks the provinces of Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly, and

Sicily, which the emperor and Photius had removed from the jurisdiction of the Roman see. Before he engaged in the cause of Ignatius, he sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople, to demand the restitution of these provinces; but his demand was rejected with contempt; hence, under pretence of avenging the injuries committed against Ignatius, he indulged without restraint his own private resentment; and thus covered with the mask of justice the fury of disappointed ambition and avarice.

While affairs were in this distracted state, and the flame of controversy was daily becoming more violent, Basilius the Macedonian, who, by the murder of his predecessor, had enabled himself to seize the imperial throne, calmed at once these tumults, and restored peace to the Church, by recalling Ignatius from exile to the high station from which he had been degraded, and by confining Photius in a monastery. This imperial act of authority was solemnly approved and confirmed by a council assembled at Constantinople in the year 869, in which the legates of the Roman pontiff, Adrian II., had considerable influence, and were treated with the highest marks of distinction. The Latins acknowledge this assembly as the eighth œcumenical council; and in it the religious disputes between them and the Greeks were concluded, or silenced and suspended at least. But the controversy concerning the authority of the Roman pontiffs, the limits of their spiritual empire, and particularly their jurisdiction in Bulgaria, still subsisted; nor could all the efforts of papal ambition engage either Ignatius or the emperor to resign Bulgaria, or any other province, to the see of Rome.

Upon the death of Ignatius, which happened in the year 878, the emperor took Photius into favour, and placed him again at the head of the Greek Church, in the patriarchal dignity whence he had fallen. This restoration of the degraded patriarch was agreed to by the Roman pontiff, John VIII., upon condition, however, that Photius would permit the Bulgarians to come under the jurisdiction of the Roman see. The latter promised to satisfy in this the demands of the pontiff, to which the emperor also appeared to concede; (*Mich. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus*, tom. i, p. 103;) hence it was that John VIII. sent legates to the council held at Constantinople in 879, by whom he declared his approbation of the acts of that assembly, and acknowledged Photius as his brother in Christ. The promises, however, of the emperor and the patriarch were far from being accomplished; for, after this council, the former, probably by the advice, or, at least, with the consent, of Photius, refused to transfer the province of Bulgaria to the Roman pontiff; and it must be confessed that this refusal was founded upon weighty and important reasons. The pontiff, notwithstanding, was highly irritated at this disappointment, and sent Marinus to Constantinople in the character of legate, to declare that he had changed his mind concerning Photius, and that he entirely approved of the sentence of excommunication which had formerly been issued against him. The legate, upon delivering this disagreeable message, was cast into prison by the emperor, but was afterward set free; and being raised to the pontificate upon the death of John VIII. recalled the remembrance of this injurious treatment, and levelled a new sentence of condemnation against Photius.

This sentence was treated with contempt by the haughty patriarch. But, about six years after this period, he experienced again the fragility of sublunary grandeur and elevation, by a fall which concluded his prosperous days: for in the year 886, Leo, surnamed the Philosopher, the son and successor of Basilius, deposed him from the patriarchal see, and confined him in an Armenian monastery, where he died in the year 891. The death of Photius, who was the only author of the schisms that divided the Greeks and Latins, might have been an occasion of removing these unhappy contests, and of restoring peace and concord in the Church, if the Roman pontiffs had not been regardless of the demands of equity, as well as of the duty of Christian moderation. But they indulged their passions at the expense of sound policy, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the degradation of all the priests and bishops who had been ordained by Photius. The Greeks, on the other hand, were shocked at the arrogance of these unjust pretensions, and refused to submit to them on any conditions. Hence resentment and irritation renewed the spirit of dispute which had been happily declining; religious as well as civil contests were again set on foot; new controversies were added to the old; until the fatal schism took place, which produced a lasting and total separation between the Greek and Latin Churches.*

* The distinguishing tenets of the Greek Church are as follow:

1. They disown the authority of the pope, and deny that the Church of Rome is the true Catholic Church.
2. They do not baptize their children till they are three, four, five, six, ten, nay sometimes eighteen years of age.
3. They insist that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to be administered in both kinds; and they give the sacrament to children immediately after baptism.
4. They deny that there is any such place as purgatory, notwithstanding they pray for the dead that God would have mercy on them at the general judgment.
5. They exclude confirmation, extreme unction, and matrimony out of the seven sacraments.
6. They deny auricular confession to be a Divine precept, and say it is only a positive injunction of the Church.
7. They pay no religious homage to the eucharist.
8. They administer the communion in both kinds to the laity, both in sickness and in health, though they have never applied themselves to their confessors; because they are persuaded that a lively faith is all which is requisite for the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper.
9. They maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father, and not from the Son.
10. They admit of no images in relief, or embossed work; but use paintings, and sculptures in copper or silver.
11. They approve of the marriage of priests, provided they enter into that state before their admission into holy orders.
12. They condemn all fourth marriages.
13. They observe a number of holy days; and keep four fasts in the year more solemn than the rest, of which the fast in Lent, before Easter, is the chief.

CHAPTER II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, AND CEREMONIES IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

Worship of saints—Multiplication of the celestial advocates—Forgeries of legends—Rage for relics—Apology for this passion—New doctrines concerning the presence of Christ in the eucharist—Controversies on this subject—Abolition of choro-episcopi—New orders of monks—Festivals in honour of saints—All Saints' day—St. Michael—The cross carried before the pope.

THE ignorance and corruption that dishonoured the Christian Church in this century were great beyond measure; and, were there no other examples of their enormity upon record than the single instance of that stupid veneration which was paid to the bones and carcasses of departed saints, this would be sufficient to convince us of the deplorable progress of superstition. This idolatrous devotion was now considered as the most sacred and momentous branch of religion; nor did any dare to entertain the smallest hopes of finding the Deity propitious before they had assured themselves of the protection and intercession of some of this sacred order. Hence every church, and, indeed, every private Christian, had their particular patron among the saints, from an apprehension, perhaps, that their spiritual interests would be but indifferently conducted by those who were already employed respecting the souls of others. This notion rendered it necessary to multiply prodigiously the number of saints, and to create daily new patrons for the deluded people; and this was indeed performed with sufficient zeal. The priests and monks employed their whole time and invention, and peopled at discretion the invisible world with imaginary protectors. They dispelled the thick darkness which covered the pretended spiritual exploits of many holy men; and they invented both names and histories of saints who never had an existence, in order that they might not be at a loss to furnish the credulous multitude with objects proper to perpetuate their superstition, and to nourish their confidence. Many chose their own guides, and committed their spiritual interests either to phantoms of their own creation, or to distracted fanatics, whom they esteemed as saints, for no other reason than because they had lived like madmen.

The ecclesiastical councils found it necessary, at length, to set limits to the licentious superstition of the ignorant populace, who, with a view to have still more friends in the celestial regions, (for such were their gross notions,) were daily adding new saints to the list of their imaginary mediators. They accordingly declared, by a solemn decree, that no departed Christian should be considered as a member of the order of saints, before the bishop, in a provincial council, and in presence of the people, had pronounced him worthy of that distinguished honour. (*Mabillon, Actæ Sancti Ordinis Benedicti, Sæc.* v.) This remedy, feeble and illusory as it was, contributed in some measure to restrain the fanatical temerity of the saint makers; but, in its consequences, it was the occasion of a new accession of power to the see of Rome. Even so early as this century, many were of opinion that it was proper and expedient, though not absolutely necessary, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be confirmed by the consent and authority of the Roman pontiff, whom they

considered as the supreme and universal bishop; nor will this appear surprising to those who reflect upon the enormous strides which the bishops of Rome made toward unbounded dominion in the preceding ages of barbarism, the corruption and darkness of which were peculiarly favourable to their ambitious pretensions. We have, however, no example of any person solemnly canonized by the bishop of Rome alone, before the tenth century, when Uldraic, bishop of Augsburg, received this dignity in a formal manner from John XV. It is however certain that previous to that period the Roman pontiffs were consulted on similar cases, and their judgment respected in the choice of celestial mediators.

This preposterous multiplication of saints became a new source of abuses and frauds. It was thought necessary to write the lives of these celestial patrons, in order to procure for them the veneration and confidence of a deluded multitude; and all the resources of forgery and fable were consequently exhausted to celebrate exploits which had never existed. There is yet extant a prodigious quantity of these trifling legends, the greater part of which were undoubtedly forged, after the time of Charlemagne, by the monastic writers. The same impostors who peopled the celestial regions with fictitious saints, employed also their fruitful inventions in embellishing, with false miracles and other impertinent forgeries, the history of those who had been really martyrs or confessors in the cause of Christ. These fictions, however, did not pass with impunity; but were severely censured by some of the most eminent writers, even of the times in which they were imposed upon the credulity of the public. Various were the motives which engaged different persons to propagate or countenance these impostures. Some were incited to it by the seductions of a false devotion, which induced them to imagine that departed saints were highly delighted with the applauses and veneration of mortals; and never failed to reward with peculiar marks of their favour and protection such as were zealous in honouring their memories, and in celebrating their actions. The prospect of gain, and the ambitious desire of being reverenced by the multitude, engaged others to multiply the number, and to maintain the credit of the legends,* or registers of the saints. The churches, which were dedicated to the saints, were perpetually crowded with supplicants, who flocked to them with rich presents, in order to obtain assistance under the afflictions they suffered, or deliverance from the dangers which they had reason to apprehend. It was esteemed also a high honour to be the more immediate ministers of these tutelary mediators, who, it is proper to observe, were esteemed in proportion to their antiquity, and to the number and importance of the pretended miracles which had rendered their lives illustrious. This latter circumstance offered a strong temptation to such as were employed by the various churches in writing the lives of their tutelary saints, to supply by invention the defects of truth, and to embellish their legends with fictitious prodigies; and they were not only tempted to this imposture, but were even obliged to employ it, in order to increase the reputation of their respective patrons.

All this was, however, insufficient to satisfy the demands of superstition. The regard for relics, which had been for some centuries

* Evidently from *legendum*, the gerund of *lego*, to *read*.

increasing, in this appeared to absorb the whole attention of mankind. Perhaps, however, we are inclined to treat the follies of past ages with too much severity; and though a zeal for religion will constitute no part of the character of the nineteenth century, perhaps our absurdities and fashions will not make a more respectable appearance in the eyes of posterity. To accumulate relics was the rage of the times; and even those who were less inclined to superstition in other respects, might be unreflectingly impelled along the tide of prevailing custom, and might be animated as we are to the imitation of the follies of our superiors. Many persons travelled during this age into the eastern provinces, and frequented the places which Christ and his disciples had honoured with their presence; in hopes that, with the bones and other sacred remains of the first heralds of the Gospel, they might be enabled to extend comfort to dejected minds, to calm trembling consciences, to save sinking states, and defend their inhabitants from every species of calamity. These pious travellers did not indeed return home empty; the craft, dexterity, and knavery of the Greeks found a rich prey in the absurd credulity of the Latins, and made a profitable commerce of this new devotion. The latter paid considerable sums for legs and arms, skulls, and jaw-bones, (several of which were pagan, and some not human,) with other things, supposed to have belonged to the primitive worthies of the Christian Church; and thus the Latin churches came to the possession of those celebrated relics of St. Mark, St. James, St. Bartholomew, Cyprian, Pantalion, and others, which even at this day are occasionally exhibited with much ostentation. But though the veneration for the remains of celebrated persons, when carried to such an extreme as to be converted into a species of religious worship, is certainly culpable; and, though the miracles which were attributed to these remains must be considered either as the delusions of fancy, or the forgeries of priestcraft; still we are not to suppose the passion itself without a foundation in the principles of human nature. It is impossible to confine the human affections in their operation; it is impossible not to connect with the objects of our regard and admiration every thing which was originally connected with them.

A doctrine entirely new, concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, made its appearance in the course of this century. It had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the Church, that the body and blood of Christ were administered to those who received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that they were consequently present at that holy institution; but the sentiments of Christians concerning the nature and manner of this presence were various and contradictory; nor had any council determined with precision that important point, or prescribed the manner in which this pretended presence was to be understood. Both reason and folly were hitherto left free in this matter; nor had any imperious mode of faith suspended the exercise of the one, or restrained the extravagance of the other. But in this age Pascasius Radbert, a monk, and afterward abbot, of Corbey, undertook to explain with precision, and to determine with certainty, the doctrine of the Church on this point; for which purpose he composed, in the year 831, a Treatise concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. The doctrine of Pascasius amounted in general to the two following propo-

sitions: first, that, after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, nothing remained of these symbols but the outward figure, under which the body and blood of Christ were really and locally present; and secondly, that the body of Christ thus present in the eucharist was the same body which was born of the virgin, which suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead. This new doctrine, and especially the second proposition, excited, as might well be expected, the astonishment of many. It was opposed by Rabanus, Maurus, Heribald, and others; though they did not all refute it in the same manner, nor upon the same principles. Charles the Bald, upon this occasion, ordered the famous Ratramn and Johannes Scotus to draw up a clear and rational explication of that important doctrine, which Radbert seemed to have so egregiously corrupted. These learned divines executed with zeal and diligence the order of the emperor. The treatise of Scotus perished in the ruins of time; but that of Ratramn is still extant, and furnished ample matter of dispute both in the last and present century. It is remarkable that, in this controversy, each of the contending parties were almost as much divided among themselves as they were at variance with their adversaries.—Radbert, who began the dispute, contradicts himself in many places, departs from his own principles, and maintains, in one part of his book, conclusions which he had disavowed in another. His principal adversary, Bertramn, or Ratramn, seems in some respects liable to the same charge: he appears to follow in general the doctrine of those who deny that the body and blood of Christ are really present in the holy sacrament; and to affirm, on the contrary, that they are only represented by the bread and wine, as their signs or symbols. Johannes Scotus Erigena, whose philosophical genius rendered him more accurate, and spread through his writings that logical precision so much wanted and so highly desirable in polemical productions, was the only disputant in this contest who expressed his sentiments with perspicuity, method, and consistency; and declared plainly that the bread and wine were the signs and symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ. The toher divines of this age fluctuate in their opinions, express themselves with ambiguity, and embrace and reject the same tenets at different times, as if they had no fixed or permanent principles.

Scarcely any alterations took place in the form of church government during this century: the only event of this kind, indeed, worthy of notice, was the abolition of the choro-episcopi, or rural bishops, in the western Church; who, being discovered not to be true bishops, were deprived of their sees, and the order discontinued by the pope's decree. To remedy this deficiency, a number of new convents were erected, and some new orders of regulars established; in particular the order of canons regular of St. James la Spada, which was instituted in 830 by Don Ramirus, king of Leon.

It would be endless to enter into an exact enumeration of the various rites and ceremonies which were now introduced, and of which some were adopted by the whole body of Christians, and others only by certain churches. It will be necessary, therefore, to dismiss this subject with a general statement only, and point out the sources from which the curious reader may derive a more particular knowledge of the absurdities of this superstitious age. The bodies of the saints, transported

from foreign countries, or discovered at home by the industry and diligence of pious or designing priests, not only obliged the rulers of the Church to augment the number of festivals or holydays already established, but also to diversify the ceremonies in such a manner, that each saint might have his peculiar worship. As the authority also and credit of the clergy depended much upon the high opinion which was entertained of the virtue and merit of the saints they had canonized and presented to the multitude as objects of religious veneration, it was necessary to amuse and surprise them by a variety of pompous and striking ceremonies, by images, processions, and similar inventions. Among other novelties, the feast of All Saints was added in 835, by Gregory IV., to the Latin calendar; and the festival of St. Michael, which had been long observed with the greatest marks of devotion by the orientals and Italians, began now to be respected more zealously and universally among the Latin Christians. It is also supposed that the custom of carrying the cross before the pope commenced in this century.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

Predestinarians—Abrahamians—Persecution of the Paulicians.

THE spirit of innovation will generally be found to accompany the spirit of inquiry. But from the seventh to the twelfth or thirteenth century the Church was involved in dark and misty stillness. The notions also which were entertained of the infallibility of councils and of patriarchs sufficiently repressed the enterprising spirit of those who indulged speculation in less distinguished situations: that portion of the history, therefore, which is appropriated to controversies and to sects has been gradually contracting; and in this and the succeeding century an almost perfect unanimity, in ignorance at least, seems to have pervaded each of the two great bodies of eastern and western Christians.

Those disputes, however, which have so frequently divided and perplexed the Christian world, those concerning the predestination of mankind and the Divine grace, were revived in this century by a French monk of the name of Godeschald. (*Formey*, cent. ix.) This uncharitable innovator maintained that God predestined to eternal death a certain number of men, for whom Jesus Christ would not die; and at the same time predestined others to salvation by an effect of his good pleasure. The first who condemned this doctrine was Archbishop Raban, in a council held at Mentz, in 848. But Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, not content with confirming this sentence, in another synod, in the following year, subjected the unfortunate Godeschald to a severe flagellation, and ordered him afterward to be imprisoned.—Several writers also attacked this heretic; among whom were Pandulus, bishop of London, and John Erigena, called Scotus. Some also, who were distinguished both by rank and abilities, appeared in his defence. Of these were Amelon, archbishop of Lyons, Romi, his successor,

Florus, the deacon, and the whole Church of Lyons; Prudence, bishop of Troyes, Loup, abbot of Farieres in France, and the learned monk, Ratramnus. This doctrine was also approved by several councils; by that of Valence in 855, and by those of Langres and Tulle in 859.

It has been asserted that some new opinions made their appearance among the sect of Paulicians; and, in particular, that a party of them distinguished themselves by the name of Abrahamians, not from the Hebrew patriarch, but from their founder, an obscure person of that name. The particular opinions of this sect, however, if it maintained any such, are lost in the general oblivion to which the flames of persecution consigned almost every thing appertaining to the Paulicians, whose sufferings in general can never be sufficiently regretted.

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

Photius—Greek commentators—Moses Barcepha—Munificence of Charlemagne—Christian Druthmar—Bertharius—Rabanus Maurus—Walafrid Strabo—Claudius of Turin—Hincmar—Remigius of Auxerre—Agobard—Theodorus Abucara—Controversy with the Mohammedans—Eginhard—Theganus of Treves—Anastasius—Alfred the Great—Reform of the laws of Justinian—Basilican code.

THE most illustrious character of this century among the Greeks was Photius, whose eventful history has already occupied some pages, as connected with the general state of the Christian world. "Greece, so fertile in genius," says the learned Cave, "has never produced a person of more universal abilities, of sounder judgment, of deeper penetration, of more unbounded reading, or more unwearied diligence." He has made extracts from upward of three hundred ancient authors, all of whom he must have diligently studied and digested; and while he was thus indefatigable in study, let it be remembered that he was engaged in the most active duties of a statesman, and involved in the most perplexing consequences of controversy.

He composed, among other works, a book of questions relating to the sense of different passages of Scripture, and an exposition of the epistles of St. Paul.

The other Greek writers who attempted to explain the Holy Scriptures did little more than compile and accumulate various passages from the commentators of the preceding ages; and this method was the origin of those *catenæ*, or chains of commentaries, so much in use among the Greeks during this century, of which a considerable number have descended to our time, and which consisted entirely in a collection of the explications of Scripture that were scattered through the ancient divines. The greater part of the theological writers, finding themselves incapable of more arduous undertakings, confined their labours to this species of compilation.

The Latin commentators were superior in number to those among the Greeks, owing to the zeal and munificence of Charlemagne, who, both by his liberality and by his example, had excited and encouraged the

doctors of the preceding age to the study of the Scriptures. Of these expositors there are two, at least, who are worthy of esteem; Christian Druthmar, whose commentary on St. Matthew has been transmitted to posterity; and the Abbot Bertharius, whose two books concerning fundamentals are also said to be still extant. The rest seem unequal to the important office of sacred critics, and may be divided into two classes; the class of those who merely collected and reduced into a mass the opinions and explications of the ancients; and that of a fantastical set of expositors, who were constantly labouring to deduce a variety of abstruse and hidden significations from every passage of Scripture, which they in general performed in a very absurd and uncouth manner. At the head of the first class was Rabanus Maurus, who acknowledged that he borrowed from the ancient doctors the materials he made use of in illustrating the gospel of St. Matthew, and the epistles of St. Paul; Walafrid Strabo, who adopted his explications chiefly from Rabanus; Claudius of Turin, who trod in the footsteps of Augustine and Origen; Hincmar, whose exposition of the book of Kings, compiled from the fathers, is yet extant; Remigius of Auxerre, who derived from the same source his illustrations of the Psalms, and other books of sacred writ; Sedulius, who explained in the same manner the epistles of St. Paul; Florus; Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt; and others, of whom the limits of this work will not admit an extended character.

The defence of Christianity against the Jews and pagans was greatly neglected in this century. Agobard, however, as well as Amulo and Rabanus Maurus, chastised the insolence and malignity of the Jews, and exposed their various absurdities and errors; while the Emperor Leo, Theodorus Abucara, and other writers, whose performances are lost, employed their polemic labours against the progress of the Saracens, and refuted their impious and extravagant system. It is to be lamented that, on some occasions, truth has been sacrificed to religious zeal by these vehement polemics; and that they have condescended to report such circumstances of Mohammed and his disciples, as are not only unsupported by authentic testimony, but even contrary to probability itself.

The famous Eginhard, secretary to Charlemagne, who wrote the life of his benefactor, is the most ancient of the German historians: he is supposed to have had an intrigue with the emperor's daughter, whom he afterward married.* He founded the monastery of Selgenstadt, in the diocess of Mentz. Theganus, bishop of Treves, also wrote a history of Lewis the Meek. Anastasius the abbot, and librarian to the pope, is a learned and valuable historian; he was sent by the emperor, Lewis II., to Basil, the eastern emperor, and was present at the eighth general council, where he proved of infinite service to the pope's legates, from his extensive knowledge of both the Greek and Latin languages. He translated the acts of that council, those of the seventh, and many other acts and monuments of the Greek Church, as well as the Tripartite History, which contains the chronicles of Nicephorus, of George, and of Theophanes, from the creation to the reign of Leo the Armenian. He is also generally considered as the author of the Lives of the Popes

* A pleasant account of this intrigue is related in the Spectator.

which are falsely inscribed with the name of the Roman pontiff, Damasus.

The English Alfred deserves the most respectful mention in the annals of this age, not only as a great monarch, but as a great scholar, considering the age in which he lived, and the few advantages which he enjoyed. He translated the General History of Orosius into Saxon, and composed several other works; and so great was his admiration of learning, that it is asserted that no unlearned person was permitted to exercise any public office or function during the course of his reign.

The Justinian code of laws underwent some improvement about this period. The Pandects, the Institutes, the Digests, and the Code were reduced, by the command of the Emperor Leo, to one body of laws, which was divided into six parts and sixty books: they were called *Basilica*, either from the emperor's father Basil, who began the work, or because they were imperial constitutions. This is the code of civil law which the Greeks continued to use till the destruction of their empire; and was written in Greek, as that of Justinian was in Latin (*Fleury*, xi, 499.)

THE TENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

Success of the Nestorians in propagating the Gospel—Conversion of Norway, of the Poles, the Russians, the Hungarians, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Normans—Luxury of the clergy—History of the popes from Leo V. to Sylvester II.—Iniquitous distribution of preferments—Monastic institutions—Order of Clugni.

THE night of ignorance had now almost completely obscured the pure light of evangelical truth; and morality, not less than religion, appeared to be subverted. The system of the Gospel, however, increased in name at least, if not in substance. The Nestorians in Chaldea extended their spiritual conquests beyond Mount Imaus, and introduced the Christian religion into Tartary, properly so called, whose inhabitants had hitherto lived in their natural state of ignorance and ferocity, uncivilized and savage. The same successful missionaries spread, by degrees, the knowledge of the Gospel among that powerful nation of the Turks, or Tartars, which were distinguished by the name of Karit, and whose territory bordered on Kathay, or on the northern part of China. The laborious industry of this sect, and their zeal for the extension of the Christian faith, deserve the highest encomiums; but the historians of the Church have, in general, been more disposed to record the errors than the virtues of those who differed from the orthodox creed.

If we contemplate the western world we shall find the Gospel proceeding with more or less rapidity through the most rude and uncivilized nations. The dukes of Poland and Russia were induced to profess the Christain faith; the Hungarians also enrolled themselves among the believers in the Gospel; and the zeal of Adeldagus and Poppo produced similar effects in the countries of Denmark and Sweden. The celebrated arch-pirate, Rollo, son of the Norwegian count, being banished from his native land, had, in the preceding century, put himself at the head of a resolute band of Normans, and seized upon one of the maritime provinces of France, whence he infested the whole adjacent country with perpetual incursions and depredations. In the year 912, this valiant chief embraced, with his whole army, the Christian faith; but convenience, not conviction, must be confessed to have been his motive. Charles the Simple, who was equally destitute both of courage and ability to expel this warlike invader from his dominions, was obliged to have recourse to negotiation, and accordingly offered to assign over to him a considerable part of his territories, upon condition that he would consent to a peace, espouse his daughter Gisela, and embrace Christianity. These terms were accepted by Rollo without hesitation; and his army, conformably to this example, were soon induced to profess a religion of which they were in fact totally

ignorant. (*Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i, p. 296; *Daniel, Hist. de France*, tom. ii, p. 587.)

Their conversion was, indeed, almost entirely nominal for a considerable time, and their conduct such as to excite complaints from the archbishop of Rheims to the pope, to whom he represented the Normans as violating their baptismal oath by sacrificing to idols, eating of meats which had been offered to their ancient divinities, and as cruelly destroying the Christian priests.

The luxury and ignorance of the clergy were equally conspicuous during the tenth century. Some opinion of the conduct of the Grecian patriarchs may be formed from that of Theophylact. This prelate, who sold every ecclesiastical benefice as soon as it became vacant, had in his stables above two thousand hunting horses, which he fed with pignuts, pistachios, dates, dried grapes, figs steeped in the most exquisite wines, to all which he added the richest perfumes. One Holy Thursday, as he was celebrating high mass, his groom brought him the joyful news that one of his favourite mares had foaled; upon which he threw down the liturgy, left the church, and ran in raptures to the stable: whence, after having expressed his joy at this important event, he returned to the altar to finish the solemn service which had remained interrupted during his absence. (*See Fleury, Hist. Ecclesi.* livre lv, 97, edit. *Bruxelle.*)

The history of the Roman pontiffs, in this century, exhibits, with some instances of piety and ability, a series of disgusting and complicated crimes. The source of these disorders must be sought for principally in the calamities which afflicted the greater part of Europe, and particularly Italy, after the extinction of the race of Charlemagne. Upon the death of the pontiff Benedict IV., which happened in the year 903, Leo V. was raised to the pontificate; but this prelate enjoyed his elevation only forty days, and was dethroned and imprisoned by Christopher, one of his domestics.

The usurper was, however, in his turn, deprived of the pontifical dignity in the following year, by Sergius III., a Roman presbyter. This pontiff owed his elevation to the protection of Adalbert, a powerful Tuscan prince, whose influence over every affair transacted at Rome was unlimited; but the short period of his reign was only remarkable for the ambition and licentiousness of the prelate. The pontificates of Anastasius III. and Lando, who, after the death of Sergius, were successively raised to the papal chair, were too transient to be very fruitful in events.

After the death of Lando, in the year 914, Albert, marquis or count of Tuscany, obtained the pontificate for John X., archbishop of Ravenna, in compliance with the solicitation of Theodora, his mother-in-law, whose lewdness is recorded to have been the principle which interested her in this promotion. John X., though in other respects a scandalous example of iniquity and licentiousness, acquired a certain degree of reputation by his glorious campaign against the Saracens, whom he expelled from their settlements upon the banks of the Garigliano. He did not, however, long enjoy his elevation; the enmity of Marozia, daughter of Theodora, and wife of Albert, proved fatal to him. That intriguing woman having espoused Wido, or Guy, marquis of Tuscany, after the death of her first consort, engaged him to

seize the wanton pontiff, who was her mother's lover, and to put him to death in the prison where he lay confined. The unfortunate and licentious John was succeeded by Leo VI., who presided but seven months in the apostolic chair, which was filled after him by Stephen VII. The death of the latter, which happened in the year 931, presented to the ambition of Marozia an object worthy of its grasp; and accordingly she raised to the papal dignity John XI., who was the fruit of her lawless amours with one of the pretended successors of St. Peter, Sergius III., whose adulterous commerce with that infamous woman gave an *infallible* guide to the Roman Church.

John XI., who was placed at the head of the Church by the credit and influence of his mother, was precipitated from this summit of spiritual grandeur, A. D. 933, by Alberic, his half-brother, who had conceived the utmost aversion against him. Upon the death of Wido, the splendid offers of the infamous Marozia had allured Hugo, king of Italy, to accept her hand. But the unfortunate monarch did not long enjoy the promised honour of being made the master of Rome. Alberic, his son-in-law, stimulated by an affront which he had received from him, excited the Romans to revolt, and expelled from the city not only the offending king, but his mother Marozia and her son, the reigning pontiff, all of whom he confined in prison, where John ended his days in the year 936. The four pontiffs, who in their turns succeeded and filled the papal chair till the year 956, were Leo VII., Stephen VIII., Marianus II., and Agapet, whose characters were greatly superior to those of their immediate predecessors, and whose government, at least, was not attended with those tumults and revolutions which had so frequently shaken the pontifical throne, and banished from Rome the inestimable blessings of peace. Upon the death of Agapet, which happened in the year 956, Alberic II., who to the dignity of Roman consul joined a degree of authority and opulence which nothing could resist, raised to the pontificate his son Octavian, who was yet in the early bloom of youth, and destitute of every quality requisite to discharge the duties of that important office. This unworthy pontiff took the name of John XII., and thus introduced the custom, which has since been adopted by all his successors in the see of Rome, of assuming a new appellation upon their accession to the pontificate.

The fate of John XII. was as unhappy as his promotion had been scandalous. Unable to bear the oppressive yoke of Berenger II., king of Italy, he sent ambassadors, in the year 960, to Otho the Great, entreating him to march into Italy, at the head of a powerful army, to deliver the Church and the people from the tyranny with which they were oppressed. To these entreaties the perplexed pontiff added a solemn promise that if the German monarch came to his assistance he would array him with the purple, and the other ensigns of sovereignty, and proclaim him emperor of the Romans. Otho received the embassy with pleasure, marched into Italy at the head of a large body of troops, and was accordingly saluted by John with the promised title. The pontiff, however, soon perceiving that he had acted with too much precipitation, repented of the step he had taken; and, though he had so solemnly sworn allegiance to the emperor as his lawful sovereign, violated his oath, and joined Adelbert, the son of Berenger, against Otho.

This revolt was not left unpunished. The emperor returned to Rome in the year 964, called a council, before which he accused and convicted the pontiff of the most atrocious crimes; and after having ignominiously degraded him from his office, appointed Leo VIII. to fill his place. Upon Otho's departure from Rome, John returned to that city, and in a council, which he assembled in the year 964, condemned the pontiff whom the emperor had elected. He soon after died in consequence of a violent blow on the temples, inflicted by the hand of a gentleman whose wife he had seduced. After his death the Romans chose Benedict V. bishop of Rome, in opposition to Leo; but the emperor annulled this election, restored Leo to the papal chair, and carried Benedict to Hamburg, where he died in exile.

From this gloomy picture of depravity and vice we turn with some degree of pleasure, to consider those pontiffs who governed the see of Rome from Leo VIII., who died A. D. 965, to Gerbert, or Silvester II., who was raised to the pontificate toward the conclusion of this century. Their pontificates were indeed unadorned by the display of profound erudition, or of any splendid qualities; but the conduct of most of them was decent, and their administration respectable. John XIII., who was elevated to the papal chair in the year 965, by the authority of Otho the Great, was expelled from Rome in the beginning of his administration; but the year following, upon the emperor's return to Italy, he was restored to his dignity, in the calm possession of which he ended his days, A. D. 972. His successor, Benedict VI., was not so happy: cast into prison by Crecentius, son of the famous Theodora, in consequence of the hatred which the Romans had conceived both against his person and government, he was loaded with every species of ignominy, and was strangled, in the year 974, in the apartment where he lay confined. Unfortunately for him, Otho the Great, whose power and severity kept the Romans in awe, died in the year 973, and with him expired that order and discipline which he had restored in Rome by salutary laws, executed with impartiality and vigour. The face of affairs was indeed entirely changed by that event; licentiousness and disorder, seditions and assassinations, resumed their former sway, and diffused their horrors through that miserable city. After the death of Benedict, the papal chair was filled by Franco, who assumed the name of Boniface VII. This prelate, who is strongly suspected of having by his insinuations occasioned the murder of his predecessor, did not long enjoy his dignity. One month had scarcely elapsed after his promotion, before he was deposed from his office and expelled from the city. He was succeeded by Donus II., who is known by no other circumstance than his name. Upon his death, which happened in the year 975, Benedict VII. was created pontiff; and, during the space of nine years, ruled the Church without much opposition, and ended his days in peace. This singular prosperity was, without doubt, principally owing to the opulence and credit of the family to which he belonged; for he was nearly related to the celebrated Alberic, whose power, or rather despotism, had been unlimited in Rome.

His successor, John XIV., who from the bishopric of Pavia was raised to the pontificate, derived no support from his birth, which was obscure, nor did he continue to enjoy the protection of Otho III., to whom he owed his promotion. Hence the calamities which disturbed

his government, and the misery that concluded his transitory grandeur for Boniface VII., who had usurped the papal throne in the year 974, and in a little time after had been banished Rome, returned from Constantinople, whither he had fled for refuge; and, by employing the money he had obtained by the sale of several costly ornaments which he had fraudulently carried from Rome, in largesses to the populace, he obtained such authority as enabled him to seize and imprison the unfortunate pontiff, and afterward to put him to death. By these means Boniface resumed the government of the Church; but his reign was also transitory, for he died about six months after his restoration.* He was succeeded by John XV., whom some writers call John XVI., alleging that another John ruled the Church during the space of four months, whom they consequently call John XV. Whatever opinion may be formed on this subject, it is only necessary to observe that he possessed the papal dignity from the year 985 to 996, that his administration was as happy as the troubled state of the Roman affairs would permit, and that the tranquillity he enjoyed was not so much owing to his wisdom and prudence, as to his noble and illustrious ancestors, and to his being by birth a Roman. Thus much is also certain, that his successor, Gregory V., who was a German, and who was elected pontiff by the order of Otho III. in the year 996, experienced very different treatment; and was expelled from Rome by Crescens, the Roman Consul, who conferred his dignity upon John XVI., formerly known by the name of Philagathus. But this revolution was not permanent in its effects. Otho III. alarmed by the disturbances at Rome, marched into Italy, in 998, at the head of a powerful army, and casting into prison the new pontiff, whom the soldiers, in the first moment of their fury, had barbarously maimed and abused, reinstated Gregory in his former honours, and placed him again at the head of the Church. Upon the death of this latter pontiff, which happened soon after his restoration, the same emperor raised to the papal dignity his preceptor and friend, the famous and learned Gerbert, or Silvester II., whose promotion was attended with the universal approbation of the Roman people.

Of the manners of this age it is difficult to form a competent idea They were a compound of the most inconsistent qualities of superstition and licentiousness, of chivalry and devotion. The priests and the ladies divided the empire of the world; but they divided it, not as rivals, but as allies. The profitable share fell into the lap of the Church, while the female sex received the no less grateful tribute of adulation and respect. The accession of power and dignity which the superior orders of ecclesiastics received at this period baffles all computation. Many of the bishops and abbots obtained a complete immunity from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates, as well as from all taxes, services, and imposts whatever. The ambition of others aspired at no less than the highest temporal dignities, and received the titles and honours of dukes, marquises, and counts of the empire. The views and motives were various which induced the sovereigns of Europe to comply with these presumptuous claims. The spiritual rulers were the happiest agents which tyranny could employ for the subjection of the people. In many cases these agents were the sons or brothers of the

* Fleury says eleven months.

temporal lords. Unbounded use was also made of the power which the clergy had acquired over the consciences of the great as well as over those of the people; the keys of purgatory at least, if not of hell, were deposited in their hands; the dying profligate considered no price too dear for the redemption of his soul: and in a word, to use the expression of a witty author, "having found what Archimedes wanted, another world to rest on, they moved this world as they pleased."*

Power is however not necessarily the concomitant of high intellectual attainments; for, in truth, the clergy were so ignorant in this age, that it is said many among them were even incapable of repeating the apostles' creed. This indeed was a necessary consequence of the iniquitous and injudicious distribution of ecclesiastical preferments. The election of bishops and abbots was no longer conducted according to the laws of the Church; but kings and princes, or their ministers and favourites, either conferred these ecclesiastical dignities upon their friends and creatures, or sold them without shame to the highest bidder Hence it happened, as it ever will where the same measures are adopted, that the most meritorious were depressed or neglected, while the most illiterate and flagitious were frequently advanced to the highest stations in the Church; and upon several occasions, that even soldiers, civil magistrates, counts, and persons of a similar description, were, by a strange metamorphosis, converted into bishops and abbots. The first flagrant abuse of pluralities is recorded as occurring in 936, when Manesseh, bishop of Arles, obtained from Hugh, king of Italy, his relation, several other bishoprics; he is said to have been possessed of not less than four or five at one time. Gregory VII., however, endeavoured in the following century to put a stop to these increasing evils.

While the monastic orders, among the Greeks and orientals, maintained still an external appearance of religion and decency, the Latin monks, toward the commencement of this century, had so entirely neglected all subordination and discipline, that the greatest part of them knew not even by name the rule of St. Benedict, which they were obliged to observe. A noble Frank, whose name was Odo, a man as learned and pious as the ignorance and superstition of the times would permit, endeavoured to remedy this disorder; nor were his attempts totally unsuccessful. This zealous ecclesiastic being created, in the year 927, abbot of Clugni, in the province of Burgundy, upon the death of Berno, not only obliged the monks to live in a rigorous observance of their rules, but also added to their discipline a new set of rites and ceremonies. This institute of discipline was in a short time adopted in all the European convents. Thus it was that the *order of Clugni* arrived to that high degree of eminence and authority, opulence and dignity, which it exhibited to the Christian world in the following century.

* The credit of this witticism Mr. Hume has chosen to take to himself, but it is really stolen from Dryden. See his Don Sebastian.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE DOCTRINES, RITES, AND CEREMONIES, OF THE CHURCH DURING THE TENTH CENTURY.

Ardour for accumulating relics—Purgatory—The day of judgment supposed to be at hand—Mode of creating saints—Solemn excommunication—Controversy concerning marriage.

THE state of religion in this century was such as might be expected in a season of prevailing ignorance and corruption. Both Greeks and Latins placed the essence and life of religion in the worship of images and departed saints, in searching after with zeal, and preserving with a devout care and veneration, the sacred relics of holy men and women, and in accumulating riches upon the priests and monks, whose opulence increased with the progress of superstition. Scarcely did the humble Christian dare to approach the throne of a merciful God, without first rendering the saints and images propitious, by a solemn round of expiatory rites and lustrations. The ardour also with which relics were sought surpasses almost all credibility; it had seized all ranks and orders of the people, and was grown into a sort of fanaticism and phrensy; nor was it conceived to be any diminution of the dignity of the Supreme Being to interpose in these discoveries, which, according to the monkish legends, were generally made in consequence of some miraculous communications to one of the holy fraternity, or to some superannuated female, who was directed to the place where the bones or remains of the saints lay dispersed or interred. The fears of purgatory were now carried to the greatest extent, and even exceeded the apprehensions of infernal torments. It was believed, that all must necessarily endure the pains of the former, but that the latter might be easily avoided, provided the deceased was enriched with the prayers of the clergy, or shielded by the merits and mediations of the saints.

Among the numerous opinions, however, which disgraced the Latin Church, and produced, from time to time, such violent agitations, none occasioned such a universal panic, nor such dreadful impressions of terror or dismay, as a notion that prevailed during this century of the immediate approach of the day of judgment. Hence prodigious numbers of people abandoned all their civil and parental connections, and, assigning over to the churches or monasteries all their lands, treasures, and worldly effects, repaired, with the utmost precipitation, to Palestine, where they imagined that Christ would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others devoted themselves, by a solemn and voluntary oath, to the service of the churches, convents, and priesthood, whose slaves they became, in the most rigorous sense, joyfully performing their diurnal tasks, from a notion that the Supreme Judge would diminish the severity of their sentence, and look upon them with a more favourable and propitious eye, on account of their having made themselves the devotees of his ministers. When an eclipse of the sun or moon happened to be visible, the cities were deserted, and their miserable inhabitants fled for refuge to hollow caverns, and hid themselves among the craggy rocks, and in the cavities of mountains. The opulent attempted to bribe the Deity and his saints, by rich donations con-

ferred upon the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who were considered as the immediate vicegerents of Heaven. In many places, temples, palaces, and noble edifices, both public and private, were suffered to decay, and were even deliberately pulled down, from an opinion that they were no longer of any use, since the dissolution of all things was at hand. This general delusion was, indeed, opposed and combated by the discerning few, who endeavoured to dispel these groundless terrors, and to efface the notion they arose from, in the minds of the people.

The number of the saints, who were looked upon as ministers of the kingdom of heaven, and whose patronage was esteemed such an unspeakable blessing, was now every where multiplied, and the celestial courts were filled with new legions of this species of beings, some of which had no existence but in the imagination of their deluded clients and worshippers. This multitude of saints may be easily accounted for, when we consider that superstition, the source of fear, was grown to such an enormous height in this age, as rendered the creation of new patrons necessary, to calm the anxiety of trembling mortals. The corruption and impiety also which now reigned with unbounded sway, and the licentiousness and dissolution that had so generally infected all ranks and orders of men, rendered the reputation of sanctity very easy to be acquired; for amid such a perverse generation, it demanded no great efforts of virtue to be esteemed holy, and this doubtless contributed to increase considerably the number of the celestial advocates.

The Roman pontiff, who before this period had pretended to the right of creating saints by his sole authority, afforded, in this century, the first specimen of this ghostly power; for, in the preceding ages, there is no example of his having exercised this privilege alone. This specimen was given in the year 993, by John XV., who, with all the formalities of a solemn canonization, enrolled Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, in the number of the saints, and thus conferred upon him a title to the worship and veneration of Christians.

The number of ceremonies increased in proportion to that of the saints, which multiplied from day to day; for each new saintly patron had appropriated to his service a new festival, a new form of worship, a new round of religious rites; and the clergy discovered, in the creation of new ceremonies, a wonderful fertility of invention, attended with the utmost dexterity and artifice. It is observable that a great part of these new rites derived their origin from the various errors which the barbarous nations had received from their ancestors, and still retained, even after their conversion to Christianity. The clergy, instead of extirpating these errors, gave them a Christian aspect, either by inventing certain religious rites to cover their deformity, or by explaining them in a forced, allegorical manner; and thus they were perpetuated in the Church, and devoutly transmitted from age to age.

Between the seventh and the tenth century, great solemnities were added to the sentence of excommunication. The most important was the extinction of lamps or candles, by throwing them to the ground, with a solemn imprecation, that the person against whom the excommunication was pronounced might be extinguished or destroyed by the vengeance of God. The people were summoned to attend this ceremony by the sound of a *bell*, and the curses accompanying the cere-

mony were pronounced out of a book by the minister, standing in a balcony. Hence originated the phrase of cursing by *bell*, *book*, and *candle light*.

The controversies between the Greek and Latin Churches were carried on with less impetuosity than in the preceding century, on account of the troubles and calamities of the times; yet they were not entirely reduced to silence. The writers, therefore, who affirm that this unhappy schism was healed, and that the contending parties were really reconciled to each other for a certain space of time, have been grossly mistaken; though it be, indeed, true that the tumults of the times sometimes produced a cessation of these contests, and occasioned several truces, which insidiously concealed the bitterest enmity, and served often as a cover to the most treacherous designs. The Greeks were much divided among themselves, and disputed with great warmth concerning the lawfulness of repeated marriages, to which violent contest the case of Leo, surnamed the *Philosopher*, gave rise. This emperor, having buried successively three wives without having had by them any male issue, espoused a fourth, whose name was Zoe Carbinopsina, and who was born in the obscurity of a mean condition. As marriages repeated for the fourth time were held to be impure and unlawful by the Greek canons, Nicholas, the patriarch of Constantinople, suspended the emperor, upon this occasion, from the communion of the Church. Leo, incensed at this rigorous proceeding, deprived Nicholas of the patriarchal dignity, and raised Euthymius to that office; who, though he readmitted the emperor to the bosom of the Church, yet opposed the decree which he had resolved to enact, in order to render fourth marriages lawful. Upon this a schism, attended with the bitterest animosities, divided the clergy, one part of whom declared for Nicholas, the other for Euthymius. Some time after this Leo died, and was succeeded in the empire by Alexander, who deposed Euthymius, and restored Nicholas to his former rank in the Church. No sooner was the incensed patriarch reinstated in his office, than he began to load the memory of the late emperor with the bitterest execrations, and the most opprobrious invectives, and to maintain the unlawfulness of fourth marriages with the utmost obstinacy. In order to appease these tumults, which portended numberless calamities to the state, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the son of Leo, convened an assembly of the clergy of Constantinople, in the year 920, in which fourth marriages were absolutely prohibited, and marriages for the third time were permitted only on certain conditions. By those means public tranquillity was restored to the eastern Church, the respectability of which was sensibly declining during this century, which produced few ecclesiastics of the Greek communion, who deserve to be celebrated either for their virtue or ability.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH EXISTED IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

Prevalence of Manicheism—Sect of the Anthropomorphites.

A PERIOD which is barren in intellect and science is commonly barren in fact. Where no spirit of inquiry is excited, there will be few departures from established forms. Of the sectaries, too, who existed during the middle ages, the accounts must necessarily be imperfect.—The Church was then nearly in the plenitude of its power, and little ceremony was observed in the extermination of those who disturbed its tranquillity; the inquiries which were made concerning the faith of those whom they persecuted, we may well conceive, were but superficial; nor were the historians of orthodoxy, at this unpropitious crisis, extremely well qualified for transmitting their annals to posterity.

Among the Catholic writers of this century, we find many indistinct complaints of the prevalence of Manicheism, and of the disrespect of individuals toward the Romish faith. Few instances of any deviation from established opinions and practices have, however, been recorded by the ecclesiastical writers of that period, except the Anthropomorphites. This sect, which arose in Egypt during the fourth century, and occasioned many disturbances in the Egyptian Church, was renewed in this, and found a few adherents among a superstitious people, who, accustomed to worship the Deity under a human form, were easily induced to embrace the opinion of this sect, which, taking the Scripture in a literal sense, believed, from the text that "God made man in his own image," that the Supreme Being existed in a human form. This opinion, however, extended no farther than Italy, where it was chiefly adopted by some of the ecclesiastical order

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CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

Dearth of literature in the tenth century—Leo, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and Gerbert—Simeon, Metaphrastes, Eutychius, and Barcepha—Luitprand and Roswida.

THE labour of the historian must vary with his materials. Where nothing has been performed, nothing remains to be recorded. From the end of the ninth to the latter periods of the tenth century, there were few who read, and scarcely any who wrote, within the pale of the Christian Church. If the throne of the east was adorned by a Leo and a Constantine; if the papal tiara was honoured by encircling the learned brow of a Gerbert; these were singular examples, and are rather perhaps to be classed among the admirers than the professors of literature. The works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus deserve rather the name of compilations than of compositions: and of Gerbert it has been well remarked, that his genius was too extensive to admit of restraint. By endeavouring to embrace every science in an age

when the means of information were scanty, he was an adept in none; (*Fleury;*) and even his mathematics, which constituted his favourite study, if compared with those of modern times, though easy and perspicuous, were rather elementary and superficial. (*Mosheim*, cent. x.) At the court of Constantinople about this period, there were found some voluminous, but injudicious and fabulous writers; among these was Simeon, surnamed Metaphrastes, because he is said to have improved the style of the voluminous History of the Lives of the Saints. He was also the compiler of twenty-four moral discourses, extracted from the works of St. Basil, and of some other collections from St. Macarius. Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, composed an historical chronicle, extending from the creation to 937; and Moses Barcepha, a bishop in Syria, wrote a mystical treatise of Paradise, in three books. (*Du Pin.*)

The writers of the west chiefly confined their compositions to absurd relations of the miracles performed by the saints. Among those who celebrated their praises, was Roswida, a nun, who composed several poems to their honour, and who has been distinguished for her style, and her knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Conversion of barbarous nations—Kingdom of Sicily established—Power of the clergy—Benedict VIII.—John XIX.—Benedict IX.—Sylvester III.—Gregory VI.—Clement II.—Nicholas II.—New mode of electing popes—Alexander II.—Honorius II.—Gregory VIII.—His claims upon England resisted—Sanguinary contest with the emperor—Clement III.—Victor III.—Urban II.—Crusades—Paschal II.

IT has already been remarked, in the history of the preceding century, that some imperfect notions of the Christian religion had been received among the Hungarians, Danes, Poles, and Russians; but the rude spirit of these nations, together with their extreme ignorance, and their strong attachment to the superstitions of their ancestors, rendered their total conversion to Christianity a work of considerable difficulty. The ardour, however, with which it was conducted, reflects much credit upon the piety of the princes and governors of these unpolished countries. In Tartary and the adjacent regions, the zeal and diligence of the Nestorians gained multitudes daily to the profession of Christianity. It appears also evident, from a number of unexceptionable testimonies, that metropolitan prelates, with a great number of inferior bishops under their jurisdiction, were established at this time in the provinces of Casgar, Nuacheta, Turkestan, Genda, and Tangut.

Among the European nations, still immersed in their native darkness and superstition, were the Sclavonians, the Obotriti, the Venedi, and the Prussians, whose conversion had been attempted, but with little or no success, by several missionaries, whose piety and earnestness were far from producing adequate effects. Toward the conclusion of the preceding century, Adalbert, bishop of Prague, had endeavoured to infuse into the minds of the ferocious and uncivilized Prussians, the doctrines of the Gospel; but his attempt was unsuccessful, and the avenging lance of Siggo, a pagan priest, terminated his conflict with this race of barbarians. Boleslaus, king of Poland, revenged the death of this pious apostle, by entering into a sanguinary war with the Prussians, and he obtained by the force of penal laws, and of a victorious army, what Adalbert could not effect by exhortation and argument. This violent method of conversion, so little consistent with the doctrines it was intended to promote, was, however, accompanied by others of a gentler kind, and the attendants of Boleslaus seconded the military arguments of their prince, by the more persuasive influence of admonition and instruction. An ecclesiastic of illustrious birth, whose name was Boniface, and who was one of the disciples of St. Romauld, undertook to instruct the Prussians in the doctrines of Christianity, and was succeeded in this pious enterprise by Bruno, who, accompanied by eighteen of his friends, and authorized by the

pope, John XVII., departed from Germany in order to prosecute this laudable design. The arguments of Adalbert and Boniface appear, however, to have had very transient effects upon their auditors; for the zealous Bruno and his associates were all barbarously massacred by the rude and inflexible Prussians, whom neither the vigorous efforts of Boleslaus, nor those of the succeeding kings of Poland, could persuade to abandon totally the idolatry of their ancestors. (*Ant. Pagi Critica in Baronium*, tom. iv, *ad annum* 1008, *p.* 97; *Hartnock's Eccles. Hist. of Prussia*, b. 1, ch. i. p. 12.)

Sicily had remained under the dominion of the Saracens since the ninth century. In the year 1059, Robert Guiscard, who had formed a settlement in Italy at the head of a Norman colony, and was afterward created duke of Apulia, stimulated by the exhortations of Pope Nicholas II., and seconded by the assistance of his brother Roger, attacked with the greatest vigour and intrepidity the Mussulmans in Sicily; nor did the latter sheathe his victorious sword before he had rendered himself master of that island, and cleared it absolutely of its former tyrants. This enterprise was no sooner achieved, than Roger restored the Christian religion to the splendour it had formerly enjoyed. Bishoprics were established, monasteries founded, and magnificent churches erected throughout the island. The clergy were endowed by him with those immense revenues, and those distinguished honours, which they still enjoy. (*See Burigni, Hist. Generale de la Sicile*, tom. i, p. 386.) In the privileges conferred on this valiant chief, we find the origin of that supreme authority in matters of religion which is still vested in the kings of Sicily, within the limits of their own territories, and which is known by the name of the *Sicilian monarchy;* for Urban II. is recorded to have granted, in 1097, by a special diploma to Roger and his successors the title, authority, and prerogatives of hereditary legates of the apostolic see. The court of Rome denies, however, the authenticity of this diploma, and, in consequence of the pretensions to supremacy advanced by the popes, many violent contentions have arisen between the pontiffs of Rome and the kings of Sicily. The successors of Roger governed that island, under the titles of dukes, until the twelfth century, when it was erected into a kingdom. (*See Baronii Liber de Monarchia Siliciæ*, tom. xi, *Annal.*, as also *Du Pin, Traite de la Monarchie Sicilienne.*)

The power, opulence, and splendour of the Church had in this century nearly attained their zenith. The western bishops were elevated to the rank of dukes, counts, and nobles, and enriched with ample territories; the terrors of excommunication were denounced against the offender who should impiously offer violence to one of these spiritual rulers. Many of the inferior clergy attained to considerable opulence, and the canons published against that order prove, at least, that their licentiousness kept pace with their increasing wealth. The Grecian clergy were perhaps rather less disorderly, from the calamities with which their country was oppressed, and which imposed a restraint upon their passions. Yet, notwithstanding these salutary checks, there were few examples of exalted piety to be found among them.

The Roman pontiffs were in this century generally and permanently decorated with the pompous titles of the *masters of the world*, and *popes*, or *universal fathers:* they presided every where in the councils

by their legates; and assumed the authority of supreme arbiters in all controversies which arose concerning religion or Church discipline. Not satisfied, however, with the character of supreme legislators in the Church, they assumed that of lords of the universe, arbiters of the fate of kingdoms and empires, and supreme rulers of the kings and princes of the earth. The example of this usurpation was first afforded by Leo IX., who granted to the Normans the lands and territories which they had seized in Italy, or were endeavouring to force out of the hands of the Greeks and Saracens. (*Mosheim.*) The ambition, however, of the aspiring popes was opposed by the emperors, the kings of France, by William the Conqueror, and by several other princes, as well as by some of the bishops in France and Germany.

Benedict VIII., who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1012, through the interest of his father, the count of Frescati, experienced no less than some of his predecessors the turbulent spirit of the times. Several of the Roman people, disapproving his election, chose in opposition to him a person of the name of Gregory, by whom he was compelled to leave Rome. Thus situated, Benedict fled into Germany, and implored the assistance of Henry II., by whom he was reinstated in the apostolic chair, which he possessed in peace until the year 1024. He was succeeded by his brother, who, though not at that time in orders, obtained the papal chair by the same influence to which Benedict had owed his promotion. (*Jortin's Remarks*, 5, v. 25, 31.) The death of John XIX. introduced to the pontificate his nephew, Benedict IX., an abandoned profligate, who also was chosen by bribery, and whose flagitious conduct incurred the just resentment of the Romans, who in the year 1038 degraded him from his office. He was afterward, indeed, restored by the Emperor Conrad to the papal chair; but adversity had so little produced its usual effects, circumspection and prudence, that, irritated by his repeated crimes, the populace deposed him a second time in 1044, and elected in his place John, bishop of Sabina, who assumed the name of Sylvester III. The newly-elected pontiff had, however, a very transitory enjoyment of his dignity: in about three months after his elevation, the powerful family of Frescati again rose in arms, assembled their adherents, drove Sylvester out of the city, and restored the degraded Benedict to his forfeited honours; but, perceiving the impossibility of appeasing the resentment of the Romans, he sold the pontificate to John Gratian, archpresbyter of Rome, who took the name of Gregory VI., and carried his martial rage so far, that he acquired the additional epithet of Bloody. (*Jortin's Remarks*, 5, v. 34.) Thus the Church had, at the same time, three chiefs, Benedict, Sylvester, and Gregory; but the contest was terminated in the year 1046, in the council held at Sutri, by the emperor, Henry III., who ordered that the rival pontiffs should all be declared unworthy of the papal chair; and Suidgar, bishop of Bamberg, was raised to that dignity, which he enjoyed for a short time under the title of Clement II. The refractory Benedict continued for several years to disturb the tranquillity of his successors in the popedom; nor did his decease terminate the efforts of the turbulent house of Frescati. Among the seven popes who succeeded Clement II., the last only, Nicholas II., is entitled to notice. This pontiff assembled a council at Rome, in 1059, in which, among many salutary laws designed to

heal the inveterate disorders which had afflicted the Church, one remarkable decree was passed for changing the ancient form of electing the Roman pontiff. Nearly about the same time he received the homage of the Normans, and solemnly created Robert Guiscard duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on condition that he should observe, as a faithful vassal, an inviolable allegiance to the Roman Church, and pay an annual tribute in acknowledgment of his subjection to the apostolic see.

Before the pontificate of Nicholas II. the popes were chosen not only by the suffrages of the cardinals, but also by those of the whole Roman clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the assembly of the people. An election in which such a confused and jarring multitude was concerned could not fail to produce continual factions, animosities, and tumults. To prevent these, as far as was possible, this provident pontiff passed a law, by which the cardinals, as well presbyters as bishops, were empowered, upon a vacancy in the see of Rome, to elect a new pope, without any prejudices to the ancient privileges of the Roman emperors in this important matter. It does not, however, appear that the rest of the clergy, with the burgesses and people, were utterly excluded from all part in this election, since their consent was solemnly demanded, and even esteemed of much weight; but that, in consequence of this new regulation, the cardinals acted the principal part in the creation of the new pontiff; though they suffered for a long time much opposition both from the sacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were constantly either reclaiming their ancient rights, or abusing the privilege they yet retained of confirming the election of every new pope by their approbation and consent. In the following century these disputes were terminated by Alexander III., who completed what Nicholas had only begun, and transferred and confined to the college of cardinals the right of electing to the apostolic see, to the exclusion of the nobility, the people, and the rest of the clergy. The decree of Nicholas comprehends the seven Roman bishops, who were considered as the *suffragans*, and of whom the bishop of Ostia was the chief, together with the eight-and-twenty ministers, who had inspection over the principal Roman Churches: to these were afterward added, under Alexander III., and other pontiffs, new members, in order to appease the resentment of those who considered themselves as injured by the edict of Nicholas, and also to answer the other purposes of ecclesiastical policy.

Though Nicholas II. had expressly acknowledged and confirmed in his edict the right of the emperor to ratify by his consent the election of the pontiff, his eyes were no sooner closed than the Romans, at the instigation of Hildebrand, archdeacon, and afterward bishop of Rome, violated this imperial privilege. They not only elected to the pontificate Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who assumed the name of Alexander II., but also solemnly installed him in his office without consulting the emperor, Henry IV., or giving him the least information of the matter. Agnes, the mother of the young emperor, no sooner received an account of this irregular transaction by the bishops of Lombardy, to whom the election of Anselm was extremely unacceptable, than she assembled a council at Basil, and, in order to maintain the authority of her son, who was yet a minor, caused Cadolaus, bishop of Parma, to

be elected pope, under the title of Honorius II. Hence arose a long and furious contest between the two rival pontiffs, who maintained their respective pretensions by the force of arms. In this violent contention Alexander triumphed, though he could never engage his obstinate adversary to desist from his pretensions.

This contest, however, appears of little consequence when viewed in comparison with the dreadful commotions which Hildebrand, who succeeded Alexander, and assumed the name of Gregory VII., excited both in Church and state. This vehement pontiff, who was a Tuscan of obscure birth, rose, by degrees, from the obscure station of a monk of Clugni, to the rank of archdeacon in the Roman Church; and, from the time of Leo IX., who treated him with peculiar marks of distinction, was accustomed to govern the Roman pontiffs by his counsels. In the year 1073, and on the same day in which Alexander was interred, he was raised to the pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and people, and consequently without any regard being paid to the edict of Nicholas II., and his election was confirmed by the approbation and consent of Henry IV., king of the Romans, to whom ambassadors had been sent for that purpose. Hildebrand was a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in reducing them to execution. Sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage: haughty and arrogant beyond all measure, obstinate, impetuous, and intractable, he is suspected even of aspiring to the summit of universal empire; and indeed he appears to have laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardour and invincible perseverance. No sooner did he find himself in the papal chair, than he displayed to the world the most odious marks of his tyrannical ambition. Not content to enlarge the jurisdiction, and to augment the opulence, of the see of Rome, he laboured indefatigably to render the universal Church subject to the despotic government and the arbitrary power of the pontiff alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the clergy, and to exclude them from all part in the management or distribution of the revenues of the Church; and, unsatisfied even with this object, he proceeded to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes, and to render their dominions tributary to the Roman see.

The state of Europe during this period was peculiarly favourable to the projects of the aspiring pontiff. The empire of Germany was weak; France was governed by a young and dissipated monarch, little qualified, and little disposed, to conduct affairs of state; a great part of Spain was under the dominion of the Moors; the kingdoms of the north were newly converted; Italy governed by a number of petty princes; and England recently conquered by the Normans. In such a juncture, Hildebrand met with little opposition to his ambitious designs; and that such were his designs is undoubtedly evident, both from his own epistles, and from other authentic records of antiquity. The nature of the oath which he drew up for the king or emperor of the Romans, from whom he demanded a profession of subjection and allegiance, abundantly displays the arrogance of his pretensions. But his conduct toward the kingdom of France demands particular atten

tion. It is an undisputed fact, that whatever dignity and dominion the popes enjoyed was originally derived from that kingdom, or, which is the same thing, from the princes of that nation; and yet Hildebrand, or, (according to his papal appellation,) Gregory VII., pretended that the kingdom of France was tributary to the see of Rome, and commanded his legates to demand yearly, in the most solemn manner, the payment of that tribute. Their demands, however, were treated with contempt, and the tribute was never either acknowledged or offered. Nothing, indeed, escaped the ambition of the aspiring pontiff. Saxony was claimed by him as a feudal tenure held in subjection to the see of Rome, to which it had been formerly yielded by Charlemagne, as a pious offering to St. Peter. He extended also his pretensions to the kingdom of Spain, maintaining in one of his letters that it was the property of the apostolic see from the earliest times of the Church; yet, with the usual inconsistency of falsehood, he acknowledged in another that the transaction by which the successors of St. Peter had acquired this property had been lost among other ancient records. The despotic views of this pontiff met in England with a degree of opposition to which they had been little accustomed in other countries of Europe. William the Conqueror was a prince of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as an independent sovereign. Policy, however, demanded some concessions to the authority of the pontiff, and the prudent monarch determined upon a line of conduct which might evince his submission without diminishing his authority. The claims of Gregory to the arrears of *Peter-pence* were therefore readily acceded to; but his demand of homage from the kingdom of England, which he asserted was a fief of the apostolic see, was obstinately refused by the haughty Norman, who intrepidly declared that he held his kingdom of God only and his own sword. (*Collier's Ecc. Hist.*, iv, 1713.)

Demetrius Suinimer, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was raised to the rank and prerogatives of royalty by this pontiff, in the year 1076, and solemnly proclaimed king by his legate, at Salona, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold to St. Peter at every Easter festival.

The kingdom of Poland became also the object of Gregory's aspiring views, and a favourable occasion was offered for the accomplishment of his designs; for Basilaus II. having assassinated Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, the pontiff excommunicated and dethroned the monarch, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken, and, by an express and imperious edict, prohibited the nobles and clergy of Poland from electing a new king without the consent of the apostolic see. (See *Dlugossi Hist. Polon.*, tom. i, p. 295.)

The plan which Gregory had formed for raising the Church above all human authority encountered the most insurmountable opposition in the two reigning vices of *concubinage* and *simony*, which had infected the whole body of the European clergy. The Roman pontiffs from the time of Stephen IX., had combated with zeal and vehemence these monstrous enormities, but without success. Gregory, however not discouraged, exerted himself with much more vigour than his predecessors. He assembled a council at Rome in 1074, in which all the laws of the former pontiffs against *simony* were renewed and

confirmed, and the purchase and sale of ecclesiastical benefices prohibited in the strictest and severest manner. This decree, which in itself was prudent and just, was unfortunately connected with another, obliging the priests to abstain from marriage, which was absurdly deemed inconsistent with the sanctity of their office. This absurd regulation no sooner made its appearance than it was opposed by a considerable number of the clergy, who were either connected by legal ties, or who lived in a state of concubinage, and the most alarming tumults were excited in the greatest part of the European provinces. This vehement contest was gradually calmed through length of time, and by the perseverance of the obstinate pontiff; nor did any of the European kings and princes concern themselves so much about the marriages of the clergy as to maintain their cause, or prolong the controversy. But the troubles which arose from the law that regarded the extirpation of *simony* were not so easily appeased; the tumults it occasioned were daily increased; the methods of reconciliation more difficult; and in many countries it involved both state and church, during several years, in the deepest calamities, and the most complicated scenes of confusion. Henry IV. received, indeed, graciously the legates of Gregory, and applauded his zeal for the extirpation of *simony;* but neither this prince nor the German bishops would permit these legates to assemble a council in Germany, or to proceed judicially against those who had been charged with simoniacal practices. The pontiff, exasperated at this restraint in the execution of his designs, convened another council at Rome in the year 1075, in which he pursued his adventurous project with greater impetuosity and vehemence than before, and not only excluded from the communion of the Church several German and Italian bishops, and several favourites of Henry, whose counsels that prince was said to make use of in the traffic of ecclesiastical dignities, but also pronounced, in a formal edict, *anathema against whoever received the investiture of a bishopric, or abbacy, from the hands of a layman, as also against those by whom the investiture should be performed.*

The severe law which had been enacted against *investitures*, by the influence and attention of Gregory, made very little impression upon Henry. He acknowledged himself wrong in exposing ecclesiastical benefices to sale, and he promised amendment in that respect; but remained inflexible against all attempts which were made to persuade him to resign his power of creating bishops and abbots, and the right of *investiture* which was intimately connected with this important privilege. Had the emperor been assisted by the German princes, he might have maintained this refusal with dignity and success, but unhappily he was not; a considerable number of these princes, and among others the states of Saxony, were the secret or declared enemies of Henry; and this furnished Gregory with a favourable opportunity of extending his authority and executing his ambitious projects. This opportunity was by no means neglected; the pope took occasion, from those discords that divided the empire, to insult and depress its chief; he sent by his legates an insolent message to the emperor at Goslar, ordering him to repair immediately to Rome, and exculpate himself before a council, there to be assembled, of the various crimes that were laid to his charge. The emperor, whose high spirit could ill brook such arrogant treatment,

was filled with indignation at the sight of that insolent mandate, and, in the vehemence of just resentment, summoned without delay a council of German bishops at Worms, where Gregory was charged with several flagitious practices, deposed from the pontificate, of which he was declared unworthy, and an order issued for the election of a new pontiff. Gregory opposed violence to violence; no sooner had he received, by the letters and ambassadors of Henry, an account of the sentence which had been pronounced against him, than he began to thunder his anathemas at the head of that prince, and excluded him both from the communion of the Church and from the throne of his ancestors. Thus the civil and ecclesiastical powers were divided into great factions, of which one maintained the rights of the emperor, while the other supported the views of the pontiff.

At the commencement of the war, the Swabian chiefs, with Duke Rodolph at their head, revolted against Henry; and the Saxon princes, whose former quarrels with the emperor had been lately terminated by their defeat and submission, followed their example. These united powers being solicited by the pope to elect a new emperor, provided Henry persisted in his obstinate disobedience to the orders of the Church, met at Tribur in the year 1076, to consult concerning a matter of such high importance. When affairs were arrived at this desperate extremity, and the faction which was formed against this unfortunate prince grew daily more formidable, his friends advised him to proceed to Italy, and implore in person the clemency of the pontiff. The emperor yielded to this ignominious counsel, without, however, obtaining from his voyage the advantages he expected. He passed the Alps amid the rigour of a severe winter, arrived in the month of February, 1077, at the fortress of Canusium, where the pope resided at that time with the young Matilda, countess of Tuscany, the most powerful patroness of the Church, and the most affectionate of the spiritual daughters of Gregory.* Here the suppliant prince, unmindful of his dignity, stood, during three days, in the open air, at the entrance of the fortress, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and with no other raiment than a piece of coarse woollen cloth thrown over his body. The fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the pontiff, who, not without difficulty, granted him the absolution he demanded; but with respect to his restoration to the throne, he refused to determine that point before the approaching congress, at which he made Henry promise to appear, forbidding him, at the same time, to assume, during this interval, the title of king, or to exercise the functions of royalty. This opprobrious convention however excited, and that justly, the indignation of the princes and bishops of Italy, who would undoubtedly have deposed Henry, had he not diminished their resentment by violating the convention into which he had been forced to enter with the imperious pontiff, and resuming the title, and other marks of royalty, which he had been obliged to lay down. On the other hand, the confederate princes of Swabia and Saxony were no sooner informed of this unexpected change in the conduct of Henry, than they assembled

* The enemies of the pope accused him of a criminal correspondence with this lady. Lambertus, the historian, says it was a mere calumny, and gives this admirable proof, "that Gregory wrought many miracles, and therefore could not be a fornicator." (*Jortin* 5, v. 41.)

at Forcheim in the month of March, 1077, and unanimously elected Rodolph, duke of Swabia, emperor in his room.

This rash collision rekindled the flames of war in Germany and Italy, and involved, for a long period, those unhappy regions in every variety of misery. In Italy, the Normans, who were masters of the lower parts of that country, and the armies of the powerful and valiant Matilda, maintained successfully the cause of Gregory against the Lombards, who espoused the interests of Henry; while this unfortunate prince, with all the forces he could assemble, carried on the war in Germany against Rodolph and the confederate princes. Gregory, considering the events of war as extremely doubtful, was at first afraid to declare for either party, and therefore observed, for some time, an appearance of neutrality; but, encouraged by the battle of Fludenheim, in which Henry was defeated by the Saxons, 1086, he again excommunicated that vanquished prince, and, sending a crown to the victor Rodolph, declared him lawful king of the Germans. The injured emperor did not permit this new insult to pass unpunished; seconded by the suffrages of several of the Italian and German bishops, he deposed Gregory a second time in the council which met at Mentz, and, in a synod soon after assembled at Brixen, in the province of Tyrol, raised to the pontificate Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the title of Clement III., when consecrated at Rome, 1084, four years after his election.

This election was followed by a dreadful battle fought upon the banks of the river Ebster, in which Rodolph received a mortal wound, and died a short time after at Mersburgh. The emperor, being now relieved from this formidable enemy, marched directly into Italy; the following year (1081) he made several campaigns, with different success, against the valiant troops of Matilda; and, after having twice raised the siege of Rome, he resumed a third time that bold enterprise, and became at length master of the greater part of that city, in the year 1084. The first step of Henry, after this success, was to place Guibert in the papal chair; after which he received the imperial crown from the hands of the new pontiff, was saluted emperor by the Roman people, and laid close siege to the castle of St. Angelo, whither his mortal enemy Gregory had fled for safety. He was, however, forced to raise this siege, by the valour of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, who brought Gregory in triumph to Rome; but, not supposing him safe there, conducted him afterward to Salernum. In this place the turbulent and celebrated Gregory ended his days in the following year, 1085, and left Europe involved in those calamities which were the fatal effects of his boundless ambition.

The death of Gregory neither restored peace to the Church, nor tranquillity to the state; the tumults and divisions which he had excited still continued, and they were constantly augmented by the same passions to which they owed their origin. Clement III., who was the emperor's pontiff, was master of the city of Rome, and was acknowledged as pope by a great part of Italy. Henry carried on the war in Germany against the confederate princes. The faction of Gregory, supported by the Normans, chose for his successor, in the year 1086, Diderick, abbot of Mount Cassian, who adopted the title of Victor III., and was reluctantly consecrated in the church of St. Peter, in the

year 1087, when that part of the city was recovered by the Normans for the new pontiff. The character of Victor was a perfect contrast to that of his predecessor Gregory. He was modest and timorous; and finding the papal chair beset with factions, and the city of Rome under the dominion of his competitor, he retired to his monastery, where, soon after, he ended his days in peace. Before his abdication, however, he held a council at Benevento, where he confirmed and renewed the laws which Gregory had enacted for the abolition of *investitures*.

Otho, bishop of Ostia, a and monk of Clugni, was, by Victor's recommendation, chosen to succeed him, and assumed the name of Urban II. Inferior to Gregory in fortitude and resolution, he was his equal in arrogance and pride, and surpassed him greatly in imprudence and temerity. The commencement of his pontificate had a fair aspect, and success seemed to smile upon his undertakings; but upon the emperor's return to Italy in the year 1090, victory again crowned the arms of that prince, who, by redoubled efforts of valour, defeated at length Guelph, duke of Bavaria, and the celebrated Matilda, who were the formidable heads of the papal faction. The abominable treachery of his son Conrad, who, yielding to the seduction of his father's enemies, revolted against him, and, by the advice and assistance of Urban and Matilda, usurped the kingdom of Italy, revived the drooping spirits of that faction, who hoped to see the laurels of the emperor blasted by this odious and unnatural rebellion. The consequences, however, of this event were less fatal to Henry than his enemies expected. In the meantime, the troubles of Italy still continued, nor could Urban, with all his efforts, reduce the city of Rome under his yoke.

But the views not only of Urban, but of all Christendom, were now diverted to another enterprise. The popes, from the time of Silvester II., had been forming plans for extending the limits of the Church in Asia, and especially for expelling the Mohammedans from Palestine; but the troubles in which Europe had been so long involved prevented the execution of these arduous designs. Gregory VII., the most enterprising pontiff that ever filled the apostolic chair, animated and inflamed by the complaints which the Asiatic Christians made of the cruelty of the Saracens, resolved to undertake in person a holy war for the deliverance of the Church, and upward of fifty thousand men were already mustered to follow him in this bold expedition. (*Gregorii* VII. *Epist.* lib. ii, 3, *in Harduini Conciliis*, tom. vi, part i, p. 1285.) But his quarrel with the emperor, and other unforeseen occurrences, obliged him to lay aside his intended invasion of the Holy Land. The project, however, was renewed, toward the conclusion of this century, by the enthusiastic zeal of an inhabitant of Amiens, who was known by the name of Peter the Hermit, and who suggested to Pope Urban II the means of accomplishing what had been unfortunately suspended The ancestors of Peter had ranked as gentlemen, and his military service was under the neighbouring counts of Boulogne, the heroes of the first crusade. But he soon relinquished the sword and the world. In a journey which he made through Palestine, 1093, he observed with inexpressible anguish the vexations and persecutions which the Christians, who visited the holy places, suffered from the barbarous and tyrannic Saracens. Inflamed, therefore, with indig-

nation and zeal, which he considered as the effect of a Divine impulse, he implored the assistance of Simeon, patriarch of Constantinople, and Urban II., but without success. Far from being discouraged by this, he renewed his efforts, and went through all the countries of Europe, exhorting all Christian princes to draw the sword against the tyrants of Palestine. His diet was abstemious, his prayers long and fervent, and the alms which he received with one hand he distributed with the other; his head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre body was wrapped in a coarse garment; be bore and displayed a weighty crucifix; and the ass on which he rode was sanctified in the public eye by the service of the man of God. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways: the hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people were impetuously moved by his call to repentance and arms.—When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation, when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren and rescue their Saviour: his ignorance of art and language was compensated by sighs, and tears, and ejaculations; and Peter supplied the deficiency of reason by loud and frequent appeals to Christ and his mother, to the saints and angels of paradise. It would have been to his honour to have used no other artifices; but it is said that, with a view to engage the superstitious and ignorant multitude in his cause, he carried about with him a letter, which he affirmed was written in heaven, and addressed to all true Christians to animate their zeal for the deliverance of their brethren, who groaned under the burden of a Mohammedan yoke.

The minds of the people being thus prepared by the exhortations of the hermit, a grand and numerous council was assembled by Urban at Placentia, A. D. 1095, and the pontiff recommended warmly, for the first time, the sacred expedition against the infidel Saracens. But this arduous enterprise was far from being approved by the greater part of this numerous assembly, notwithstanding the presence of the emperor's legates. In this council the decrees of Gregory were confirmed; and the conduct of Urban, with respect to the investitures, was rather calculated to exasperate than to appease.

Though disappointed at Placentia, Urban renewed his proposal for a holy war, in a council which was afterward assembled at Clermont, where he himself was present. The pompous and pathetic speech, which he delivered upon the occasion, made a deep and powerful impression upon the minds of the French; whose natural character renders them much superior to the Italians in encountering difficulties, facing danger, and attempting the execution of the most perilous designs.

The warriors of this nation were not, however, the only auditors who were impressed by the eloquence of Urban. An incredible multitude, among whom were many of rank, devoted themselves to the service of the *cross*, which was made the symbol of the expedition, and which, worked in red worsted, was worn on the breasts or shoulders of the adventurers.* Every exertion was used by the court of Rome to increase the numbers. A plenary indulgence was proclaimed in the

* Hence the name *crusade*.

council of Clermont to those who should enlist under the cross, and a full absolution of *all* their sins.

The 15th of August, 1096, had been fixed in the council of Clermont for the departure of the pilgrims: but the day was anticipated by a thoughtless and needy crowd of plebeians. Early in the spring, from the confines of France and Lorraine, about sixty thousand of the populace of both sexes flocked around the first missionary of the crusade, and pressed him, with clamorous importunity, to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The hermit, assuming the character, without the talents or authority of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulse of his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate, and his lieutenant, Walter the Pennyless, a valiant though needy soldier, conducted a vanguard of pilgrims, whose condition may be determined from the proportion of eight horsemen to fifteen thousand foot. The example and footsteps of Peter were closely pursued by another fanatic, the monk Godeschald, whose sermons had swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. Their rear was again pressed by a herd of two hundred thousand, the most stupid and savage refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal license of rapine and drunkenness. Some counts and gentlemen, at the head of three thousand horse, attended the motions of the multitude to partake in the spoil; but their genuine leaders (may we credit such folly?) were a goose and a goat, who were carried in the front, and to whom these worthy Christians ascribed an infusion of the Divine Spirit.

Of this rabble more than two-thirds were consumed by the Hungarians, &c., during their journey. The remainder escaped to Constantinople, where their ingratitude to the Emperor Alexius, and their tumultuous conduct, induced that monarch to allure them to the other side of the Bosphorus; but their blind impetuosity soon urged them to desert this station, and to rush headlong against the Turks, who occupied the road to Jerusalem. In the plain of Nice they were overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows; and from the beginning to the end of this expedition 300,000 perished before a single city was rescued from the infidels, and before their graver and more noble brethren had completed their preparations.

The armies which were conducted by illustrious commanders, distinguished by their birth and their military endowments, arrived more happily at the capital of the Grecian empire. That which was commanded by Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, who deserves a place among the greatest heroes, whether of ancient or modern times, and by his brother Baldwin, was composed of eighty thousand well-chosen troops, horse and foot, and directed its march through Germany and Hungary. Another, which was headed by Raimond, earl of Toulouse, passed through the Sclavonian territories. Robert, earl of Flanders, Robert, duke of Normandy, Hugo, brother to Philip I., king of France, embarked their respective forces in a fleet which was assembled at Brundisi and Tarento, whence they were transported to Durazzo, anciently Dyrrachium. These armies were followed by Boemond, duke of Apulia and Calabria, at the head of a chosen and numerous body of valiant Normans.

This army was one of the greatest, and, in outward appearance, one

of the most formidable that had been known in the memory of man; and though, before its arrival at Constantinople, it was diminished considerably by the difficulties and oppositions it had met with on the way, yet, such as it was, it made the Grecian emperor tremble, and filled his mind with the most anxious and alarming apprehensions of some secret design against his dominions. His fears, however, were dispelled, when he saw these legions pass the straits of Gallipolis, and direct their march toward Bithynia.

The first successful enterprise which was formed against the infidels was the siege of Nice, the capital of Bithynia. This city was taken in the year 1097, and the victorious army proceeded thence into Syria, and, in the following year, subdued Antioch, which, with its fertile territory, was granted by the assembled chiefs to Boemond, duke of Apulia. Edessa fell next into the hands of the victors, and became the property of Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon. The conquest of Jerusalem, which, after a siege of five weeks, submitted to their arms in the year 1099, seemed to crown their expedition with the desired success. In this city were laid the foundations of a new kingdom, at the head of which was placed the famous Godfrey, whom the army saluted king of Jerusalem with a unanimous voice. But this illustrious hero, whose other eminent qualities were adorned with the most perfect modesty, refused that high title, though he governed Jerusalem with a degree of valour, equity, and prudence, which places him higher in the records of virtue than most founders of empires. Having chosen a small army to support him in his new dignity, he permitted the rest of the troops to return to Europe. He did not, however, enjoy long the fruits of a victory in which his heroic valour had been so gloriously displayed, but died about a year after the conquest of Jerusalem, leaving his dominions to his brother Baldwin, prince of Edessa, who assumed the title of king without the smallest hesitation.

Splendid as were these holy wars in appearance, they, however, were not less prejudicial to the cause of religion, and the true interests of the Christian Church, than they were to the temporal concerns of men.—One of the first and most pernicious effects, was the most enormous augmentation of the influence and authority of the Roman pontiffs; they also contributed, in various ways, to enrich the churches and monasteries with daily accessions of wealth, and to open new sources of opulence to all the sacerdotal orders. For they who assumed the cross disposed of their property, as if they were at the point of death, and left a considerable part of their possessions to the priests and monks, with a view of obtaining by these *pious* legacies the favour and protection of the Almighty in their new undertaking. Such of them also as had been engaged in suits of law with the priests or monks renounced their pretensions, and submissively resigned whatever had been the subject of debate. And others, who had seized upon any of the possessions of the churches, or convents, or heard of any injury which had been committed against the clergy, by the remotest of their ancestors, made the most liberal restitution, or the most ample satisfaction for the real or pretended injuries they had committed against the Church, by rich and costly donations. (*Du Fresne*, l. c., p. 52.)

Nor were these the only unhappy effects of the holy expeditions.—For while whole legions of bishops and abbots girded the sword upon

their thigh, and proceeded as generals, volunteers, or chaplains, into Palestine, the priests and monks, who had lived under their jurisdiction, and were awed by their authority, felt themselves released from restraint, and lived without order or discipline. The list of pretended saints was greatly augmented; and the greatest impositions arose from the importation of an immense quantity of relics by the adventurers in the crusade.

It is, however, some compensation for these evils that something was eventually gained in science, and something in freedom, by these warlike pilgrimages. The arts and manufactures of the east were introduced into Europe, and a spirit of enterprise, which probably led to the cultivation of commerce, was excited. Before the era of the crusades, "the larger portion of the inhabitants of Europe," says Mr. Gibbon, "was chained to the soil, without freedom, or property, or knowledge; and the two orders of ecclesiastics and nobles whose numbers were comparatively small, alone deserved the name of citizens and men. This oppressive system was supported by the arts of the clergy and the swords of the barons. The authority of the priests operated indeed in the darker ages as a salutary antidote; they prevented the total extinction of letters, mitigated the fierceness of the times, sheltered the poor and defenceless, and preserved or revived the peace and order of civil society. But the independence, rapine, and discord of the feudal lords were unmixed with any semblance of good; and every hope of industry and improvement was crushed by the iron weight of the martial aristocracy. Among the causes that undermined that Gothic edifice, a conspicuous place must be allowed to the crusades. The estates of the barons were dissipated, and their race was often extinguished, in these costly and perilous expeditions. Their poverty extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave, secured the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community. The conflagration which destroyed the tall and barren trees of the forest gave air and scope to the vegetation of the smaller and nutritive plants of the soil." (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, vol. 4.)

After his expedition to Clermont, Urban returned into Italy, where he made himself master of the castle of St. Angelo, and soon after ended his days in the year 1099. His antagonist, Clement III., survived him but a short time. He died the following year, and left at the close of this century Raynier, a benedictine monk, who assumed the name of Paschal II., sole possessor of the papal chair.

CHAPTER II.

OF MANNERS, DOCTRINES, RITES, AND CEREMONIES IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Miracles—Flagellation for sin—Contests concerning Roman and Gothic Rituals—Carthusian Order—Cistercians.

IN a period of superstition and credulity, it can excite little surprise that the crafty and designing should procure advantages to themselves by the assistance of deception and fraud. A number of miracles were accordingly invented, and false prophets appeared. One Lieutard in particular, a poor and ignorant man, who pretended to inspiration, seduced a number of persons in the diocess of Chalons in France. While asleep in the field, he imagined that a swarm of bees entered his body, which, after tormenting and stinging him for some time, at last spoke to him and commissioned him to preach. The poor fanatic at length put an end to his own life, by throwing himself into a well. (*Jortin's Remarks*, 5, v. 20.) A number of new relics were also discovered in the course of this century: among the rest the head of John the Baptist was *said* to be found at the monastery of St. John of Angeli, at Saintonge. This relic is, however, not singular, since there was scarcely a country in Europe or Asia which was not honoured with the head of the Baptist.

Notwithstanding the apparent unity of the Catholic Church at this period, it does not appear that even the papal doctrines were universally received. A Saxon homily still extant, written in the reign of Ethelred II., demonstrates that the English Church had not embraced the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In relating the historical events of this century, several instances of excommunication have occurred; indeed, this sentence was so frequently issued as to become almost contemptible. The penalties attending this censure of the Church, extended not only to the offending sinner, but to whoever conversed or kept up any correspondence with him to the fourth generation. Public penance was however much less frequently enjoined, and its pains were commuted for by pilgrimages, redemptions, and absolutions granted by the holy see. The introduction of the disciplining whip for the private punishment of sin contributed to the abolition of public penance, which sunk into additional neglect, from the practice which was introduced at this period of obtaining a remission of sins by the scourgings and other voluntary pains which, for a stipulated price, the monks undertook to suffer for them. How far these holy men fulfilled their numerous contracts of this nature, it is impossible to ascertain.

Still less universal than the doctrines were the Romish forms of worship. Many of the western churches still retained their ancient ceremonies. The Spaniards had long distinguished themselves above all other nations by the noble and resolute resistance they made to the Romish ritual. Alexander II. had indeed proceeded so far, in the year 1068, as to persuade the inhabitants of Arragon into his measures, (*Peter de Marca, Histoire de Bearn*, liv. ii, cap. ix,) and to conquer

the aversion of the Catalonians. But the honour of finishing this difficult work, and bringing it to perfection, was reserved for Gregory VII., who, without interruption, exhorted, threatened, admonished, and entreated Sancius and Alphonso, the kings of Arragon and Castile, until, fatigued with the importunity of this restless pontiff, they consented to abolish the Gothic service in their churches, and to introduce the Roman in its place. Sancius was the first who complied with the request of the pontiff, and, in the year 1080, his example was followed by Alphonso. The methods which the nobles of Castile employed to decide the matter were extraordinary. First, two champions were selected, who were to determine the controversy by single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, the other for the Gothic. On the first trial the Gothic hero proved victorious. The fiery trial was next made use of to terminate the dispute; the Roman and Gothic liturgies were committed to the flames, which, as the legend informs us, consumed the former, while the latter remained unblemished and entire. Thus were the Gothic rites crowned with a double victory, which, however, was not sufficient to maintain them against the authority of the pope, and the influence of the queen Constantia, who determined Alphonso in favour of the Roman service. It was, however, opposed by several of the Spanish churches, who still continue the use of their ancient missal. The desire of Gregory for the reception of the Latin ritual extended to every Christian country, and by the orders of Alexander II., and this pontiff, Divine service was prohibited to be read in any other language than Greek and Latin.

The opposition made by the Greek Church against the modes of worship practised by the Latin, produced an irreconcilable enmity between those two societies of Christians. A controversy on this point had arisen between them toward the close of the preceding century, and a schism had in consequence of it been produced. The indiscreet zeal of Michael, the patriarch of Constantinople, augmented this difference. In 1053 he published a letter, in which he attacked in severe terms the custom of the western church of using unleavened bread in the sacrament, of eating blood and things strangled, and of fasting on Saturdays during lent; while he denounced them for not singing hallelujah during the time appointed for that fast. The indifference of modern times may induce a smile at the frivolous nature of these objections to communion; but they were considered in a very serious light by Leo IX. and the western clergy, whose wrath was increased by the intelligence that Michael had deprived of their churches and monasteries all the Latin Christians who refused to relinquish these rites. The emperor, Constantine Monomachus, was too much interested in retaining the favour of the pope, by whose influence alone he could hope to secure the possessions which still remained to him in the west, not to unite with Leo against the Constantinopolitan patriarch. The controversy between this prelate and the envoys of the pope, was prosecuted both by personal disputes and in writing. Michael, however, still continued unconvinced, and his refractory conduct was punished by a solemn excommunication and the deprivation of his see. On the decease of the emperor, the deposed patriarch was restored to his former honours, and in his turn solemnly excommunicated the pope.

The number of monastic institutions which had for several centuries

been gradually increasing, was in this considerably augmented. The order of Clugni, which was instituted in the preceding century, had, from the superiority of its discipline, attained such a degree of reputation that a number of new monasteries were erected, and the order was enriched by costly donations and splendid endowments. But in proportion as the wealth of the society increased, the severity of its discipline relaxed, and the monks were immersed in secular affairs. This defection induced those whose wish for a seclusion from the world arose from sincere though mistaken motives, to institute or enforce more austere regulations. Upon this principle Romauld, an Italian monk, withdrew from the society to which he belonged, and instituted several others which professed to adopt the regulations of St. Benedict. The institution, however, which professed and observed the greatest austerity was that of the Carthusians, founded in the year 1084 by the fanatic Bruno, a canon of Rheims; who, with six companions, retired to the solitude of Chartreux in Dauphine. The Carthusians wear sackcloth next their skins, generally eat alone in their cells, and fast on Fridays, when they only allow themselves a small portion of bread and water. They are enjoined perpetual silence, and are never suffered to go out of their convent, and no women are permitted to enter their precincts. The order, though instituted in France, extended to England, and appears to have degenerated less than any other of the monastic institutions.

Two gentlemen of Vienne, whose benevolent exertions were devoted to the cure of those who were afflicted with the disorder called St. Anthony's fire, and who came to that city to implore the intercession of the saint in the church where his body was deposited, founded the order of St. Anthony, which order professed to follow the rules of St. Augustine. The order of Cistercians was founded toward the close of this century, to which period the full establishment of regular canons must be referred.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Berenger—Roscelin—Persecution of the Jews—Manicheans—Bulgarians and Catharists.

HAD the spirit of inquiry been more widely diffused, and the influence of superstition and a blind attachment to received opinions been less predominant, the commotions which, from various causes, existed during a great part of this century in the western empire, might have left a considerable part of the Christian world little at leisure to examine the niceties of speculative theology. These causes, co-operating with those which were detailed in the preceding century, confine the account of any differences in religious opinion within a very contracted compass, and of those there were few who actually seceded from communion with the church. Yet the Catholic writers of this period have transmitted to us the names of a few individuals, whose depart-

ure from the established faith incurred the censures of repeated councils. The most celebrated of these was Berenger, a priest of Angers, who warmly attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation, which, though not openly asserted, was silently and imperceptibly gaining ground. But the ignorance and superstition of this period were extremely unfavourable to rational discussion, and Berenger was condemned by the pope and by several councils. It would be uncharitable to infer from the conduct of the unfortunate priest, that he had not a sincere regard to veracity: he possessed not, however, the spirit of a martyr, but, incited by fear, or impelled by truth, he alternately retracted and asserted his sentiments. His death relieved the church from this vexatious opponent, whose opinions, which had been received by few, gradually declined.

Roscelin, a celebrated logician and priest of Compeigne, in France, was accused of asserting that the three persons in the trinity were three realities, distinct from each other in the same manner as three souls or angels, and that their whole union consisted in their having one will and one power. These opinions, which were considered as tritheism, were condemned in a council held at Soissons. Like the unfortunate Berenger, Roscelin dreaded the effects of an ecclesiastical censure, subscribed the decree which pronounced his opinions heretical, and solemnly retracted his sentiments, which, however, he again professed.

Some opinions similar to those of the Manicheans were professed in France, and incurred the censure of a council at Orleans, by whose decrees some ecclesiastics of that city were condemned to the flames, along with several of their unhappy followers. The same opinions were imputed to several Bulgarians, and Catharists, who were most probably Paulicians, but the precise doctrines they propagated were never very clearly ascertained. These unfortunate offenders did not however occupy the whole of civil and ecclesiastical vengeance. The leading features of the times were superstition and violence. In 1010 the prince of Babylon had destroyed the church of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and this sacrilegious act was attributed to the Jews, who, in consequence of the suspicion, were severely persecuted throughout Christendom.

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Revival of Letters—Leo the grammarian, Theophylact, Cedrenus, Michael Psellus—Fulbert, Damianus, Anselm, Lambertus.

THE middle of the eleventh century is a period very remarkable in the annals of literature, for to that time the first dawn of reviving learning may be referred. It was indeed overcast by a cloud of prejudices and the greater part of the knowledge of the age consisted in scholastic theology and logical distinctions, which frequently serve rather the purposes of obscurity than of elucidation.

The Grecian empire was, however, polished and improved by the labours of Leo, the grammarian, who continued the chronicle of Theophanes. (*Du Pin.*) George Cedrenus composed annals, and Theophylact, archbishop of Acrides, in Bulgaria, laboured usefully upon the Scripture, by abridging the commentaries of Chrysostom. Besides these, there were a number of learned and excellent men in the Greek Church, one of the most eminent of whom was Michael Psellus, a man of uncommon erudition and sagacity. He was a strenuous advocate for Aristotle, (*Mosh.*, cent. xi,) but did not confine himself to heathen literature, as he published several works of sacred criticism and theology, among others a paraphrase and commentary on the Song of Solomon. (*Du Pin.*)

The controversy concerning investitures produced abundance of authors in the west, some of them not destitute of merit, did not the temporary nature of their productions consign them to oblivion. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, deserves a high rank among the restorers of literature. He read public lectures in the schools of Chartres, and has left to posterity letters and sermons, with a few poems: his letters are distinguished by their delicacy and wit. (*Du Pin.*) Peter Damianus, cardinal bishop of Ostia, was a polite scholar for his time: Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, excelled in scholastic divinity, and wrote a demonstration of the being of God in the metaphysical style; his argument is nearly the same with that used by Descartes: but Lambertus, a German monk, was at this period the best writer in the Christian world; and his general history is highly commended by Joseph Scaliger. (*Jortin*, v. 44.)

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Conversion of Pomerania—Livonia—Calamitous state of Judea—Second crusade—Saladin—Third crusade under Frederick Barbarossa—Richard Cœur de Lion—Knights of Malta and Templars—Teutonic knights—Popes: Pascal II., Alexander III., Lucius III., Innocent III.

IN those regions of Europe which had not yet received the Gospel all that was laudable in the zeal of this century was principally exerted, though we must still regret the means which a mistaken spirit of religion employed even for the promotion of a glorious cause. Boleslaus, duke of Poland, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace, upon condition that they would receive the Christian teachers, and permit them to exercise their ministry in that vanquished province. The condition was accepted, and Otho, bishop of Bamberge, a man of eminent piety and zeal, was sent in the year 1124 to inculcate and explain the doctrines of Christianity among that superstitious and barbarous people.

Among the northern princes in this century, none appeared with more distinguished reputation than Waldemar I., king of Denmark, who acquired immortal fame by the battles in which he contended against the pagan nations, the Sclavonians, Venedi, Vandals, and others, who, either by their incursions or their revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm.

The establishment of Christianity among the Livonians was attended with much difficulty, and with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. The first missionary who attempted the conversion of that savage people was Mainard, a regular canon of St. Augustine, in the monastery of Sigeberg. Toward the conclusion of this century, he travelled to Livonia, with a company of merchants of Bremen who traded there, and he improved this opportunity of diffusing the light of the Gospel in that barbarous region of superstition and darkness. The instructions and exhortations, however, of this zealous apostle were received with indifference or reluctance, and produced but little effect. The misguided missionary, in the true spirit of the times, therefore addressed himself to the Roman pontiff, Urban III., who consecrated him bishop of the Livonians, and, at the same time, declared a *holy* war against that obstinate people. The war, which at first was carried on against the inhabitants of the province of Esthonia, was continued with still greater vigour, and rendered more universal, by Berthold, abbot of Lucca, who forsook his monastery to share the labours and laurels of Mainard, whom he accordingly succeeded in the see of Livonia.

This zealous champion of popery was again succeeded by Albert, canon of Bremen, who entered Livonia in 1198, and instituted there

the military order of the knights sword bearers. New legions were sent from Germany to second the efforts and add efficacy to the mission of these military apostles. This wretched people, exhausted at length, and unable to stand any longer firm against the arm of persecution, abandoned the statues of their pagan deities, and substituted in their place the images of the saints. But while they received what was termed the Gospel, they were at the same time deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and possessions were taken from them with the most odious circumstances of cruelty and violence, and the knights and bishops divided the spoil.*

From a line of conduct so contemptible and atrocious, we turn with pleasure to the pious Vicellinus, a native of Hamelin, a man of extraordinary merit, who, after having presided many years in the society of the regular canons of St. Augustine at Flanders, was at length consecrated bishop of Oldenburg. This excellent prelate employed the last thirty years of his life,† amid numberless vexations, dangers, and difficulties, in instructing the Sclavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the invitations of the Gospel of Christ: and as his pious labours were directed by wisdom, and executed with the most indefatigable industry and zeal, they were attended with proportionate success. To his zeal and perseverance as a missionary, Vicellinus added the milder virtues of a saint, and every event of his protracted life entitles him to the esteem and veneration of successive ages.

The new kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been erected by the *holy warriors* toward the conclusion of the preceding century, appeared at first to flourish considerably, and to rest upon firm and solid foundations. This prosperous scene was, however, but transitory, and was soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities and desolations. Many of the first Christian conquerors returned to Europe, when they conceived they had accomplished their vow; and those who remained were, immediately on the death of Godfrey, divided into factions. The Mohammedan powers, therefore, who had at first been thrown into consternation by the numbers, valour, and success of the soldiers of the cross, now recovered from their surprise, and collecting troops, and soliciting succours from all quarters, harassed and exhausted the Christians by incessant invasions and wars. The fortitude of the faithful forsook them not in this exigence: the country they had acquired by valour they defended with perseverance, till Atabec Zenghi, after a long siege, conquered the city of Edessa, and menaced Antioch with a similar fate. In this situation the Christians became timid and diffident. They implored in the most desponding strain the assistance of the European princes, and requested a fresh army to support their tottering empire in the Holy Land.

A new expedition was not, however, resolved upon with such unanimity and precipitation as the former had been; it was the subject of long deliberation, and its expediency was strenuously debated both in the cabinets of princes, and in the assemblies of the clergy and the people. Bernard, the celebrated abbot of Clairval, a man of the boldest resolution and of the greatest authority, terminated these disputes under

* See the Origines Livoniæ, seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum, published in folio, at Frankfort, in the year 1740, by Jo. Daniel Gruberus.

† That is, from the year 1124 to the year 1154, in which he died.

the pontificate of Eugenius III., who had been his disciple, and who was wholly governed by his counsels. This eloquent and zealous ecclesiastic *preached the cross* with much ardour and success; and in the grand parliament assembled at Vezelai, 1146, at which Lewis VII., king of France, with his queen, and a prodigious concourse of the nobility, were present, Bernard recommended this holy expedition with such persuasive powers, and declared with such assurance that he had a divine commission to foretel its glorious success, that the king, the queen, and all the nobles immediately put on the military cross, and prepared themselves for the voyage to Palestine. The orator next directed his exhortations to Conrad III., emperor of Germany, who for some time resisted his fervent solicitations. He at length complied; and such was the pathetic vehemence of the tone and gestures of the indefatigable Bernard, that a phlegmatic people, who were ignorant of his language, were induced to follow their sovereign to the fields of Palestine. The nobles of France and Germany were animated by the example and presence of their sovereigns, and Lewis VII. and Conrad were followed by armies which might have claimed the conquest of Asia. Their united cavalry was composed of seventy thousand knights, and their attendants; and the whole number, including women and children, is computed to have amounted to at least four hundred thousand souls. As it was impossible to procure necessaries for such numbers in the countries through which they were to pass, each army pursued a different road. But before their arrival in the Holy Land, the greater part of their forces was melted away, and perished miserably by famine, by the sword of the Mohammedans, by shipwreck, or by the perfidious cruelty of the Greeks, who regarded these rude and intrepid intruders with peculiar acrimony and dread. Their numbers and their manners were formidable, and their designs a tacit reproach to the pusillanimous Greeks, whose enmity was inflamed by religious discord; and the schismatical and heretical Christians of the west were more the objects of abhorrence to the members of the oriental Church, than the idolatrous pagan, or the followers of Mohammed. Such indeed was their abhorrence of the rites of their western brethren, that the Greek clergy washed and purified the altar which had been defiled by the sacrifice of a French priest. Lewis VII., who had left his kingdom in 1147, in the month of March of the following year arrived at Antioch, with the wretched remains of his army, exhausted and dejected by the hardships they had endured. Conrad departed also in the year 1147, in the month of May; and in November following he arrived at Nice, where he joined the French army, after having lost the greater part of his own by a succession of calamities. From Nice the two princes proceeded to Jerusalem, 1148, whence they led back into Europe, the following year, the miserable remnant of troops which had survived the disasters they had met with in this expedition. Such was the unhappy issue of the second crusade, which was rendered ineffectual by a variety of causes, but more particularly by the jealousies and divisions which distracted the Christians in Palestine. Nor was it more ineffectual in Palestine than it was detrimental to Europe, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and destroying immense numbers of its inhabitants.

The unfortunate event of this second expedition was not however

sufficient, when considered alone, to render the affairs of the Christians in Palestine entirely desperate. Had their chiefs and princes laid aside their animosities and contentions, had they attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would probably have repaired their losses, and recovered their glory. But a contrary conduct was pursued.—By intestine quarrels, jealousies, and discords, they weakened their efforts against the enemies who surrounded them, and consumed their strength by unhappily dividing it. Saladin, viceroy, or rather sultan, of Egypt and Syria, and the most valiant chief whom the Mohammedan annals can boast, took advantage of these lamentable divisions. He took prisoner Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, in a fatal battle fought near Tiberias, 1187; and, in three months afterward, appeared in arms before the gates of Jerusalem. The rapid efforts of fourteen days enabled the victor to make a breach in the walls, upon which he erected twelve banners of the prophet: he soon afterward entered the city, tore down the cross from the principal church, and compelled all the Franks and Latins to evacuate the place. The carnage and desolation which accompanied this dreadful campaign threw the affairs of the Christians in the east into the most desperate condition, and afforded no glimpse of hope, but what arose from the expected assistance of the European princes. This assistance was obtained for them by the Roman pontiffs with much difficulty, and in consequence of repeated solicitations and entreaties. But the event was by no means answerable to the deep schemes which were concerted, and the pains which were employed, for the support of the tottering kingdom of Jerusalem.

The third expedition was undertaken 1189, by Frederick I., surnamed Barbarossa, emperor of Germany; who, with a prodigious army, marched through several Grecian provinces, where he had innumerable difficulties and obstacles to overcome, into the Lesser Asia, whence, after having defeated the sultan of Iconium, he penetrated into Syria. His valour and conduct promised successful and glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river Saleph, which runs through Seleucia. The manner of his death is not known with any degree of certainty; and the loss of this intrepid veteran dejected the spirits of his troops, and in consequence of it considerable numbers of them returned to Europe. Those that remained continued the war under the command of Frederick, son of the deceased emperor; but the greater part of them perished miserably by a pestilential disorder, which raged with fatal violence in the camp, and swept off vast numbers every day. The new general died of this terrible disease in 1191; those who escaped its fury were dispersed, and few returned to their own country.

The example of Frederick Barbarossa was followed, in the year 1190, by Philip Augustus, king of France, and Richard I., king of England.* These two monarchs proceeded from their respective dominions with a considerable number of ships of war and transports, arrived at Palestine in the year 1191, each at the head of a separate army, and were successful in their first encounters with the infidels. After the reduction of the strong city of Acre, or Ptolemais, which had been defended by the Mussulmans with the most obstinate valour, the French

* Called, by way of eminence, Richard *Cœur de Lion.*

monarch returned into Europe in the month of July, 1191, leaving, however, behind him a considerable part of the army which he had conducted into Palestine. Notwithstanding his departure, the king of England pursued the war, exhibited daily marks of heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only defeated Saladin in several engagements, but made himself master of Yaffa (more commonly known by the name of Joppa) and Cesarea. Deserted however by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of essential importance, he concluded, in 1192, with Saladin, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and soon evacuated Palestine with his whole army. Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which exhausted England, France, and Germany, both of men and money, without producing any solid advantage, or giving even a favourable turn to the affairs of the Christians in the Holy Land

The contests which arose between the Christians and Mohammedans gave rise to the three celebrated *military* orders.

The order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which at first was merely a charitable society, then a military association, and at last a sovereign power, traces back its origin to the middle of the eleventh century, when some merchants of Amalsi, piously desirous that the devout pilgrims from various parts of the Christian world should have access to the sepulchre of their Saviour, obtained permission from the Egyptian caliph, who at that time possessed Jerusalem, to erect a house there for the reception of the Latin pilgrims. Invested with powers for that purpose, they soon built a chapel, which was dedicated to St. Mary ad Latonis, in order to distinguish it from those churches which belonged to the Greeks, whose ritual was extremely different, and who, on that account, had treated the Latin Christians with great rancour and contumely. Two houses of entertainment, for the reception of pilgrims of both sexes, were at first erected near this chapel, where service was performed by some Benedictine monks. These pious fathers, devoted to the interests of religion and charity, received with holy hospitality all those who visited the sacred sepulchre; carefully attended them when sick, and liberally supplied their wants out of the alms which were collected for them in Italy by the charitable merchants of Amalsi.

An institution which had for its object the good of religion, without any respect to personal enjoyment or interest, rose daily in the esteem of all ranks in the Christian world; and great numbers of pilgrims devoting themselves to the service of mankind remained in Palestine, and incorporated themselves into this pious society, which, without the distinction of Latin or of Greek, of sex, of age, or of country, hospitably received all who desired admission within its walls. Even the Mohammedan found in this fraternity that his claims as a man would be attended with the most important services, though his religious faith was the object of horror and detestation. Daily did the house of St. John increase in reputation and esteem; several very important donations were given in different parts of Europe to increase its funds; and upon the conquest of Jesusalem, Godfrey of Boulogne, who was invested with the government of the Christians in those parts, augmented the riches of these hospitallers by some very extensive grants, which were imitated by the other noblemen who had joined in the crusade.

The fraternity and sisterhood of St. John assumed a regular habit, and continued, under the Christian kings of Jerusalem, to practise those virtues by which they were first distinguished: nor were their cares confined to the safety and accommodation of the Christians who were already at Jerusalem; a considerable part of their revenues were appropriated to the erection of similar institutions in the principal maritime provinces of Europe, where the pilgrims were received and entertained, and directed to the means of providing every necessary for their embarkation

Though the Christians had obtained, by their victories, possession of the capital of Palestine, and of some other cities, yet the greatest part of the country still remained in the hands of the infidels, who assassinated great numbers of those who resorted to the holy sepulchre, and sometimes fell in large bodies upon the Christian towns which were not fortified, and put the inhabitants to the sword. In order to check these alarming outrages, the superior of the hospitallers proposed the extraordinary scheme of taking a certain portion of the monks of St. John, who were distinguished by birth, and had formerly served in the holy wars, to bear arms against these infidels, at the same time that they were to continue their former charitable offices in the society. To this proposal the patriarch of Jerusalem agreed; Godfrey joyfully acceded to the wishes of his old associates in the field, and the monks were transported with a scheme which animated the latent spark of glory, without wholly drawing them from the employments to which they had dedicated their days, and in pursuit of which they united the virtues of a Christian with the spirit and enthusiasm of a soldier.

Upon the first institution of this military order, which arose early in the twelfth century, those who were appointed to bear arms were but one of three classes into which the superior of the convent had divided the order. The second class consisted of the priests and chaplains, who, besides their customary attendance upon the church, or the sick and poor, were obliged to serve by turns as chaplains in the camp Those of the third class were such as were neither distinguished by birth, nor had become ecclesiastic; and these obtained the name of serving brothers, from the inferior offices which they were obliged to perform. These degrees were, however, at first merely nominal, and each of the monks of St. John was an equal participator in the privileges and immunities of the order; but, in a short time, the soldiers of the knights obtained some distinctions in their dress, both in the convent and the field, and in time were admitted to dignities to which the serving brothers had no pretensions.

The order, increasing daily in splendour and reputation, received new accessions of numbers from every part of the Christian world, who were desirous of enrolling themselves under its banner. In consequence of this influx into the order, a new distinction was found necessary, which was dividing it into seven classes, according to the different nations and countries to which these different emigrants belonged. These divisions were called languages or tongues, and were those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, Germany, and England; and the commanderies and emoluments belonging to the order in those countries were annexed to the language or order of knights belonging to these respective nations. The English, since the reign of Henry

VIII., have forfeited the advantages of being admitted into the order; and the honours and emoluments of that nation, of which the order was not deprived, are now divided into the other nations, to which have been added the languages of Castile and Portugal.

During the wars which succeeded the commencement of this remarkable institution, the knights of St. John were distinguished by their military enthusiasm and heroic achievements; but the most determined valour and the most spirited exertions could not for ever render them successful against the attacks of an enemy whose forces were infinitely more numerous than their own, and whose conquests were accelerated by the intestine divisions which had long prevailed in the order. The knights, compelled at length by the victorious arms of the Mohammedans, to resign to them, after many struggles, the Holy Land, retired to Candia, which, upon finding themselves ill-treated by the king of that island, they afterward forsook, and, after much difficulty, and a war, continued with various success during four years, at length obtained possession of the island of Rhodes, and exchanged their ancient title to that of the knights of Rhodes. This delightful situation, which they acquired in 1310, they enjoyed for near two hundred and twenty years; but, at the expiration of that time, were again compelled to desert a residence which they had rendered very delightful, and to resign the island, with all its dependencies, to Soliman the Second. After several affecting vicissitudes of fortune, the order at length obtained, from the emperor Charles V., an asylum for their scattered forces, and in 1530 took possession of Tripoli, and of the islands of Malta and Gozzo. In these islands the order still exists; and very soon after obtaining the grant exchanged the title of the knights of Rhodes to that of the knights of Malta, by which they are still distinguished.

Another order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the Knights Templars, who received this denomination from a palace adjoining to the temple of Jerusalem, which was appropriated to their use for a certain time by Baldwin II. The foundations of this order were laid at Jerusalem, in the year 1118, by Hugues des Pagens, Geoffry of St. Aldemar, or St. Omer, and seven other persons, whose names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1228 that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by being confirmed solemnly in the council of Troyes, and subjected to a rule of discipline, drawn up by St. Bernard. These warlike Templars were engaged to defend and support the cause of Christianity by force of arms, to inspect the public roads, and to protect the pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem, against the insults and barbarity of the Mohammedans. The order flourished for some time, and acquired immense riches, and an eminent degree of military reputation: but, as their prosperity increased, their vices were multiplied, and their arrogance, luxury,* and cruelty became so obnoxious, that their privileges were revoked, and their order suppressed by a decree of the pope, and of the council of Vienne, in Dauphiny, about the year 1311. There is good reason to suspect that the immense wealth of this fraternity afforded no inconsiderable temptation to the potentates of Christendom to exert themselves for its suppression.

* *Bibere templanorum more*, was a common proverb.

The third order resembled the first in this respect, that though it was a military institution, the care of the poor, and the relief of the sick were not excluded from the services it prescribed. Its members were distinguished by the title of *Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem;* but we cannot, with any degree of certainty, trace its origin farther back than the year 1190, during the siege of Acre or Ptolemais. In this protracted siege, several pious and benevolent merchants of Bremen and Lubec, affected with the sight of the miseries which the besiegers suffered, devoted themselves entirely to the service of the sick and wounded soldiers, and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where they gave constant attendance to every unhappy object who solicited their charity. This pious undertaking was so agreeable to the German princes, who were prosecuting the siege, that they instituted a fraternity of German knights to bring it to a greater degree of perfection. Their resolution was approved by Pope Celestine III., who confirmed the new order by a bull issued on the twenty-third of February, 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members, but such as were of illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the Holy Land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and service to which the Teutonic knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the equestrian garment,* with bread and water, were the only reward which the knights derived from their generous labours. But this austerity proved of short duration, and diminished in proportion as the revenues and possessions of the order augmented. The Teutonic knights, after their retreat from Palestine, made themselves masters of Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Semigalen; but their victorious arms afterward received several checks; and when the light of the Reformation arose upon Germany, they were deprived of the richest provinces which they possessed in that country; though they still retained a certain portion of their ancient territories.

The internal state of Christendom, during the eleventh century, continued to be divided by perpetual contentions between the empire and the papacy, or by violent struggles between the popes and antipopes. Pascal II., who had been raised to the pontificate about the conclusion of the preceding age, appeared firmly seated in the apostolic chair, without the least apprehension from the imperial faction. After the death of Guibert, in 1100, this faction indeed chose in his place a person named Albert; but he was seized and imprisoned on the day of his election. Theodoric and Magnulf were successively chosen after Albert, who could not long support their claim to the pontificate. (See *Fleury, Hist. Eccles.* livre xv, vol. xiv, p. 10, *Brussels* edition in 8vo.)

No sooner did Pascal observe his deliverance from his domestic enemies, than he determined not to suffer the present season of tranquillity to pass unimproved. He assembled a council at Rome in the year 1102, in which the decrees of his predecessors against investitures, and the excommunications they had fulminated against Henry IV.,

* This garment was a white mantle with a black cross

were renewed, and the most vigorous efforts were employed by the ambitious pontiff to excite new enemies against the unfortunate emperor. Henry opposed, however, with much constancy and resolution the efforts of this violent pontiff, and eluded with much dexterity and vigilance his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1104, an unnatural son, under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person and his cause. Henry V. (so was this monster afterward named) seized his father in a treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after which the unhappy prince retired to Liege, where, deserted by all his adherents, he was released from his misery by death, in the year 1106.

The revolution which this odious rebellion occasioned in the empire, was, however, less favourable to the views of Pascal than he expected. Henry V. could by no means be persuaded to renounce his right of *investing* the bishops and abbots, though he was willing to grant the right of election to the canons and monks, as was usual before his time. Upon this the exasperated pontiff renewed, in the councils of Guastallo and Troyes, the decrees which had so frequently been issued against *investitures;* and the flame broke out with new force. It was, indeed, suspended during a few years by the wars in which Henry V. was engaged, and which prevented his bringing the dispute to a conclusion. But no sooner had he made peace with his enemies, and composed the tumults which interrupted the tranquillity of the empire, than he departed for Italy with a formidable army in 1110, to put an end to the long and unhappy contest. He advanced toward Rome by slow marches, while the trembling pontiff, reduced to the lowest and most defenceless condition, proposed to him the following conditions of peace :—That he, on the one hand, should renounce the right of *investing*, with the *ring* and the *crosier;* and that the bishops and abbots should, on the other, resign to the emperor all the grants they had received from Charlemagne, of those rights and privileges which belong to royalty; such as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possessing independent lands and territories, with other immunities of a similar nature. These conditions were agreeable to Henry, and he accordingly ratified them by a formal consent in the year 1111; but they proved extremely displeasing to the Italian and German bishops, who expressed their dissent in the strongest terms. A fatal tumult arose in the church of St. Peter, where the contending parties were assembled with their respective followers, upon which Henry ordered the pope, and several of the refractory cardinals to be seized, and to be confined in the castle of Viterbo. After remaining a prisoner for some time, the captive pontiff was engaged, by the unhappy circumstances of his present condition, to enter into a new convention, by which he solemnly receded from the article of the former treaty which regarded *investitures*, confirmed to the emperor the privilege of inaugurating the bishops and abbots with the *ring* and *crosier*, and anathematized all who might oppose this concession. Thus was peace concluded, in consequence of which the vanquished pontiff arrayed Henry with the imperial diadem.

This transitory peace, the fruit of violence and necessity, was followed by greater tumults and more dreadful wars, than had yet

afflicted the Church. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, Rome was filled with the most vehement commotions, and a universal clamour was excited against the pontiff, who was accused of having violated, in a scandalous manner, the duties and dignity of his station, and of having prostituted the majesty of the Church by his ignominious compliance with the demands of the emperor. To appease these commotions, Pascal, in defiance of his anathema, assembled in the year 1112 a council in the church of Lateran; and there not only confessed, with the deepest contrition, the crime he had committed in concluding such a convention with the emperor, but submitted the decision of the affair to the determination of the council, who accordingly took the treaty into consideration, and solemnly annulled it.—This step was followed by many events which gave, for a long time, an unfavourable aspect to the affairs of the emperor. He was excommunicated in many synods and councils both in France and Germany; he was even placed in the black list of *heretics*, a denomination which exposed those who bore it to the greatest dangers in these superstitious and barbarous times; and, to complete his anxiety, he saw the German princes revolting from his authority in several places, and taking up arms in the cause of the Church. To terminate the calamities which thus afflicted the empire on all sides, Henry set out a second time for Italy, with a numerous army, in the year 1116, and arrived the year following at Rome, where he assembled the consuls, senators, and nobles, while the fugitive pontiff retired to Benevento. Pascal, however, during this forced absence, engaged the Normans to march to his assistance, and, encouraged by the prospect of immediate succour, prepared for a vigorous war against the emperor, and attempted to make himself master of Rome. But in the midst of these warlike preparations, which drew the attention of Europe, the military pontiff concluded his days, in the year 1118. John Cajetan was appointed his successor, but ended his turbulent pontificate in the beginning of the following year. He was succeeded by Calistus II., who renewed the dispute concerning investitures. Each party, however, wearied by unceasing contention, became desirous of the blessings of peace; conditions were therefore proposed which derogated neither from the majesty of the empire nor the rights of the Church, and temporary tranquillity was once more restored. In the pontificates of his successors, till the elevation of Alexander III., few remarkable events occurred, except the struggles of contending popes, and their disputes with Roger, king of Sicily, who haughtily refused to acknowledge his dominions as dependencies upon the holy see.

The dormant struggles for power between the popes and emperors were revived during the pontificate of Alexander III., who attained the papal chair in 1159. The elevation of this prelate was warmly opposed by several of the cardinals, who, in opposition to him, elected another of their body under the name of Victor III., and their opposition was strengthened by obtaining as an auxiliary the emperor, Frederick I.—The terrified pontiff fled precipitately into Sicily, whence he procured a passage into France, where he was received by the kings of England and France, and was conducted on horseback along the road by these submissive princes, each of whom on foot held the reins of the horse's bridle. After a series of contentions during eighteen years, tranquillity

was once more restored by the submission of the emperor, who condescended to prostrate himself at the feet of the haughty pontiff in the great church of St. Mark at Venice, and to receive from him the kiss of peace.

Too extended in his views to be solely occupied with the events in which he was personally concerned, the vicissitudes to which Alexander was exposed did not prevent him from steadily regarding every circumstance which affected the privileges and dignity of the holy see.—In the reign of Henry II., of England, the celebrated council of Clarendon was held, in which several laws were enacted, for the salutary purpose of restraining the abuses of the ecclesiastical tribunals, and reducing the cognizance of all civil crimes and misdemeanors under the authority of the king and his judges. To these laws Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, refused obedience, considering them as prejudicial to the *Divine* rights of the Church in general, and particularly to the prerogatives of the court of Rome. A violent debate succeeded between the resolute monarch and the rebellious prelate, and the latter was obliged to retire into France, where the exiled pontiff at that time resided. This prelate and the king of France interposed their good offices to compose these differences, and they succeeded so far, after much trouble and difficulty, as to encourage Becket to return to England, where he was reinstated in his forfeited dignity. But the generous and indulgent proceedings of his sovereign were not sufficient to conquer his obstinacy in maintaining what he called the privileges of the Church; nor could he be induced by any means to comply with the views and measures of Henry. The consequences of this inflexible resistance were fatal to the haughty prelate. After repeated affronts, the king one day, in an unguarded moment when particularly exasperated, unfortunately expressed himself to this purpose: Am I not unhappy, that, among the numbers who are attached to my interests and employed in my service, there is none possessed of spirit enough to resent the affronts which I am constantly receiving from a miserable priest? These words were indeed not pronounced in vain. Four gentlemen of the court, whose names were Fitz-Urse, Tracy, Britton, and Morville, murdered Becket in his chapel, as he was engaged in performing the evening service. Henry however suspecting the design of the four gentlemen, from some menacing expressions they had made use of, despatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But these orders arrived too late. (*Hume's History of England*, vol. i, p. 394.) Such an event was calculated to produce warm debates between the king of England and the Roman pontiff; and the latter was at length successful enough in the contest to force the suppliant monarch to undergo a severe course of penance, in order to expiate a crime of which he was considered as the principal promoter; while the murdered prelate was solemnly enrolled in the highest rank of saints and martyrs, and innumerable miracles were reported to have been wrought by his sacred bones.

To his successes in the field, and the exercise of the spiritual weapons already possessed by the Church, Alexander added still more permanent advantages by enacting laws peculiarly calculated to extend the prerogatives of the Romish see. In the third council of the Lateran, held

at Rome in 1179, the following decrees, among many others upon different subjects, were passed by his advice and authority: 1st. That, in order to terminate the confusion and dissensions which so commonly accompanied the election of a pope, the right of election should not only be vested in the cardinals alone, but also, that the person in whose favour two-thirds of the college of cardinals voted, should be considered as the lawful and duly elected pope. This law is still in force; it was therefore from the time of Alexander that the election acquired that form which it still retains, by which not only the people, but also the Roman clergy, are excluded entirely from all share in the honour of conferring that important dignity. 2dly. A spiritual war was declared against heretics, whose numbers, increasing rapidly about this period, created much disturbance in the Church in general, and more particularly in several provinces of France. 3dly. The right of recommending and nominating to the order of saints was also taken away from councils and bishops, and *canonization* was ranked among the *greater and more important causes*, the cognizance of which belonged to the pope alone. To all this we must not forget to add, that the power of creating new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the pontiffs from the time of Gregory VII., was not only assumed but exercised by Alexander in a remarkable instance; for, in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king, with the ensigns of royalty, upon Alphonso I., duke of Portugal, who, under the pontificate of Lucius II., had rendered his province tributary to the Roman see. (*Baronius*, *Annal. ad A.* 1179. *Innocent III. Epistolæ*, lib. ep. xlix, p. 54, tom. i, ed. *Baluzian.*)

Upon the death of Alexander, Urbald, bishop of Ostia, known by the name of Lucius III., was raised to the pontificate in 1181, by the suffrages of the cardinals alone. The administration of this new pontiff was embittered by violent tumults and seditions; he was twice expelled from the city by the Romans, who could not bear a pope elected in opposition to the ancient custom, without the knowledge and consent of the clergy and people. In the midst of these troubles he died at Verona in the year 1185, and was succeeded by Hubert Crivelli, bishop of Milan, who assumed the title of Urban III., and, without having transacted any thing worthy of mention during his short pontificate, died of grief in the year 1187, upon hearing that Saladin had rendered himself master of Jerusalem. The pontificate of Celestine III., whose name was Hyacinth, a native of Rome, and a cardinal deacon, was more splendid. He fulminated his excommunications against the emperor, Henry VI., and Leopold, duke of Austria, on account of their having seized and imprisoned Richard I., king of England, on his return from the Holy Land: he subjected to the same malediction Alphonso X., king of Gallicia and Leon, on account of an incestuous marriage into which that prince had entered, and commanded Philip Augustus, king of France, to readmit to the conjugal state and honours Ingelburg his queen, whom he had divorced for reasons unknown; though, as might be expected, this order produced but little effect. Lotharius, count of Signi, a cardinal deacon, who assumed the name of Innocent III., was elected to the pontificate in 1198.

CHAPTER II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, AND CEREMONIES.

School divinity—Pretended revelations—Origin and progress of Indulgences.

THE doctrines of the established Church underwent in this age of ignorance but little alteration. They were obscured indeed by superstition, and rendered ludicrous by a ceremonious and pompous worship. The scholastic doctors, who considered the decisions of the ancients and the precepts of the dialecticians as the great criterion of truth, instead of explaining the doctrines of Christianity, mined them by degrees, and sunk divine truth under the ruins of a captious philosophy; while the Mystics, lapsing perhaps into the opposite extreme, are said to have maintained, that the souls of the truly pious were incapable of any spontaneous motions, and could only be actuated by a *Divine impulse;* and thus not merely set limits to the pretensions of reason, but excluded it entirely from religion and morality; nay, in some measure, denied its very existence.

To finish the absurd portrait of superstition, it is only necessary to observe, that human credulity was so widely extended in this century that, when either the phrensy of a disordered imagination, or the artfulness of hypocrisy, thought proper to publish the dreams or visions which they *fancied*, or *pretended*, they had received from above, the multitude resorted to the new oracle, and respected its decisions as the commands of God, who in this way was pleased, as they imagined, to communicate counsel, instruction, and the knowledge of his will to men. Of this remark no better illustration need be adduced, than the extraordinary reputation which was obtained in Germany by the two famous prophetesses, Hildegard, abbess of Bingen, and Elizabeth of Schonauge.

The origin of the sale of indulgences does not appear to be generally understood. It was a branch of the grand doctrine of penance, and was founded on the authority which was claimed by the bishops, of proportioning the punishment to the offence of the criminal. When, therefore, the exigences of the Church demanded, they granted to their flock the power of purchasing the remission of the penalties imposed upon transgressors, by a sum of money, which was to be applied to certain religious purposes, or, in other words, they published *indulgences*, which soon became an inexhaustible source of opulence to the episcopal order. The abbots and monks, who were not qualified to grant indulgences, had recourse to other methods of enriching their convents. They carried through the country the carcasses and relics of the saints in solemn procession, and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace these sacred and lucrative remains, at certain established prices. When, however, the Roman pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures which the inferior rulers of the Church were accumulating by the sale of *indulgences*, they thought proper to limit the power of the bishops in remitting the penalties imposed upon sinners, and assumed almost entirely this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this measure, the court of Rome became the general magazine of indulgences; and the popes occasionally published, not

only a universal, but a complete, or what they call a *plenary* remission of all the *temporal* pains and penalties which the Church had annexed to certain transgressions. Not content however with this privilege, they proceeded still farther; and not only remitted the penalties which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but usurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity.

The pontiffs first employed this pretended prerogative in promoting the holy war, and scattered abroad their indulgences, though with a certain degree of moderation, in order to encourage the European princes to form new expeditions for the conquest of Palestine; but in time the charm of indulgences was practised upon various occasions of much less consequence. Their introduction, among other things, destroyed the credit and authority of the ancient canonical and ecclesiastical discipline of penance, and occasioned the removal and suppression of the penitentials, which had hitherto formed the principal barriers to every species of vice. To justify these proceedings of the popes, a monstrous and fantastical doctrine was now invented, which was modified and embellished by St. Thomas in the following century. The chief purport of this new doctrine was, "that there actually existed an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the pious deeds and virtuous actions which the saints had performed beyond what was necessary for their own salvation, and which was therefore applicable to the benefit of others; that the guardian and dispenser of this treasure was the pope; and that, of consequence, he was empowered to *assign* to such as he thought proper a portion of this inexhaustible source of *merit*, suitable to their respective *guilt*, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes."

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE SECTS WHICH EXISTED IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Waldenses—Their tenets—Opposition to the Church of Rome—Albigenses.

OF the sects which appeared in this century, none was more distinguished by the reputation it acquired, by the multitude of its votaries, and the testimony which its bitterest enemies bore to the probity and innocence of its members, than that of the Waldenses. The origin of this celebrated people has occasioned much discussion, and their genealogy has been traced to the first periods of Christianity, or to a much less remote source, according to the ingenuity or fancy of different historians. By some they have been thought to derive their descent from the Christian inhabitants of Spain, whose territory lay in Navarre, (a part of Biscay,) who, upon the irruption of the Moors, were driven for refuge into the vicinity of the Pyrenean mountains. In this new situation it has been conceived that they assumed new names, agreeable to their former or present circumstances, or names composed from different combinations; and that one of those tribes took their

denomination from a place near Barcelona, called Vallensia, whence the names of Vallenses, Valdenses, or Waldenses, might be easily derived. Both these opinions are however attended with considerable difficulties: and, with rather more probability, the name, by which these distinguished reformers have been transmitted to posterity, has been ascribed to their residing in the valleys (or *vaux*) of Piedmont, whence they obtained the appellation of Vaudois. A different account from any of the preceding is however given by Turretine, of this sect. He represents them as originating from the Milanese clergy, many of whom refused to repudiate their wives, in compliance with the injunctions of Leo IX., Nicholas II., and Gregory VII. Withdrawing from the Roman communion, they held conventions of their own at a place called Patarea, whence they first were called Patareans, but afterward Waldenses.—With still greater probability, however, they are conceived to have been a branch of the Paulicians, who were dispersed in almost all the countries of Europe and Asia.

The society, however, of which it is our business to treat in the history of this century, was distinguished by several different denominations. From the place where it first attracted the notice of the public, its members were called the poor men of Lyons, or Leonists, and from the wooden shoes worn by its doctors, and a certain mark imprinted upon those shoes, they were denominated Insabbatati or Sabbatati.—The origin of this celebrated sect, at least in that part of the country, is ascribed by Mosheim to Peter, an opulent merchant of Lyons, who probably derived his surname of Valdo, Valdus, or Waldus, from adopting the doctrines which had been professed by the inhabitants of the Piedmontese valleys. Ardently solicitous for the advancement of rational piety and Christian knowledge, Peter, about the year 1160, employed Stephanus de Evisa, a priest, to translate into French the four gospels, with other books of the Holy Scriptures, and the most remarkable sentences of the ancient fathers. No sooner however had he perused those sacred records with a proper degree of attention, than he perceived that the religion which was now taught in the Roman Church differed totally from that which was originally inculcated by Christ and his apostles. Struck with this glaring departure from the truth, and animated with a pious zeal for promoting his own salvation and that of others, he abandoned his mercantile vocation, distributed his riches among the poor, and forming an association with other pious men, who had adopted his sentiments and his turn of devotion, he began in 1180 to assume the character of a public teacher. The archbishop of Lyons, and the other rulers of the Church in that province, opposed, with vigour, this new instructer in the exercise of his ministry. But their opposition was unsuccessful; for the purity and simplicity of the doctrines inculcated by these sectaries, the spotless innocence of their lives and actions, and their noble contempt of riches and honours, appeared so engaging to all who were possessed of any true sense of piety, that the number of their disciples and followers daily increased. They accordingly formed religious assemblies, first in France, and afterward in Lombardy, whence they propagated their tenets throughout the other countries of Europe with incredible rapidity, and with such invincible fortitude, that neither fire nor sword, nor the

most cruel inventions of merciless persecution, could damp their zeal, or entirely ruin their cause.*

The professed objects of Peter Waldus and his followers were to reduce the lives and manners, both of the clergy and people, to that amiable simplicity, and that primitive sanctity, which characterized the apostolic ages, and which appear so strongly recommended in the precepts and injunctions of the Divine Author of our religion. In consequence of this design, they complained that the Romish Church had degenerated, under Constantine the Great, from its primitive purity and sanctity. They considered every Christian as in a certain measure qualified and authorized to instruct, exhort, and confirm the brethren in their Christian course, and demanded the restoration of the ancient penitential discipline of the Church—that is, the expiation of transgressions by prayer, fasting, and alms, which the newly-invented doctrine of indulgences had almost totally abolished. They at the same time affirmed that every pious Christian was qualified and entitled to prescribe to the penitent the kind and degree of satisfaction or expiation which his transgressions required; that confession made to priests was by no means necessary, since the humble offender might acknowledge his sins and testify his repentance to any true believer, and might expect from such the counsels and admonitions which his case and circumstances demanded. They maintained that the power of delivering sinners from the guilt and punishment of their offences belonged to God alone, and that indulgences, of consequence, were the criminal inventions of sordid avarice. They regarded the prayers and other ceremonies which were instituted in behalf of the dead as vain, useless, and absurd, and denied the existence of departed souls in an intermediate state of purification; affirming that they were immediately, upon their separation from the body, received into heaven, or into hell. These were the principal tenets which composed the system of doctrine propagated by the Waldenses. Their rules of practice were extremely austere; for they adopted, as the model of their moral discipline, the sermon of Christ upon the Mount, which they interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner, and consequently condemned war, as the excess of human folly and wickedness; prohibited lawsuits, and all attempts toward the acquisition of wealth; dissuaded from the inflicting of capital punishments, self-defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds.† The government of the Church

* Such was the spirit of the times, that some foreign heretics being found in England in 1160, and being condemned by the bishops, they were beaten with sticks, scourged, burned in the face, and turned adrift; and no person being permitted to harbour them, they all perished with cold and hunger. (*Fleury* quoted by *Jortin*, v, 230.)

† See the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ*, published by Limborch, as also the *Samma* Monetæ *contra Waldenses*, and the other writers of the Waldensian history. Though these writers are not all equally accurate, nor perfectly agreed about the number of doctrines which entered into the system of this sect, yet they are almost all unanimous in acknowledging the sincere piety and exemplary conduct of the Waldenses, and show plainly enough that their intention was not to oppose the doctrines universally received among Christians, but only to revive the piety and manners of the primitive times. And whoever candidly examines the subject will perceive that when the Romish Church departed from the faith, "giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils," the true Church of Christ was preserved among this harmless and pious people. Though they were under great disadvantages, their errors, if they had any, must have been inconsiderable; and it is manifest that the genuine doctrines of the Gospel, and true

was committed by the Waldenses to bishops, presbyters, and deacons; for they believed that these three ecclesiastical orders were instituted by Christ himself. But they considered it as absolutely necessary that all these orders should exactly resemble the apostles, and be, like them, poor in worldly possessions, and furnished with some laborious vocation, in order to gain, by constant industry, their daily subsistence.

The Albigenses, who derived their name from Albi, a considerable town of Guienne, were a branch from this parent stock; and, in common with the Waldenses, they opposed the errors and superstitions of the Romish Church. Such an enormity could not pass unpunished; and Peter de Bruys, one of their first teachers, was condemned to be burned. Their adversaries charged them with the errors of Manicheism; but certainly no errors of that nature appear to have been proved against them in the councils which subscribed their condemnation, though some of the later adherents to this sect appear to have imbibed the reveries of the Gnostics. The Cathari, Paterini, and Publicans, whose tenets were similar to theirs, partook of their condemnation, though under different names.

CHAPTER III.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Literature of the Greeks—Anna Comnena—Eustathius, &c.—In the west, St. Bernard—Abelard—Anselm—William of Tyre, &c.

THE sun of literature, which had only risen in the preceding century, proceeded gradually in this to enlighten the whole Christian world. In the year 1081 Alexius Comnenus was elected to the Byzantine throne, and extended every encouragement to the cultivation of letters. His elegant and accomplished daughter, Anna Comnena, has written his life, or rather his panegyric. As a history, it is blamed for that partiality which was the natural result of her situation; as a composition its only fault is the excess of ornament. The cultivation of history flourished indeed during the whole of this century at the court of Constantinople. The learned commentaries of Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica, upon Homer and Dionysius, amply display the taste and ardour of the age for the revival of classical literature; while the disputes between the Greek and Latin Churches produced a number of polemics, whose labours are perhaps disregarded only because they were employed upon unworthy subjects.

In the western regions of Christendom several men of genius appeared during the course of this century. St. Bernard has been already noticed. He seems to have been an enthusiast from his youth, or rather perhaps a character consisting of enthusiasm blended with artifice, such as is not uncommon. In the course of his life he is said to have refused several bishoprics: but it must be remarked

spirit of Christian piety, were maintained by them through all their sufferings, until the days of Luther, when they readily united with him and others in promoting the Reformation.

that he was far more respected as an abbot than if he had condescended to become an archbishop. He could create popes, command kings, and influence councils; and, in fact, appears to have been a man of consummate address and popular eloquence, with no small share of effrontery. His writings are celebrated by his admirers for their elegance and wit; indeed he appears to have been too much a man of the world, and his genius to have been too acute, to adopt the rugged, scholastic dialect of the times. He was born at Fontaines, a city of Burgundy; in 1091 established the abbey of Clairvaux, of which he himself was the head; and died in 1153, leaving one hundred and sixty monasteries of his order. His genius was unremittingly employed in the servile office of supporting the errors of the Church of Rome, and in the persecution of such as contradicted her doctrines; his voluminous works are chiefly controversial, except some mystical expositions of Solomon's Song, the eulogy of the Knights Templars, and one or two practical treatises on the love of God, humility, &c. (*Du Pin*, tom. iv.; *Mosh.* cent. 12; *Jortin*, v, 223.)

The character of Abelard is more respectable than that of his successful antagonist, Bernard, by whose means it was that Abelard was compelled to commit to the flames his own treatise on the unity of God. The theological opinions of Abelard appear not to have been free from error, but they were far more enlightened than those of his contemporaries. His erudition was extensive, but he was too much addicted to the logic of the schools, though he was not without a tincture of classical elegance. He endured a life of almost continual persecution, (See *Du Pin*, cent. 12,) and died 1142, in the sixty-third year of his age, "worthy of a better age, and better fortune." (*Jortin*, v, 227.)

The subtleties of scholastic divinity were extended by the writings of Peter Lombard, and Gilbert de la Porree, bishop of Poictiers. The incomprehensible opinions of Gilbert respecting the incarnation and Divine essence drew upon him the wrath of the zealous Bernard, whose disapprobation had too much weight over popes and councils to render the situation of the bishop perfectly safe. The prudent prelate therefore publicly retracted his real or imaginary errors. Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, acquired some reputation in this age in the controversy with the Greeks; Otho, bishop of Friburg, composed a chronological history from the creation to his own time. William of Tyre, (poisoned by a rival clergyman, who coveted his preferments,) and James de Vitry are known among the historians of the holy war. There were also at this period a numerous herd of ephemeral authors, whose works consisted chiefly of the lives of saints, relations of miracles, and local chronicles. (*Du Pin.*) The scholastic history of Petrus Comestor may be ranked with these performances, though for a series of years it was accounted a body of positive theology. (*Jortin*, v, 240.)

Among the Jewish writers of this period were Rabbis Solomon Jarchi, Aben Ezra, David and Moses Kimchi, Moses Ben Maimon, and Moses Nichmanides. At the same time flourished the two learned Arabians Avicenna and Averroes, who commented on Aristotle with considerable ability.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Success of the Nestorians in China, &c.—Fourth crusade—Conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders—Fifth crusade under Frederick II.—Sixth crusade under Lewis IX. of France—Recovery of Spain by the Christians—Power of the popes increased—Pragmatic Sanction—Innocent III.—Contest with the Emperor Otho—John, king of England—Honorius III.—Gregory IX.—Celestine IV.—Innocent IV.—Celestine V.—Boniface VIII.

THOUGH the successors of Gengis-Kan, the celebrated emperor of the Tartars, or rather of the Moguls, had carried their victorious arms through a great part of Asia, and, having reduced China, India, and Persia, under the yoke, involved in many calamities and sufferings the Christian societies established in these vanquished lands; yet it is certain, from the most respectable authorities, that, both in China and in the northern parts of Asia, the Nestorians continued to maintain a flourishing church, and a great number of adherents. The emperor of the Tartars and Moguls had no great aversion to the Christian religion; and it appears, from authentic records, that several of the kings and nobles of these nations had either been instructed in the doctrines of the Gospel by their ancestors, or were converted to Christianity by the ministry and exhortations of the Nestorians. The activity of the Roman pontiffs did not permit them to neglect so favourable an opportunity of extending their power, and missionaries were despatched into Asia, with instructions to induce the different churches to a proper subjection to the holy see. A version of the Psalms of David, and a translation of the New Testament were also transmitted to these semi-barbarians. But the religion of Mohammed, which is so adapted to flatter the passions of men, infected, by degrees, these imperfect converts, opposed with success the progress of the Gospel, and at length so completely triumphed over it, that not the least remains of Christianity were to be perceived in the courts of the eastern princes.

The Roman pontiffs employed their most zealous and assiduous efforts in support of the Christian cause in Palestine, which was now in a most declining, or rather in a desperate, state. Innocent III. sounded the charge; but the greater part of the European princes and nations were deaf to the voice of the holy trumpet. After many unsuccessful attempts, however, in different countries, a number of the French nobility entered into an alliance with the republic of Venice, and set sail for the east, with an army which was far from being formidable. The event of this new expedition was by no means answerable to the expectation of the pontiff. The French and Venetians, instead of steering their course toward Palestine, sailed directly for Constantinople, and, in the year 1203, took that imperial city by storm,

with a design to restore to the throne Isaac Angelus, who implored their succour against the violence of his brother Alexius, the usurper of the empire. The following year a dreadful sedition was raised at Constantinople, in which the emperor Isaac was put to death; and his son, the young Alexius, was strangled by Alexius Ducas, the leader of this furious faction: but the account of this parricide was no sooner communicated to the heroes of the crusade, than they reconquered the imperial city, dethroned and exiled the tyrant Ducas, and elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. This proceeding was, however, the source of new divisions; for about two years after the Greeks resolved to elect, in opposition to the Latin emperor, one of their own nation, and chose, for that purpose, Theodore Lascaris, who removed the imperial court to Nice, in Bithynia. From this period until the year 1261, two emperors reigned over the Greeks; the one, of their own nation, who resided at Nice; and the other, of Latin or French extraction, who lived at Constantinople, the ancient metropolis of the empire. But in the year 1261, the face of affairs was changed by the Grecian emperor, Michael Palæologus, who, by the valour and stratagems of his general, Cesar Alexius, became master of Constantinople, and compelled the Latin emperor Baldwin II., to abandon that city, and save himself by flight into Italy. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at Constantinople, after a duration of fifty-seven years.

The legates and missionaries of the court of Rome still continued to animate the languishing zeal of the European princes in behalf of the Christian cause in Palestine, and to revive the spirit of the crusades, which so many calamities and disasters, together with their notorious abuse, had almost totally extinguished. In consequence of their remonstrances a new army was raised, and a new expedition undertaken, which was to be commanded by the emperor, Frederick II., who was successively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim of the Church. At the age of twenty-one years he assumed the cross, and devoted himself, by a solemn vow, to the accomplishment of this expedition. His engagement received additional strength, such as it appeared impossible to violate, from the marriage which he had contracted, in the year 1223, with Jolanda, daughter of John, count of Brienne, and king of Jerusalem, by which alliance that kingdom was to be added to his European dominions. Notwithstanding this, the expedition of the emperor was repeatedly deferred under various pretexts, and did not take place till the year 1228, when, after having been excommunicated, on account of his delay by the incensed pontiff, Gregory IX., Frederick proceeded, with a small train of attendants, to the troops, who expected, with the most anxious impatience, his arrival in Palestine. No sooner, however, did the emperor reach that disputed kingdom than he turned all his thoughts toward peace, and, partly from the discord of the Mohammedans, and partly from their personal esteem for him, he was enabled to conclude an advantageous treaty with the sultan of Egypt in the following year. By this treaty he obtained possession of the city and kingdom of Jerusalem, of Tyre, and Sidon; and, entering into the holy city with unparalleled pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, he placed the crown upon his head with his own hands. Having regulated with much prudence and

moderation the government of Palestine, Frederick returned without delay into Italy, to appease the discords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious pontiff had excited in his absence. In reality, therefore, notwithstanding all the reproaches which were cast upon the emperor by the pope and his agents, this expedition was by far the most successful that had hitherto been undertaken against the infidels.

After this solitary effort the affairs of the Christians in the east perceptibly declined. Intestine discords and ill-conducted expeditions had reduced them almost to the last extremity, when Lewis IX., king of France, attempted their restoration. The enterprise was in consequence of a vow which the prince had made in the year 1248, when he was seized with a painful and dangerous illness. He soon undertook the arduous task, and, in the execution of it, he embarked for Egypt with a formidable army and a numerous fleet; from an opinion that the conquest of this province would enable him to carry on the war in Syria and Palestine with more facility and success. The first attempts of the zealous monarch were crowned with victory: the celebrated city of Damietta yielded to his arms; but the smiling prospect was soon changed, and the progress of the war presented one uniform scene of calamity and desolation. The united horrors of famine and pestilence overwhelmed the royal army, whose provisions were cut off by the Mohammedans. In the year 1250, Robert, earl of Artois, the king's own brother, having surprised the Saracen army, and, through an excess of valour, pursued them too far, was slain in the engagement; and a few days after the king himself, with two more of his brothers, and the greater part of his army, were taken prisoners in a severe action, after a bold and obstinate resistance. This valiant monarch, who was endowed with true greatness of mind, and who was sincerely pious, though after the manner which prevailed in this age of superstition and darkness, was ransomed at an immense price, (about 190,000*l.* sterling,) and, after having spent about four years in Palestine, returned into France in the year 1254, with a handful of men, the miserable remains of his formidable army.

No calamities, however, could deject the courage or damp the invincible spirit of Lewis; nor did he look upon his vow as fulfilled by what he had already performed in Palestine. He therefore resolved upon a new expedition, fitted out a formidable fleet, with which he set sail for Africa, and proposed to begin in that part of the world his operations against the infidels, that he might either convert them to the Christian faith, or draw from their treasures the means of carrying on more effectually an Asiatic war. He made himself master of the fort of Carthage; but this first success was soon followed by a fatal change. A pestilential disease broke out in the fleet in the harbour of Tunis, carried off the greater part of the army, and seized at length the monarch himself, who fell a victim to its rage on the 25th of August, in the year 1270. Lewis was the last of the European princes who embarked in the holy war; the dangers and difficulties, the calamities and disorders, and the enormous expenses which accompanied each crusade, disgusted the most zealous, and discouraged the most intrepid promoters of these fanatical expeditions. In consequence of this, the Latin empire in the east declined with rapidity, notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to maintain and support it; and in the

year 1291, after the taking of Ptolemais, or Acre, by the Mohammedans, it was entirely overthrown. It is natural to inquire into the true causes which contributed to this unhappy revolution in Palestine; and these causes are evident. We must not seek for them either in the counsels or in the valour of the infidels, but in the dissensions which prevailed in the Christian armies, in the profligate lives of those who called themselves the champions of the cross, and in the ignorance and obstinacy, the avarice and insolence of the pope's legates.

The kings of Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Arragon, at this period, waged perpetual war with the Saracen princes in Spain, who still retained under their dominion the kingdoms of Valencia, Granada, and Murcia, together with the province of Andalusia. The efforts of the Christian potentates were, however, so successful, that the Saracen dominion rapidly declined, and was daily reduced within narrower bounds, while the limits of the Church were extended on every side. The princes who principally contributed to this revolution were Ferdinand, king of Castile and Leon, who, after his death, obtained a place in the calendar, with his father Alphonso IX., king of Leon, and James I., king of Arragon. This prince particularly distinguished himself by his fervent zeal for the advancement of Christianity; and no sooner made himself master of Valencia, in the year 1236, than he employed, with the utmost assiduity, every possible method of converting to the faith his Arabian subjects, whose expulsion would have been an irreparable loss to his kingdom. For this purpose he ordered the Dominicans, whose ministry he principally employed in this salutary work, to learn the Arabic tongue; and founded public schools at Majorca and Barcelona, in which a considerable number of youth were educated in a manner that might enable them to preach the Gospel in that language. When these pious efforts were found ineffectual, the Roman pontiff, Clement IV., exhorted the king to expel the Mohammedans from Spain. The obsequious prince followed the counsel of the inconsiderate and intolerant priest; in the execution of which, however, he met with much difficulty, both from the opposition of the Spanish nobles, and from the obstinacy of the Moors, who however retained only the kingdom of Granada.

The history of the Latin Church during this period presents a lively picture of the ignorance, profligacy, and turbulence of the times. In order to establish their authority, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, upon the firmest foundations, the Roman pontiffs assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the various offices of the Church, whether of a higher or more subordinate nature, and of creating bishops, abbots, and canons, without the consent of the sovereigns or the people. The first of the popes who usurped this extravagant extent of authority, was Innocent III., whose example was followed by Honorius III., Gregory IX., and several of their successors. It was, however, ardently opposed by the bishops, who had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of nominating to the smaller benefices, and still more effectually by the kings of England and France, who employed the force of warm remonstrances and vigorous edicts, to stop the progress of this new jurisprudence. Lewis IX., king of France, and now the tutelar saint of that nation, distinguished himself by his spirited opposition to these papal encroachments. In the year 1268, before his departure for the

Holy Land, he secured the rights of the Gallican Church against the insidious attempts of the Roman pontiffs, by that famous edict which is known by the name of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. This resolute and prudent measure rendered the pontiffs more cautious and slow in their proceedings, but did not terrify them from the prosecution of their purpose. Boniface VIII. indeed maintained, in the most express terms, that the universal Church was under the dominion of the popes, and that princes and lay patrons, councils and chapters had no power in spiritual things, but what they derived from Christ's vicar upon earth.

From the ninth century to this period, the wealth and revenues of the popes had not received any considerable augmentation; but at this time they were greatly increased under Innocent III. and Nicholas III., partly by the events of war, and partly by the munificence of kings and emperors. Innocent was no sooner seated in the papal chair, than he reduced under his jurisdiction the prefect of Rome, who had hitherto been considered as subject to the emperor, to whom he took an oath of allegiance in entering upon his office. He also seized upon Ancona, Spoletto, Assisi, and several cities and fortresses, which had, according to him, been unjustly alienated from the patrimony of St. Peter. In addition to this, Frederick II., who was extremely desirous that the pope should espouse his quarrel with Otho IV., loaded the Roman see with the richest marks of his munificence and liberality, and not only made a noble present in lands to the brother of his holiness, but also permitted Richard, count of Fundi, to leave, by will, all his possessions to the Roman see, (*Odor. Raynaldus, Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad A.* 1212, *s.* 2,) and confirmed the immense donation which had formerly been made by the opulent Matilda. Such was the progress that Innocent III. made during his pontificate, in augmenting the splendour and wealth of the Church. Nicholas IV. followed his example with the warmest emulation; and, in the year 1278, exhibited a remarkable proof of his arrogance and obstinacy, in refusing to crown the emperor Rodolphus I. before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a solemn treaty, all the pretensions of the Roman see, of which, if some were plausible, the greater part were altogether groundless, or dubious at least. This agreement, to which all the Italian princes subject to the emperor were obliged to accede, was no sooner concluded, than Nicholas reduced under his temporal dominion several cities and territories in Italy, which had formerly been annexed to the imperial crown, particularly Romania and Bologna. It was therefore under these two pontiffs that the see of Rome arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of grandeur and opulence which till the Reformation it retained. (See *Raynaldus, locit. ad. A.* 1278, *s.* 47.)

Innocent III., who remained at the head of the Church until the year 1216, followed the steps of Gregory VII., and not only usurped the despotic government of the Church, but claimed the empire of the world, and appeared to indulge the lofty project of subjecting the kings and princes of the earth to an hierarchal sceptre. He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance clouded the lustre of any good qualities which his panegyrists have thought proper to attribute to him. (See *Matth. Hist. Major.* pp. 206, 230.) In Asia and Europe, he disposed of crowns and sceptres with

the most wanton ambition. In Asia, he gave a king to the Armenians; in Europe, he usurped the same extravagant privilege, and conferred the regal dignity upon Primislaus, Duke of Bohemia. In the same year, 1204, he sent to Johannicus, duke of Bulgaria and Wallachia, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name of the pontiff, invested that prince with the ensigns and honours of royalty, while, with his own hand, he crowned Peter II. of Arragon, who had rendered his dominions subject and tributary to the Church, and saluted him publicly at Rome with the title of king.

But the ambition of this pope was not satisfied with the distribution and government of these petty kingdoms: he extended his views farther, and resolved to render the power and majesty of the Roman see formidable to the greatest European monarchs, and even to the emperors themselves. When the empire of Germany was disputed, toward the commencement of this century, between Philip, duke of Swabia, and Otho IV., third son of Henry Lion, he espoused, at first, the cause of Otho, excommunicated Philip, and, upon the death of the latter, which happened in the year 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon the head of his adversary. But as Otho was by no means disposed to submit to the arbitrary determinations of the pontiff, or to satiate his ambitious desires, he consequently incurred the indignation of his spiritual patron; and Innocent declaring him, by a solemn excommunication, unworthy of the empire, raised to the imperial throne his pupil, Frederick II., the son of Henry VI., and king of the two Sicilies, in the year 1212.* Bolder and more successful than his predecessor, Celestine, he excommunicated the king of France, for having dissolved his marriage with Ingelburg, and espoused another. The licentious king still continued inflexible, and this *spouse of the Church* (for such was the appellation assumed by Innocent) hurled his menaces and anathemas against the offending monarch, and laid the whole kingdom under an interdict which prohibited the celebration of Divine worship. Philip, though probably unconcerned for his guilt, yet aware of his danger, at length repudiated the beautiful Agnes, received again his queen, and appeased the resentment of the holy see.

Among the different royal victims to the ambition of Innocent, John, surnamed Sans Terre, king of England, was particularly exposed to his fury and despotism. This prince opposed vigorously the measures of Innocent, who had ordered the monks of Canterbury to choose Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal of English descent, archbishop of that see, notwithstanding the election of John De Gray to that dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority. The pope, after having consecrated Langton at Viterbo, wrote a soothing letter in his favour to the king, accompanied with four rings, and a mystical comment upon the precious stones with which they were enriched. But this present was not sufficient to avert the indignation of the offended monarch; he sent a body of troops to expel from the kingdom the monks of Canterbury, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive Langton as their archbishop, and declared to the pope that if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the see of Canterbury, in opposition to a regular election already made, the consequence of such presumptuous obstinacy

* All this is amply illustrated in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii, lib. vii, p. 427.

would eventually prove fatal to the papal authority in England. Innocent was, however, so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that in the year 1208 he sent orders to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to lay the kingdom under an interdict, if the monarch still refused to yield and to receive Langton. John, alarmed at this menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readiness to confirm the election made at Rome; but, in the act which was drawn up for the purpose, he wisely introduced a clause to prevent any interpretation of this compliance which might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the interdict was proclaimed. A general stop was immediately put to the public offices of religion; the churches were shut; the administration of all the sacraments was suspended, except that of baptism; the dead were buried in the highways, without the usual rites or any funeral solemnity. But, nowithstanding this interdict, the Cistercian order continued to perform Divine service; and several learned and respectable divines, among whom were the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, protested against the injustice of the pope's proceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects which were expected from it, the pontiff denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a bull absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him on pain of excommunication. In the year 1212, Innocent extended his tyranny to a still more enormous length: he assembled a council of cardinals and prelates, deposed John, declared the throne of England vacant, and wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of England, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He at the same time published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute whatever was in their power to the success of this expedition, promising such as seconded Philip in this grand enterprise the same indulgences as were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in Palestine. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of England. The king of England, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when Pandulf, the pope's legate, arrived at Dover, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and allay the storm. This artful legate terrified the king (who met him at that place,) with an exaggerated account of the armament of Philip, and the disaffection of the English, and persuaded him that there was no possible means left of saving his dominions from the formidable arms of the French king, but that of putting them under the protection of the Roman see. The proposal was made at the most embarrassing crisis for the unfortunate John; full of diffidence, both in the nobles of his court, and the officers of his army, he complied at length with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the see of Rome, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory. In the act by which he resigned his kingdoms to the papal

jurisdiction, he declared that he had not been compelled to this measure, either by fear or by force, but that it was his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice and with the consent of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for England, and three hundred for Ireland, in acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented that he, or such of his successors as should refuse to pay the submission, now stipulated, to the see of Rome, should forfeit all their right to the British crown. "This shameful ceremony was performed," says a modern historian, (See *Dr. Smollet's History of England*, vol. i, p. 437,) "on Ascension day, in the house of the Templars, at Dover, in the midst of a great concourse of people, who beheld it with confusion and indignation. John, in doing homage to the pope, presented a sum of money to his representative, which the proud legate trampled under his feet, as a mark of the king's dependence. Every spectator glowed with resentment, and the archbishop of Dublin exclaimed aloud against such intolerable insolence. Pandulf, not satisfied with this mortifying act of superiority, kept the crown and sceptre five whole days, and then restored them as a special favour of the Roman see. John was despised before this extraordinary resignation; but now he was looked upon as a contemptible wretch, unworthy to sit upon a throne; while he himself seemed altogether insensible of his disgrace."

Innocent III. was succeeded in the pontificate by Concio Savelli, who assumed the title of Honorius III. He ruled the Church about ten years, and his government, though not signalized by such audacious exploits as those of his predecessors, discovered an ardent zeal for maintaining the pretensions, and supporting the despotism of the Roman see.

In the year 1227, Hugolinus, bishop of Ostia, whose advanced age had not extinguished the fire of ambition, nor diminished the firmness and obstinacy of his spirit, was raised to the pontificate, and assumed the title of Gregory IX. This pope rekindled the feuds and dissensions which had already secretly subsisted between the Church and the empire into an open and violent flame. No sooner was he placed in the papal chair, than, contrary to all justice and order, he excommunicated the emperor for deferring his expedition against the Saracens to another year, though that delay was manifestly owing to a fit of sickness, which seized that prince when he was ready to embark for Palestine. In the year 1228, Frederick at length departed, and arrived in the Holy Land. But during the absence of the emperor, the insidious pontiff made war upon his dominions, and used his utmost efforts to arm against him all the European powers. Frederick, however, having received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into Europe in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in Sicily and Italy, and in the year following made his peace with the pontiff. from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace was but of short duration; nor was it possible for the emperor to bear the insolent proceedings, and the imperious temper of Gregory. He therefore broke all measures with the pontiff, distressed the states of Lombardy which were in alliance with the see of Rome, seized upon the island of Sardinia, which Gregory considered

as a part of his spiritual patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his son Entius. These, with other measures equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of Gregory, drew the thunder of the Vatican afresh upon the emperor's head. In the year 1239 Frederick was excommunicated publicly, with all the circumstances of severity which vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies, by the exasperated pontiff, who sent a copy of this accusation to all the courts of Europe.—The emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himself of his adversaries, maintained his ground, and reduced the pontiff to the greatest distress. To extricate himself from these difficulties, Gregory convened, in the year 1240, a general council at Rome, with a view to depose Frederick by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals and prelates, who were to compose that assembly. But the emperor disconcerted the project by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greater part of these prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend fathers, who were all committed to close confinement. This disappointment, attended with others, which gave an unhappy turn to his affairs, and blasted his most promising expectations, dejected and consumed the despairing pontiff, and contributed probably to the conclusion of his days, which happened soon after this remarkable event.

Geoffry, bishop of Milan, who succeeded Gregory IX. under the title of Celestine IV., died before his consecration, and after a vacancy of twenty months, the apostolic chair was filled by Sinibald, one of the counts of Fiesque, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1243, and assumed the denomination of Innocent IV. His elevation offered at first a prospect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the interests of the emperor; and accordingly conferences were opened, and a reconciliation was proposed; but the terms offered by the new pope were too imperious and extravagant not to be rejected with indignation by the emperor. Hence it was, that Innocent, not esteeming himself safe in any part of Italy, set out from Genoa, the place of his birth, for Lyons, in the year 1244, and, assembling there a council in the following year, deposed, in their presence, though not with their approbation, the Emperor Frederick, and declared the imperial throne vacant. This unjust and insolent measure was regarded with such veneration, and considered as so weighty by the German princes, that they proceeded instantly to a new election, and elevated first Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, and after his death William, count of Holland, to the imperial throne. Frederick, whose firm and heroic spirit supported without dejection these cruel vicissitudes, continued to carry on the war in Italy, till a violent dysentery ended his days in Apulia, the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable and magnanimous adversary, Innocent returned into Italy, hoping now to enjoy with security the fruits of his ambition. These dissensions are supposed to have occasioned the rise of the celebrated faction of the Guelphs, who strenuously asserted the authority of the Roman see; and of the Gibelines, who supported the imperial rights. Their origin is however involved in almost impenetrable obscurity, and has occasioned numberless conjectures and disputes. Some authors have

conceived that Frederick II., in making the tour of Italy, distinguished those of his own party by the word *gebieter*, *imperator*, which by corruption formed the word *Gibeline*. Other historians refer the origin of these factions to the year 1139, when Conrad III. marched against the Neapolitans; and add, that Roger, count of Naples and Sicily, obtained upon this occasion the assistance of Guelph, duke of Bavaria, and that upon the approach of the contending armies, the Bavarians exclaimed, *Hie Guelph*, *here Guelph*, to which the imperialists replied on their side, *Hie*, or *hier Gibelin*, *here Gibelin*, distinguishing the emperor by the name of his birth-place. By other accounts we are informed, that these appellations were derived from two gentlemen of Pistoya, brothers, who mutually indulged an implacable animosity, and gave their own names to the different parties who supported their respective causes. Maimbourg conjectures that they derived their origin from the quarrels between two illustrious houses on the confines of Germany, the Henries of Gibeling, and the Guelphs of Adorf. Various other conjectures have been adopted upon this subject: thus much is however certain, that their mutual hatred and sanguinary violence comprise almost the whole of the Italian history during nearly three centuries.

In the short pontificates of the three successors of Innocent IV., no material transactions occurred. On the decease of Clement IV., the intrigues and divisions of the cardinals retarded the election of a pope during three years: their suffrages were however at length united in favour of Peter, bishop of Ostia, who assumed the pontificate, and the name of Gregory X., in the year 1272. Impressed with a deep sense of the mischiefs occasioned by the cabals of the cardinals in the election of a successor to the chair of St. Peter, Gregory enacted that, on these occasions, they should be confined in a place called the Conclave, during the time of their deliberations. This law, calculated to prevent the evils of an interregnum in the Church, was revoked by his successors, Adrian V. and John XXI., but renewed and confirmed by Celestine V., who was elected to the papacy in 1294. The retired habits and humble dispositions of the virtuous Celestine, were little adapted to the station he had been persuaded to assume; and the intrigues of the cardinal, Benedict Cajetan, easily induced him to relinquish his post. The same year which beheld the reluctant acceptance and cheerful resignation of the papal chair by the humble Celestine witnessed the elevation of the haughty Cajetan, who took the name of Boniface VIII. This unworthy prelate was destined to be a scourge both to the Church and state, and a disturber of the repose of nations. His attempts to extend and confirm the despotism of the Roman pontiffs were carried to a length that approached to phrensy. From the moment that he entered upon his new dignity, he laid claim to supreme and irresistible dominion over all the powers of the earth, both spiritual and temporal, terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls, summoned princes and sovereign states before his tribunal to decide their quarrels, augmented the papal jurisprudence with a new body of laws, which was entitled the Sixth Book of the Decretals, declared war against the illustrious family of Colonna, who disputed his title to the pontificate; and exhibited to the Church, and to Europe, a lively image of the tyrannical administration of Gregory VII., whom he perhaps surpassed in arrogance.

CHAPTER II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, CEREMONIES, ETC.

Transubstantiation—Auricular confession—Rise of the Dominicans—Of the Franciscans—Anecdote relating to their wealth—Religious exhibitions—Festival of the holy sacrament—Carrying the host—Jubilee.

THE absurd and groundless superstitions, which deformed the practice of the Church, were rather increased than reformed during this century. The progress of reason and truth was retarded among the Greeks and orientals by their absurd admiration of whatever bore the stamp of antiquity, by the indolence of their bishops, the stupidity of their clergy, and the calamities of the times. Among the Latins, many concurring causes united to augment the darkness of that cloud which had already been cast over the divine lustre of genuine Christianity. The Roman pontiffs were averse to every thing which might have the remotest tendency to diminish their authority, or to encroach upon their prerogatives: and the school divines spread perplexity and darkness over the plain truths of religion, by their intricate distinctions.

It will be easy to confirm this general account of the state of religion by particular facts. In the fourth council of the Lateran, which was held by Innocent III., in the year 1215, and at which a prodigious number of ecclesiastics and ambassadors, from almost every court in Christendom, were assembled, the pontiff, without condescending to enter into any consultation, produced seventy canons, already prepared, which were read to the assembly, who submissively subscribed the decrees, in which, however, they had the consolation to find their own powers extended and confirmed. The first canon contained a confession of faith, in which the opinion, which is still maintained by the Romish Church respecting the eucharist, was pronounced by Innocent to be the only true and orthodox account of the Lord's Supper; and he *had the honour* of establishing the use of the term *transubstantiation*, which was hitherto almost unknown. Innocent III. had also the credit of instituting, by his own authority, among the duties prescribed by the divine laws, that of *auricular confession* to a priest; a confession, which implied not only a general acknowledgment, but also a particular enumeration of the sins and follies of the penitent.

This century was farther distinguished by the institution of two of the most celebrated orders of monks which have ever misled or disturbed the world. The one was founded by Dominic of Castile, and the other by Francis, an Italian. The former of these fanatics rendered himself remarkable by his zeal against the heretics, and particularly in the infamous crusade against the Albigenses. By his influence, a new society of monks was established, under the authority of Innocent III. and Honorius III., for the express purpose of extirpating heresy; which formed the basis of the Inquisition. These monks were at first distinguished by the name of the Preaching Friars; and, in England, by that of Black Friars. They are bound by their founder to a vow of perpetual poverty, to which however, as a society, they have by no means adhered.

The Franciscans, who were established in 1207, (a few years later than the Dominicans,) originally pretended to no property, but lived

upon the contributions of their audience, went barefoot, were very poorly habited, and pretended to great mortification. In 1243 there arose a violent dispute between the Franciscans and Dominicans, concerning the preference and dignity of their respective orders. The Dominicans insisted upon the priority of their institution, the advantage of their habit, and the credit of their distinction, being called Predicatores, or the preaching fraternity, and added, that this character approached to the apostolical function and dignity. The Franciscans asserted that their order had greater marks of humility and mortification, that the preference ought to be measured by the degrees of self-denial and discipline; that for these considerations, theirs must be esteemed the superior order, and that it would be a mark of improvement in the Dominicans to incorporate with them. In one point, however, both were agreed: each order had made an astonishing progress in wealth and reputation; their cloisters were decorated like the abodes of princes, and not a trace of their primitive poverty appeared; and their credit was so greatly advanced, that few thought themselves secure of salvation, without the assistance of one of the Dominican or the Franciscan brethren as a spiritual director. Nor had they confined their views to the management of private concerns, but had intruded into the highest offices of trust.

Such indeed was the opulence of these orders that, as early as the year 1299, the Franciscans applied to Pope Boniface, offering him 40,000 ducats of gold, and a prodigious quantity of silver, if he would enable them by his bull to become the purchasers of estates, and to live like the other orders. When the pope inquired whether their money was ready, they answered it was, and lodged in the banker's hands.—Upon this, he ordered them to withdraw, and return in three days for his answer. In the meantime he sent to the bankers, absolved them from their obligation to restore the money to the monks, and charged them, under pain of excommunication, to reserve it for the use of the Roman see. When the Franciscans returned at the day appointed, in expectation of their *diploma*, the Pope told them that he found, upon consideration, it was not advisable to dispense with St. Francis's mite, and therefore they must of necessity continue under their first engagements, to live without property.

Several orders of mendicant friars, besides the celebrated societies already mentioned, arose in this century. These were the creatures of the pope, devoted to his interests, and ready to undertake every employment which could effect his ambitious projects. Equally solicitous for power with the other regular clergy, they encroached upon the privileges of the priests; were involved in disputes with them during a considerable part of the thirteenth century; and occasioned innumerable contentions between the universities and the different clerical orders.

About the year 1250 organs were introduced into churches, and every possible addition was made to the external part of Divine worship, in order to increase its pomp and render it more captivating.—These additions were partly introduced by the public edicts of the Roman pontiffs, and partly by the private injunctions of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who shared the veneration which was excited in the multitude by the magnificence of this religious spectacle. Perhaps the

ignorance of the age, when but few persons, even in the higher ranks, could either write or read, might suggest the idea, or might at least form an excuse for the splendid scenes which were exhibited to the external senses.

But perhaps the most extravagant of absurdities was the institution of the celebrated annual *festival of the holy sacrament.* In 1264, a woman of Liege, whose fanaticism obtained for her the honours of canonization, and the title of St. Juliana, pretended to have been favoured with a revelation from heaven, acquainting her that the *festival of the holy sacrament* had always been in the councils of the sovereign trinity, but that now the time was arrived for revealing it to mankind. The decree of Urban IV. for the institution of this festival states—"That this day properly appertains to the sacrament, because there is no saint who has not his proper festival; that this is intended to confound the unbelief and extravagance of heretics, and to repair all the crimes of which men might be guilty in the other masses." The celebrated Thomas Aquinas composed the office for this solemnity.

The ceremony of carrying the host in procession, to communicate with the sick, appears to have arisen in England at the end of the twelfth century. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of Pope Celestine, held a synod at York, in which he commanded that, when any sick persons were to receive the communion, the priest should himself carry the host, clothed with his proper garment, and with lights borne before him, suitable to so great a solemnity. In the thirteenth century, Odo, bishop of Paris, made several regulations to the same effect. The use of the thin wafer had its rise nearly about the same period; and its origin appears to have been a desire of preventing as much as possible the chance of any part of the sacred elements being wasted or applied to an improper use, as they were held to be the *real body* and blood of Christ. With this view it was deemed sufficient if the LAITY communicated with bread only, for it was agreed that the consecrated bread was the whole body of Christ, and consequently that it contained the *blood;* and that therefore the wine, which was the blood only, must be superfluous. This practice however did not become general at once; and in many places the laity, to prevent the shedding of the wine, sucked it through quills, which were annexed to the chalices for that purpose. Communion in one kind only was afterward established by the council of Constance.

About the conclusion of this century, Boniface VIII. added to the public rites of the Church the famous jubilee, which is still celebrated at Rome, at a stated period, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence.

The successors of Boniface were not satisfied with adding a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of ornaments, to this superstitious institution; but finding, by experience, that it added to the lustre, and augmented the revenues of the Roman Church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five-and-twentieth year.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE SECTS WHICH EXISTED IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Catharists—Waldenses—Petrobrusians—Persecution of Heretics—Inquisition—Crusade against the Albigenses—Flagellantes.

FROM the contemporary historians of this period, no accounts of new sects during this century have been transmitted to us. The Nestorians and Jacobites, who were settled in the remoter regions of the east, and equalled the Greeks in their aversion to the rites and jurisdiction of the Latin Church, were frequently solicited, by the ministry of Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, sent among them by the popes, to receive the Roman yoke. In the year 1246, Innocent IV. used his utmost efforts to bring both these sects under his dominion; and, in the year 1278, terms of accommodation were proposed by Nicholas IV. to the Nestorians, and particularly to that branch of the sect which resided in the northern parts of Asia. The leading men both among the Nestorians and Jacobites, appeared to pay some attention to the proposals which were made to them, and were by no means averse to a reconciliation with the Church of Rome; but the prospect of peace soon vanished, and a variety of causes concurred to prolong the rupture.

During the whole course of this century, the Roman pontiffs carried on a most violent persecution against those whom they branded with the denomination of *heretics*. The sects of the Catharists, Waldenses, and Petrobrusians, or Albigenses, however, daily increased, spread imperceptibly throughout all Europe, assembled numerous congregations in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, and formed by degrees so powerful a party, as rendered them formidable to the Roman pontiffs, and menaced the papal jurisdiction with a fatal revolution. To the ancient sects new factions were added, which differed indeed in various instances, yet were all unanimous in one opinion: "That the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstition; and that the dominion which the popes had usurped over Christians, and the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical." Such were the notions propagated by the sectaries, who refuted the superstitions and impostures of the times by arguments deduced from Scripture, and whose declamations against the power, the opulence, and the vices of the popes and clergy, were extremely agreeable to many princes and civil magistrates, who felt uneasy under the usurpations of the sacred order. The pontiffs therefore considered themselves as obliged to have recourse to new and extraordinary methods of defeating enemies, who, both by their number and their rank, were every way calculated to alarm their fears.

The number of these dissenters from the Church of Rome was nowhere greater than in Narbonne Gaul, and the countries adjacent, where they were received and protected, in a singular manner, by Raymond VI., earl of Toulouse, and other persons of the highest distinction; and where the bishops, either through humanity or indolence

were so negligent and remiss in the prosecution of heretics that the latter, laying aside their fears, formed settlements, and multiplied incredibly. Innocent III. was soon informed of all these proceedings; and about the commencement of this century, sent legates extraordinary into the southern provinces of France to atone for the negligence of the bishops, and to extirpate heresy, in all its forms and modifications, without being at all scrupulous in using such methods as might be necessary to effect this salutary purpose. The persons charged with this commission were Rainier, a Cistercian monk, and Pierre de Castelnau, archdeacon of Maguelonne, who afterward became a Cistercian friar. These zealous missionaries were followed by several others, among whom was the famous Spaniard, Dominic, who, returning from Rome in the year 1206, met with these delegates, embarked in their cause, and laboured both by his exhortations and actions for the extirpation of heresy. These spiritual champions engaged in this expedition upon the sole authority of the pope, without either asking the advice or demanding the assistance of the bishops. They inflicted capital punishments upon such of the heretics as they could not convert by reason and argument, and were distinguished in common discourse by the title of *Inquisitors*, and from them the formal and odious tribunal, called the *Inquisition*, derived its original.

When these obedient soldiers of the holy see had executed their commission, and purged the provinces to which they were sent of the greater part of the enemies of the Roman faith, the pontiffs were so sensible of their services, that they established missionaries of a similar description, or *inquisitors*, in almost every city whose inhabitants had the misfortune to be suspected of heresy, notwithstanding the reluctance which the people demonstrated to this new institution, and the violence with which they frequently expelled, and sometimes massacred, these bloody officers of the popish hierarchy. The council held at Toulouse, in the year 1229, by Romanus, cardinal of St. Angelo, and legate of the pope, went still farther, and erected in every city a council of inquisitors, consisting of one priest and three laymen. (See *Harduini Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 175.) This institution was, however superseded, in the year 1233, by Gregory IX., who entrusted the Dominicans, or preaching friars, with the important commission of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics who were lurking in France, and in a formal epistle discharged the bishops from the burden of that painful office. Immediately after this, the bishop of Tournay, who was the pope's legate in France, began to execute this new resolution, by appointing Pierre Cellan, and Guillaume Arnaud, inquisitors of heretical pravity at Toulouse, and afterward proceeded, in every city where the Dominicans had a convent, to constitute officers of the same nature, chosen from among the monks of that celebrated order. From this period, so disastrous and so disgraceful to human nature, is dated the establishment of that most odious of tyrannies, the INQUISITION; an institution whose foundations are laid in blood, and whose detested towers overlooked and overawed the whole Christian world. The Dominicans erected, first at Toulouse, and afterward at Carcassone and other places, a tremendous court, before which were summoned not only heretics, and persons suspected of heresy, but likewise all who were accused of magic, sorcery, Judaism, witchcraft, and other

similar offences. This tribunal was afterward erected in the other countries of Europe, but, for the honour of human nature, not everywhere with equal success.

The method of proceeding in the inquisitorial court was at first simple, and almost in every respect similar to that which was observed in the ordinary courts of justice. But this simplicity was gradually changed by the Dominicans, to whom experience suggested several new methods of augmenting the majesty of their spiritual tribunal, and such alterations were introduced in the forms of proceedings, that the manner of taking cognizance of heretical causes became totally different from that which was usual in civil affairs. These friars were, indeed, entirely ignorant of judicial arrangements; nor were they acquainted with the procedures of any other tribunal than that which was called, in the Roman Church, the tribunal of penance. It was therefore after this that they modelled the new court of inquisition, as far as a resemblance between the two was possible; and hence arose that strange system of inquisitorial law, which, in many respects, is so contrary to the common feelings of humanity, and the plainest dictates of equity and justice.

That nothing might be wanted to render this spiritual court formidable and tremendous, the Roman pontiffs persuaded the European princes, particularly the Emperor Frederick II., and Lewis IX., king of France, not only to enact the most rigorous laws against heretics, and to commit to the flames, by the ministry of public justice, those who were pronounced such by the inquisitors, but also to maintain the inquisitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the most open and solemn manner. These laws were not, however, sufficient to restrain the just indignation of the people against these inhuman judges, whose barbarity was accompanied with superstition and arrogance, with a spirit of suspicion and perfidy, and even with temerity and imprudence. They were accordingly driven, in an ignominious manner, out of some cities, and were put to death in others. It will not excite much concern to the humane mind, that Conrad, of Marpurg, the first German inquisitor, who derived his commission from Gregory IX., was one of the numerous victims that were sacrificed upon this occasion to the vengeance of the public.

When Innocent III. perceived that the labours of the first inquisition were not immediately attended with the effects he had fondly expected, he addressed himself, in the year 1207, to Philip Augustus, king of France, and to the leading men of that nation, soliciting them, by the alluring promise of the most ample indulgences, to extirpate the heretics by fire and sword. (*Innocentii* III. *Epistolæ*, lib. x, epist. 49.) This exhortation was repeated, with new accessions of fervour and earnestness, the following year, when Pierre de Castelnau, the legate of this pontiff and his inquisitor in France, was put to death by the patrons of the people called heretics. (*Innocentii* III. *Epistolæ*, lib. x, ep. 26–29; *Acta Sanctor, Mart.* tom. i, p. 411.)

Not long after this, the Cistercian monks, in the name of this pope, proclaimed a crusade against the heretics throughout the whole kingdom of France, and a storm appeared to be collecting against them on every side. Raymond VI., earl of Toulouse, in whose territories Castelnau had been massacred, was solemnly excommunicated; and,

to deliver himself from this ecclesiastical malediction, he forsook his party, and embarked in the crusade. In the year 1209, a formidable army of crusaders appeared against the heretics, who were comprehended under the general denomination of Albigenses, and commenced an open war, which they carried on with the utmost exertions of cruelty, though with various success, for several years. The chief director of this ecclesiastical war was Arnold, abbot of the Cistercians, and legate of the pope; and the commander in chief of the troops employed in the expedition was Simon, earl of Montfort. Raymond, the victim of necessity, was again compelled to forsake his party, and to oppose himself to the heroes of this infamous crusade. Fear had occasioned the apostacy of the earl of Toulouse, and a similar motive produced his return to the friends he had deserted. The earl of Montfort had embarked in this war, not so much from a principle of zeal for religion, or of aversion to the heretics, as from a desire of augmenting his fortune, which he hoped to improve by obtaining the territories of Raymond; and his selfish views were seconded and accomplished by the court of Rome. After many battles, sieges, and a multitude of other exploits, conducted with the most intrepid courage, and the most abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of Innocent III., at the council of the Lateran, in 1215, the county of Toulouse and the other lands belonging to that earl, as a reward for his zeal in supporting the cause of God and of the Church. About three years after this he lost his life at the siege of Toulouse. Raymond, his valiant adversary, died in the year 1222.

Thus were the two chiefs of this deplorable war taken off the scene: but this removal was far from extinguishing the flame of persecution on the side of the pontiffs, or calming the restless spirit of faction on that of the pretended heretics. Raymond VII., earl of Toulouse, and Amalric, earl of Montfort, succeeded their fathers at the head of the contending parties, and prosecuted the war with the utmost vehemence, and with such various success as rendered the issue for some time doubtful. Raymond commenced his career with advantages superior to those of his antagonist; and Pope Honorius III., alarmed at the vigorous opposition he made to the orthodox legions, engaged Lewis VIII., king of France, by the most pompous promises, to march in person with a formidable army against the enemies of the Church. The obsequious monarch attended to the solicitations of the pontiff, and embarked with a considerable military force in the cause, but did not live to reap the fruits of his zeal. His engagements, however, with the court of Rome, and his furious designs against the heretics, were executed with the greatest alacrity and vigour by his son and successor, commonly called St. Lewis. Raymond, therefore, pressed on all sides, was obliged, in the year 1229, to make peace upon the most disadvantageous terms, even by making a cession of the greater part of his territories to the French monarch, after having sacrificed a portion of them, as a peace offering, to the Church of Rome. This treaty of peace gave a mortal blow to the cause of heresy, and dispersed the champions who had appeared in its defence; the inquisition was established at Toulouse, and the heretics were not only exposed to the cruelties of Lewis, but, what was still more shocking, Raymond himself, who had formerly been their

patron, became their persecutor, and treated them, upon all occasions, with the most inhuman severity. It is true this prince broke the engagements into which he had entered by the treaty, and renewed the war against Lewis and the inquisitors, who abused their victory, and the power they had acquired, in the most odious manner. But this new effort in favour of the heretics was attended with little or no effect; and the unfortunate earl of Toulouse, the last representative of that noble and powerful house, dejected and exhausted by the losses he had sustained, and the perplexities in which he was involved, died, in the year 1249, without male issue. Thus ended a civil war, of which religion had been partly the cause, partly the pretext, and which in its consequences was highly profitable both to the kings of France and to the Roman pontiffs.

It is impossible to contemplate the vast effusion of human blood on this occasion without emotions of horror; for, in the course of these wars, not less than a million of men are supposed to have been sacrificed; in which number are included 300,000 of the crusaders themselves; (*Hist. des Papes*, vol. iii, p. 16;) and what aggravates the horror to the utmost extreme is, that the name of Christ should have been profaned to sanction the havoc.

It is not easy to determine under which of our chapters we should class a singular species of enthusiasm which appeared in the course of this century. Ecclesiastical historians have spoken of the *Flagellantes* (or Whippers) under the name of a sect, though, as they differed in no article of faith or ecclesiastical government from the established Church, they appear to have little claim to that denomination. As, however, it is fact, and not arrangement, that we are in quest of at present, I shall adopt, without farther apology, the example of Du Pin, and class this description of fanatics with the sects of the thirteenth century.

It has been a prevailing tenet in every false religion that the misery of his creatures was acceptable and grateful to the Divinity; and that the sufferings of another life can only be averted by the voluntary devotion of ourselves to wretchedness in this. Christianity itself has occasionally been contaminated with similar errors, and the duty of repentance has been considered as including not only mental contrition but bodily suffering. The primitive Church imposed ecclesiastical censures and penances, as temporal punishments, on offenders: and in times of ignorance this penance was considered in a more extensive view, and as relating rather to our future than our earthly state. In the year 1260, at Penesini, in Italy, a kind of penitential procession was celebrated, in which the self-convicted criminals marched solemnly through the city, flagellating themselves with the utmost severity, and imploring, with the most distressful clamour, the mercy of God. The procession was preceded by priests, who carried a crucifix, and it consisted of men of every rank and order; the females inflicted a similar discipline upon themselves at home. (*Du Pin*, cent. xiii, chap. 9.) The enthusiasm, however, was soon not confined to one class of devotees—men, women, and children, of every rank, adopted the practice; all business, public and private, was suspended; the public amusements deserted; and in the most inclement weather, and in the darkest nights, the streets were crowded with wretches,

torturing themselves, and imploring the Divine forgiveness. The contagion was in a short time no longer confined to a single place, but spread from city to city, (*Hist. Flag. per Christ. Schol. Boileau Histoire des Flagellans*, c. xx, *Murat.* t. vi ; *Monach. Patav.* an. 1260,) and even extended over all Italy, and a considerable part of Germany. As the passion increased, they formed a regular society, and instituted rules for the admission of associates. The sect continued till the succeeding century, when, among other absurdities, one of the flagellants pretended that he had been presented, by an angel, with a whip, and a letter from heaven, which assured those who would endure this discipline for thirty-four days successively a complete pardon for all their sins. The extravagances and excesses of the fraternity accelerated its suppression. Several of the princes and prelates of the empire exerted themselves to reduce the populace to reason ; and at length Clement VI. formally condemned the fanaticism of the Flagellants, as an an impious and pernicious heresy. (*Du Pin.*)

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Destruction of classical authors—Calamities of Greece prevent the cultivation of letters in the east—Scholastic divinity prevalent in the west—Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, &c.—Roger Bacon, Matthew Paris, &c.

THE difficulty of recalling the attention of mankind to the cultivation of true science and literature may in some measure be estimated from the well-known fact, that in these ages it was a common practice to erase the writing of the most valuable parchment manuscripts, and to inscribe ecclesiastical treatises upon them. Polybius, Dio, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, and many which are entirely lost, were metamorphosed into missals and homilies. (*Montfaucon, Mem. de l'Acad.* ix, 325.) The few remains of classical literature, which were left by the more barbarous ages, were destroyed by the unlettered bigotry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in which it appears that the graphical knowledge of the monks was no less detrimental to the republic of letters than the total ignorance of their ancestors.

Few of the Greek writers of this age have descended to posterity. The calamities of their nation engrossed too much of their attention to allow them to cultivate literature with much success. Their principal productions were controversial, on points in dispute with the Latin Church, or histories and annals relating to the state of the empire.

The scholastic divinity, and the philosophy and logic of Aristotle, pervaded all the schools of the west. Among those who may be placed at the head of these sciences were Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura. These were all of them men of genius and penetration, and possessed uncommon dexterity in discussing subtle and difficult points ; they had a strong love of wisdom, but that quality was depraved by their attachment to logical refinements, and their genius and ability were all made subservient to the Church of Rome.

to her persecuting spirit and unbounded ambition. The first of these doctors was a German of the Dominican order; his works are very voluminous. Thomas Aquinas was, by way of eminence, called the angelical, and Bonaventura the seraphic doctor. Aquinas was descended from the ancient kings of Sicily; he had a considerable portion of enthusiasm in his character, as, notwithstanding his attachment to the Church of Rome, he is said to have refused the archbishopric of Naples. Bonaventura was however more a man of the world, and accepted a cardinal's hat as the reward of his labours in the service of the Church. Robert of Sorbonne founded at Paris, in this century, the celebrated university which has since been distinguished by his name. Alexander Hales and William Perrault were among the scholastic divines of this century. (*Du Pin.*)

The whole of the learning of this age was not however confined to these studies, but there existed in Europe men who applied themselves to true philosophy. The well-earned reputation of the celebrated Roger Bacon, is notorious to most readers. He may be termed the father of experimental philosophy, and even in the present advanced state of physical science, his works contain matter not undeserving attention. Arnoldus Villanovanus, a Frenchman, and Petrus de Abano, an Italian, were also celebrated for their knowledge in physic, chemistry, and poetry. "But the rewards which these excellent persons received for their abilities and useful industry, were to be called magicians and heretics by an ignorant world, and with great difficulty to escape fire and fagot. Bacon languished many years in a jail; and the bodies of the other two, after their decease, were condemned to the flames of the inquisitors."

This century had the honour also of producing that valuable historian, Matthew Paris, whose only blemish is admitting, what he could scarcely have rejected in this age of superstition, some improbable tales of visions and miracles. Several authors wrote particular chronicles of their own churches and monasteries; others detail the history of the crusades; and several accounts of travels into Palestine about this time appeared. The Jews, though persecuted and oppressed, were not destitute of good writers during this century, among whom were R. Meir, R. Ascher, R. Bechai, R. Levi Ben Gersen, and R. Schem Tof.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Renewal of the holy war—Conversion of Lithuania—Success against the infidels in Spain—Efforts for the conversion of China—Decline of the papal power—Contest between Boniface VIII., and Philip the Fair, king of France—Benedict IX.—Clement V.—Gregory XI.—Urban VI.—Great western schism.

THE unfortunate zeal for crusades was once more attempted to be revived by the rulers of the Church, though they had been so lately disgraced by the prostitution of the term in the case of the Albigenses. The succession of pontiffs who resided at Avignon were particularly zealous for the renovation of the holy war, and left no artifice, no methods of persuasion, unemployed, which could have the least tendency to engage the kings of England and France in an expedition to Judea. Their success however was not answerable to their zeal; and, notwithstanding the powerful influence of their exhortations and remonstrances, something continually occurred to prevent their effect. In the year 1307 and 1308, Clement V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greatest ardour, and set apart an immense sum of money for prosecuting it with alacrity and vigour. (*Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion*, tom. i, pp. 15, 594; tom. ii, pp. 55, 57, 374, 391, &c.; *Ant. Matthæi Analecta Veteris Ævi*,. tom. ii, 577.) John XXII. ordered a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out in the year 1319, to transport an army of pious adventurers into Palestine, and had recourse to the power of superstition, that is, to the influence of indulgences, for raising the funds necessary to the support of this enterprise. These indulgences he liberally offered to such as contributed generously to the carrying on of the war, and appointed legates to administer them in all the countries in Europe which were subject to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Under the pontificate of Benedict XII. a formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by Philip de Valois, king of France, with the professed view of attempting the deliverance of the Christians in Palestine; but when he was just ready to embark his troops, the apprehension of an invasion from England obliged him to lay aside this important enterprise. In the year 1345, Clement V., at the request of the Venetians, engaged by the persuasive power of indulgences, a prodigious number of adventurers to embark for Smyrna, where they composed a numerous army under the command of Guido, or Guy, dauphin of Vienne; but the want of provision obliged this army to return with their general into Europe in a short time after their departure. (*Fragmenta Histor. Roman. in Muratorii Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii, p. 368.) This disappointment did not, however, repress the ardour of the restless pontiffs; for another formidable army was assembled in the year 1363, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Urban V., which was to be employed in a new

expedition against the infidels, with John, king of France, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blasted the hopes which many had entertained from this grand project, and occasioned the dispersion of that numerous body which had repaired to his standard. (*Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i, pp. 366, 372, 386, 401.)

Had the truths of Christianity, instead of the empty name, formed the governing principle of those by whom it was professed, the historian might record with peculiar delight the names of those nations which were by any means induced to profess a belief in the Gospel of Christ. As it is, he must regard these nominal conversions with concern, which is however softened by the consideration that the minds of men open slowly to truths which revolt against deeply-rooted prejudices, and that outward professions were the first dawn of that light which afterward diffused real religion into the minds of men. Probably, too, the success of the Christian missionaries of these periods would have been less, had the doctrines of the Church been more conformable to primitive Christianity. Those whose perverted minds would have found great difficulty in adopting the idea of a purely spiritual Being as the only object of adoration, were easily induced to transfer their worship from the idols of their ancestors to the statues of the saints.

The conversion of the northern nations had been conducted with so much success, that in the fourteenth century few European princes were unconverted to Christianity. Jagello, duke of Lithuania, however, continued in the darkness of paganism, and worshipped the gods of his idolatrous ancestors, till the year 1386, when he embraced the Christian faith, received in baptism the name of Vladislaus, and persuaded his subjects to open their eyes upon the truths of the Gospel. As it is an unsafe undertaking to scrutinize the motives of men, it may suffice to say that this prince was not without some temporal allurements to renounce the religion of his ancestors. Upon the death of Lewis, king of Poland, which happened in the year 1382, Jagello was named among the competitors who aspired to the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and powerful prince, the Poles beheld his pretensions and efforts with a favourable eye. His religion was the only obstacle to the accomplishment of his views. Hedwige, the youngest daughter of the deceased monarch, who, by a decree of the senate, was declared heiress of the kingdom, was as little disposed to espouse, as the Poles were to obey, a pagan, and hence Jagello was obliged to make superstition yield to royalty. On the other hand the Teutonic knights and crusaders extirpated by fire and sword any remains of paganism which were yet to be found in Prussia and Livonia, and effected by force what persuasion alone ought to have produced.

Some faint efforts were made to propagate the religion of Christ in the empire of China, and among the Tartars; and in 1308, an archbishop of Pekin was appointed by Clement V. with other suffragan bishops under his jurisdiction. Their efforts were at first attended with some success, (*Formey's Eccles. Hist.* i, p. 234,) but the illiterate state of the Chinese nation, owing apparently to the want of alphabetical writing, must always form a considerable impediment to the reception of truth and wisdom.

The dominion of the Romish Church appeared at this time to be rapidly on the decline. This important change may be dated from the

contention which arose between Boniface VIII., who filled the papal throne about the beginning of this century, and Philip the Fair, king of France. This prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterprising spirit, soon convinced Europe that it was possible to set bounds to the arrogance of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding many crowned heads had attempted it in vain. In the haughty letters of Boniface, he asserted that the king of France, with all other kings and princes, was obliged, by a Divine command, to submit to the authority of the popes, as well in all political and civil matters as in those of a religious nature. The king answered him with great spirit, and in terms expressive of the utmost contempt. The pope rejoined with additional arrogance: and in the celebrated bull *Unam Sanctam*, which he published about this time, asserted that Jesus Christ had granted a two-fold power to his Church; or, in other words, the spiritual and temporal sword: that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontiff; and that whoever dared to disbelieve it, was to be deemed a heretic, and stood excluded from all possibility of salvation. The king, on the other hand, in an assembly of the peers of his kingdom, held in the year 1303, ordered William de Nogaret, a celebrated lawyer, to draw up an accusation against the pope, in which he publicly charged him with heresies, simony, and many other vices, demanding at the same time an œcumenical council to depose one who had so much disgraced his order. The pope in his turn passed a sentence of excommunication, that very year, against the king and all his adherents.

Philip, shortly after the arrival of his sentence, held an assembly of the states of the kingdom, where he again employed persons of the highest rank and reputation to sit in judgment upon the pope, and appealed to the decisions of a general council. After this he sent William de Nogaret, with some others, into Italy, to excite a sedition, to seize the pope's person, and to convey him to Lyons, where the king was determined the general council should be held. Nogaret was resolute and active, and soon obtained the assistance of the powerful family of the Colonnas, then at variance with the pope; he levied a small army, seized Boniface, who resided in perfect security at Anagni, and as soon as he had him in his power, treated him in the most indignant manner, carrying his resentment so far as to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of Anagni rescued their pope from the hands of this fierce and inveterate enemy, and conducted him to Rome, where he died soon after of an illness occasioned by the rage and anguish into which these insults had precipitated him.*

Benedict XI., his successor, had the good sense to profit by this fatal example. He voluntarily repealed the sentence of excommunication which his predecessor had issued against the king of France and his dominions; but never could be prevailed upon to absolve Nogaret of his treason against the majesty of the pontificate. The intrepid Nogaret was, however, very little solicitous to obtain the papal absolution, and prosecuted with his usual vigour and intrepidity in the Roman court, the accusation which he had formerly brought against Boniface; and, in the name of his royal master, insisted that the memory of that pontiff should be publicly branded with infamy. During

* It has been said of him and his pontificate, "that he entered upon it like a fox, governed like a lion, and died like a dog." (*Formey's Eccles. Hist.* i, p. 283.)

these transactions Benedict died, 1304; upon which Philip, by his intrigues in the conclave, obtained the see of Rome for a French prelate, Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was accordingly elected on the fifth of June, 1305. This step was more necessary, as the breach between the king and the court of Rome was not yet entirely healed, and as Nogaret was not yet absolved. Bertrand assumed the name of Clement V., and, at the king's request, remained in France, and removed the papal residence to Avignon, where it continued during the space of seventy years, a period which the Italians call, by way of derision, the Babylonish captivity.

Possessed of such an advantage as the presence of a pontiff devoted to his interests, Philip unceasingly pressed for the condemnation of Boniface, and Nogaret preferred several articles of accusation against him, which he substantiated by respectable testimony. To condemn the decisions of an *infallible* head of the Church was a difficulty of no small magnitude to one of his successors, and Clement studiously endeavoured to delay the proceedings. The king was, however, earnest, and at length obtained a bull from the pontiff, by which all the obnoxious decrees of Boniface, against the monarch or the kingdom of France, were condemned and revoked.

In the internal tumults of Italy between the Guelph and Gibeline factions, and the contentions of the candidates for the empire, the pontiffs of Rome had a very considerable share. Lewis, duke of Bavaria, and Frederick, duke of Austria, received the imperial diadem from bishops attached to their different interests. Lewis applied to John XXII., the successor of Clement, to confirm his election; but he had dared to take possession of the ornaments annexed to the imperial dignity, without the previous permission of the pope; an offence not to be forgiven. John accordingly refused the ratification of his dignity, excommunicated him and all his adherents, and accused him of favouring heretics and schismatics in defiance of the Church. The irritated emperor retorted the accusation, charged the pope with being the instigator of the disturbances in Germany and Italy, an invader of the rights of princes, and an heresiarch. In vain did John reiterate the sentence of excommunication: Lewis entered Italy, attached a considerable part of that country to his interest, and was crowned at Rome by Cardinal Colonna, at the request of the clergy and people. Their next step was the election of another pope, and Nicholas V. was raised to the pontifical chair. He was however soon afterward seized and carried to Avignon, where he abdicated his dignity, and died in confinement.

Benedict XII., and Clement VI., the immediate successor of John, confirmed his excommunication of the Emperor Lewis, and a considerable part of the empire were induced by these means to withdraw their allegiance, and to elect Charles IV., the son of Lewis, who was soon after, by the death of his father, confirmed in the peaceable possession of the empire.

After the succession of three pontiffs, whose history presents us with little of importance to the general interest of the Church, in the year 1376, Gregory XI., pretending that he was incited to the measure by the warnings of St. Catharine of Sienna, transferred the papal seat from Avignon to Rome. This pontiff died in the year 1378, and the cardinals assembled to consult concerning the choice of a successor,

when the people of Rome, fearing lest the vacant dignity should be conferred upon a Frenchman, appeared in a tumultuous manner before the conclave, and with irresistible clamours, accompanied with the most outrageous threats, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals, terrified by this uproar, immediately proclaimed Bartholomew de Pregnano, a Neapolitan, and archbishop of Bari, who assumed the name of Urban VI. This was, however, only intended as a temporary expedient to appease the clamours of the populace; but Urban asserted the validity of his election, and stimulated the people to support his cause. He was unfortunately destitute of every disposition for conciliating the affections of his opponents, or even for retaining his particular adherents, and, by his injudicious severity and intolerable arrogance, soon made himself enemies among people of all ranks, and especially among the leading cardinals. No longer able to endure his insolence, they withdrew from Rome to Anagni, and thence to Fondi, a city of the kingdom of Naples, where they elected to the pontificate Robert, count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII., and declared at the same time that the election of Urban was a mere ceremony, which they had been compelled to perform, in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two is to be considered as the true and lawful pope is to this day matter of doubt; nor will the records and writings alleged by the contending parties enable us to adjust that point with any certainty. Urban remained at Rome: Clement retired to Avignon in France. His cause was espoused by France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus, while all the rest of Europe acknowledged Urban as the true vicar of Christ.

The union of the Latin Church under one head was destroyed at the death of Gregory XI., and was succeeded by that deplorable dissension, commonly known by the name of the *great western schism*. Upon the death of Urban, in 1389, the Italian cardinals proceeded to the election of Boniface IX., a Neapolitan; and Clement VII. dying in 1394, the French cardinals raised to the papal throne a Spaniard, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. After various other methods having been unsuccessfully recommended for remedying this unfortunate schism, it was proposed, that one or both of them should abdicate the pontificate. But power is too pleasing an acquisition to be easily renounced, and the obstinacy of the ecclesiastical rivals continued to disturb the tranquillity of the Church, notwithstanding every effort to effect a peaceable termination of the dispute.

CHAPTER II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, CEREMONIES, ETC., IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Alteration respecting the jubilee—Extraordinary festivals—Origin of annates—Fall of the Templars—Strange faction concerning certain relics.

THE doctrines of the Church during this century received little or no alteration in fact, though Pope John XXII. was accused of an attempt to introduce several novel opinions. The principal of these was his

opposition to the doctrines of the Franciscans, who pretended that the perfection of Gospel poverty consisted in a perfect renunciation of all property, even in the commodities which were used for subsistence.—The pontiff declared, in contradiction to this, that such a renunciation was ridiculous and impossible, and that it was heretical to assert that Jesus Christ and the apostles had no authority and power over the commodities which they used. The incensed Franciscans, in this exigence, attached themselves to the party of the Emperor Lewis; but the pope continued unconvinced by their arguments, and unmoved by the charge of heresy which was repeatedly urged against him. At a period of such public commotion and calamity as was exhibited during the greater part of this century in the affairs of the Church, it may excite a smile to be informed that an absurd dispute arose among the Franciscans, which required all the address of several succeeding pontiffs to regulate. A number of these mendicants, who distinguished themselves by wearing coarse straight hoods, and short gowns, and by the appellation of *spiritual brethren*, regarded with abhorrence the depravity of such of their fraternity as appeared in loose flowing garments composed of finer materials, and separated themselves from their society. John XXII. opposed this austerity, and favoured the opinions of the less rigid Franciscans, who assumed the title of *brethren of the convention*. The austere fanatics refused, however, to submit to his decisions, and cheerfully preferred chains and imprisonment to an alteration in the forms of their garments.

A contest of more importance to the future faith of the Church arose during the pontificate of John. This respected the *beatific vision*, which the pope asserted was not enjoyed by the righteous, after death, till the day of judgment. This opinion was warmly controverted by the university of Paris, who contended that the souls of the saints were, at their death, immediately admitted into the presence of the Deity.

It is necessary at the present period to confine the reader to a general and superficial view of the alterations which were introduced into the ritual of the Church, since they appear to be of little importance in the history of Christianity, and are too minute to admit of detail. In the year 1350, Clement VI., in compliance with the request of the people of Rome, enacted that the jubilee, which Boniface VIII. had ordered to be held every hundredth year, should be celebrated twice in every century. But Urban VI. and Sixtus VI. appointed, as was already intimated, a more frequent celebration of this salutary and profitable institution.

Innocent V. instituted festivals sacred to the memory of the lance with which our Saviour's side was pierced, the nails that fastened him to the cross, and the crown of thorns which he wore at his death.* This precious relic had been deposited in the imperial chapel at Constantinople, but, in the convulsions of that city, had passed into the hands of the Venetians, and from them it was transferred to the king of France.† The French court advanced to Troyes in Champagne,

* See Jo. Henr. A Seelen, Diss. de Festo Lanceæ et Clavorum Christi. Baluzii Vit. Pontif. Avenion. tom. i, p. 328. Miscellan. tom. i, p. 417.

† So it was reported, and the ignorant multitude believed it, as they did numerous other legendary tales, which were not only destitute of any evidence of their truth, but were manifestly false.

to meet with devotion this inestimable treasure: it was borne in triumph by the king, barefoot and in his shirt; and a gift of ten thousand marks of silver was awarded to the Byzantine emperor. A sum so considerable was a strong incentive to the necessitous Baldwin to dispose of his remaining treasures; and a large portion of the true cross, the baby-linen of the Son of God, the lance, the sponge, and the chain of his passion, the rod of Moses, and the skull of St. John the Baptist, were eagerly received by St. Lewis, who bestowed a very considerable sum in erecting the holy chapel at Paris, as a repository for these spiritual curiosities! The number of festivals was increased by Benedict XII., who appointed one in honour of the marks of Christ's wounds, which, the Franciscans tell us, were imprinted upon the body of their chief and founder, by a miraculous interposition of the Divine power.

In the year 1306, Clement V. appropriated to himself the revenues of the ecclesiastical benefices, great or small, that should become vacant, for two years ensuing, in England; and this was the origin of the annates, or first fruits, which are still collected. (*Fleury*, xix, 109.)

In the following year, Philip the Fair began the prosecution of the knights templars, who were accused of having violated every law of God and man; and in about four years after, this unfortunate fraternity was entirely annihilated. That their conduct was, in some respects, censurable, can scarcely admit of a doubt; but there is as little doubt that their vices were greatly magnified by their avaricious and malevolent enemies.*

In a book of sermons composed by the theological faculty at Vienna, in this age of superstition, in order to recommend their relics to the people, it is asserted, that the thirty pieces of *gold*, which Judas received for betraying his Master, were coined by Terah, Abraham's father, a celebrated artificer under King Nimrod, who gave them to Abraham, by whom the field of Ephron the Hittite was purchased with this money. Thence they passed into the hands of the Ishmaelites, who paid them to the brethren of Joseph when they bought him.—When Joseph's brethren went to buy corn in Egypt, they paid this money to Joseph, by which means it came into Pharaoh's treasury; hence the pieces were given to Moses when sent by the king of Egypt with an army to subdue Ethiopia. Moses upon this occasion gave them as a dowry to a queen of Sheba, whose descendant presented them to Solomon, by whom they were placed in the royal treasury; and continued there till Nebuchadnezzar seized them among the spoils of Jerusalem, and presented them to one of his auxiliaries, an Arabian king, from whom sprung one of those eastern kings who came to worship Christ at his birth, and who presented them to Mary. By her they were made an offering at the purification, when she presented her

* That there were in this family, as in other religious orders and sects, some flagitious and impious men, no one will deny; but that the whole body was so execrable is so far from being evident from the judicial processes against them, which are still extant, that the contrary is rather fairly to be collected. If to this we add, that the accusations brought against them manifestly contradict each other, and that many of these unhappy men constantly persevered in protesting their innocence under the most cruel tortures, and with their last breath, it will seem highly probable that Philip excited this bloody tragedy to satisfy his avarice by obtaining their wealth, and to gratify his malice against their master, by whom he pretended to have been ill-used. (See Mosh., cent. xiv.)

son; and were again employed in purchasing Christ. They now remain dispersed in different parts of the world, one of which, in *gold*, as large as an English noble, is shown in the entrance of St. Peter's, at Rome. (*Bingham, Ecc. Ant.*, b. xiv, c. 4.)

The disturbances occasioned by the monks, and the decrees for their regulation, prevented in some degree their increase during this century. Some orders were, however, instituted, the principal of which owed their origin to St. Catharine of Sienna and St. Bridget.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Quietists—Dancers—Albi-Fraters—Beggards—Lollards—Absurdities of the mendicant orders.

THE love of innovation, which had lain dormant for many centuries, began to be excited in this century, in different parts of the world. A sect of fanatics appeared in Greece under the name of Quietists; their principal tenet was, that in the deepest retirements there still existed a celestial light in the mind; and, agreeably to this notion, they were accustomed to sit for some hours of the day in a corner, with their eyes immovably fixed, when they professed to feel this Divine light beaming forth from the soul, and imparting the most vivid sensations of pleasure. (*Mosheim.*)

The Dancers, which arose in the neighbourhood of Aix-la-Chapelle, about the year 1373, were not less ridiculous. Their tenets are explained by their name. Bodily exercise constituted the whole of their religion. As if by a sudden impulse, a whole company of them would frequently commence a violent motion, like a company of dancers, and continue till they dropped down with fatigue, when they asserted that they were favoured with miraculous visions. (*Mosheim.*) Another sect appeared toward the close of this century, called the Albi-Fraters, whose only characteristic was appearing constantly in white. (*L'Enfant, Conc. de Pise*, i, pp. 1, 121.)

The brethren and sisters of the Free Spirit, called also in the Flemish Beggards and Beguines, were more numerous than any of the preceding. Their leading tenet appears to have been, that the rational soul has an immediate connection with God, the soul or spirit of the universe; that this communion is improvable by contemplation, which they are said to have indulged in to such excess, as to reject all external devotion, and even the duties and employments of active life It is probable their opinions are much misrepresented by their adversaries. They sustained heavy oppressions from the magistrates, the clergy, and the people; and melted away by degrees, till their small remains, if any did remain, were consolidated into the great mass of Protestants at the reformation.

The more formidable as well as more rational sects directed their views principally to a reformation of the Church. In 1308, a number of persons in Lombardy assumed the title of Apostolical, and contended

warmly for the reducing of the Church to the original purity of the apostolic times; they were, however, presently dissipated by an army raised expressly for that purpose. (*Jortin.*) The pride and usurpations of the mendicant orders afforded the most general causes of complaint: and, among all the enemies of these orders, none is more conspicuous than John Wickliff, an English doctor, professor of divinity at Oxford, and afterward rector of Lutterworth; who, according to the testimony of the writers of these times, was a man of enterprising genius, and extraordinary learning. In the year 1360, animated by the example of Richard, archbishop of Armagh, he first defended the statutes and privileges of the University of Oxford, against all the orders of the mendicants, and had the courage to throw out some slight reproofs against the popes, their principal patrons. After this, in the year 1367, he was deprived of the wardenship of Canterbury Hall, in the university of Oxford, by Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, who substituted a monk in his place; upon which he appealed to Urban V., but that pontiff confirmed the sentence of the archbishop against him, on account of the freedom with which he had inveighed against the monastic orders. Highly exasperated at this treatment, he threw off all restraint, and not only attacked all the monks, and their scandalous irregularities, but even the pontifical power itself, and other ecclesiastical abuses, both in his sermons and writings. He even proceeded to still greater lengths, and detesting the wretched superstition of the times, refuted with great acuteness and spirit the absurd notions which were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to study the Scriptures, but also translated into English the sacred books, in order to render the perusal of them more universal.

The monks, whom Wickliff had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of Gregory XI., and, in the year 1377, that pontiff ordered Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to take cognizance of the affair, in a council held at London. Imminent as the danger evidently was, Wickliff escaped it by the interest of the duke of Lancaster; and soon after the death of Gregory XI. the fatal schism of the Romish Church commenced, during which there was one pope at Rome, and another at Avignon, so that of necessity the controversy lay dormant for a considerable time. No sooner, however, was this embroiled state of affairs tolerably settled, than the process against him was revived by William de Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence in two councils held at London and Oxford. The event was, that of the twenty-three opinions for which Wickliff had been prosecuted by the monks, ten were condemned as heresies, and thirteen as errors. He himself, however, returned in safety to Lutterworth, where he died peaceably in the year 1387. He left many followers in England, and other countries, who were styled Wickliffites and Lollards, the latter of which was a term of popular reproach, transferred from the Flemish tongue into the English. Wherever they could be found they were persecuted by the inquisitors, and other ministers of the Romish Church; and, in the council of Constance, in the year 1415, the memory and opinions of Wickliff were condemned by a solemn decree: and, about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up and publicly burned.

Notwithstanding the mendicants were thus vigorously attacked on all sides, by such a considerable number of ingenious and learned adversaries, they could not be persuaded to abate their arrogance, or to set bounds to their superstition. The Franciscans, forgetting, in their enthusiastic phrensy, the veneration which they owed to the Son of God, and animated with an imprudent zeal for advancing the glory of their order and its founder, imperiously maintained that the latter was a second Christ, in all respects similar to the first; and that their institution and discipline was the true Gospel of Jesus. These pretensions, however shocking, were patronized and encouraged by the letters and mandates of the popes, in which they made no scruple to assert that the absurd fable of the stigmas, or five wounds, impressed upon Francis by Christ himself, on Mount Alvernus, was worthy of credit, and indeed matter of undoubted fact. Their permission and approbation of this order were so completely extended, that they unhesitatingly recommended an impious performance, entitled *The Book of the Conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ*, which was composed, in the year 1383, by Bartholomew Albizi, a Franciscan of Pisa, whose zeal in their cause was rewarded with the ample applauses of all the Franciscan fraternity. This infamous tract, in which the Son of God is put upon a level with a contemptible fanatic, is equally a monument of the outrageous enthusiasm of the Franciscan order, and of the excessive imprudence of the popes by whom it was recommended and extolled.

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Greek literature—Emperors—Elder Andronicus—John Cantachuzene—Manuel Paleologus—Barlaam, &c.—Nicephorus Calistus—Theophanes—Planudes, &c.—Scholastic divinity—Duns Scotus—William Ockam, &c.—Nicholas de Lyra—Translation of the Bible into French—St. Bridget and St. Catherine—Dante—Petrarch, &c.

Notwithstanding the calamitous state of the eastern empire, the love of literature was not yet extinct in those regions where it had formerly flourished, as in its most natural soil.

It has been observed that the Greek emperors of this age were more illustrious for their writings than for their exploits. Andronicus, the elder, composed some treatises, one of which was in the form of a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, and is said to have been no contemptible defence of the latter religion. The good and learned John Cantachuzene, after his retirement from the imperial dignity, wrote a history of his own reign and those of the Andronici; and Manuel Paleologus II. was the author of several divine and moral pieces. (*Du Pin*, t. iii.) The crowd of plebeian writers was much more numerous. They were, however, chiefly polemics, and were engaged on the topics which at that period divided the Greek and Latin Churches. Among these we recognise the name of Barlaam, who at first appeared a zealous advocate for the Greek Church, defended her tenets concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, and attacked the pope's supremacy; but afterward, assuming a more mo-

derate tone, he appeared as an advocate for a union of the Churches. Among the disputants who appeared in this controversy, Palamas, Acyndinus, Planudes, Philotheus, patriarch of Constantinople, and the two Cabasilas, distinguished themselves. Some of the Greeks in this controversy defended ably the tenets of the Latin Church.

Church history was also much cultivated at this period in Greece. Nicephorus Calistius, a monk of Constantinople, compiled a considerable work upon that subject. Theophanes, archbishop of Nice, appeared as an able defender of the truth of Christianity. Planudes translated the fifteen books of St. Augustine on the trinity into Greek. Nilus, metropolitan of Rhodes, and Matthew Blastares, laboured on the history of the councils and canons of the Church.

The scholastic divinity, which had been cultivated with so much success in the preceding century, under Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Alexander Hales, usurped almost the whole commonwealth of literature in the west. The most illustrious of these doctors, in the fourteenth century, was the famous Duns Scotus, founder of the sect of Scotists, distinguished by their opposition to the Thomists, (or the followers of Aquinas,) and by their earnest support of the doctrines of the immaculate conception. The real name of Scotus was John Duns, and he obtained the appellation of Scotus, from the opinion that he was originally from Scotland; though it is by no means certain whether that country, England, or Ireland, is, in reality, entitled to the honour of his birth. He died at an early period of life, about forty years of age, of an epilepsy or apoplexy, probably produced by his studious habits. He left behind him a great variety of treatises, philosophical and theological, most of them written in opposition to the Thomists. The British nation indeed produced more than one ornament of the scholastic system. William Ockam, so named from a village in Surry, where he was born, appeared also at the head of another sect of scholastics, who were entitled Nominalists; and as Scotus obtained the name of the Subtle Doctor, so Ockam was known by that of the Singular Doctor. He distinguished himself by writing in defence of Philip the Fair in his dispute with the popes. Thomas Bradwardine, chancellor of Oxford, and afterward archbishop of Canterbury, was a divine of rather a superior order, but much devoted to the scholastic divinity, and especially to the doctrines of Aquinas.—His treatise, *Du Causa Dei*, against Pelaginus, is in some repute. The author of most consequence, after these, appears to be Durand de St. Pourgain, bishop of Meaux; but the catalogue is endless of those who, in the numerous seminaries of literature, endeavoured to render themselves illustrious by an assiduous application to these fashionable but fruitless studies.

Few in this age applied themselves to the rational explication of Scripture. The most eminent in this branch of learning was Nicholas de Lyra, a convert from Judaism to Christianity, who gave public lectures, at Paris, for several years, on the sacred Scriptures, and has left some commentaries, in which he was much assisted by his rabbinical learning, and which are by no means destitute of merit or utility, (*Du Pin*, t. iii; *Formey*, vol. i, p. 245.) The Bible was, in this century, translated into French by Nicholas Oresmus, a Norman, and preceptor to Charles V. of France. (*Du Pin.*)

Several books of devotion also made their appearance in this century. Among the writers most celebrated in this department are St. Bridget, a Swedish princess, and St. Catharine of Sienna, both of whom pretended to extraordinary revelations; and, in an ignorant and superstitious age, it may well be conceived they were not without disciples. (*Formey*, vol. i, p. 245.)

The politer studies were not, however, without their votaries in this period, and especially in Italy. The elegant productions of Dante and Petrarch, and the wit and pleasantry of Boccacio, reflect a permanent lustre on the literary annals of the fourteenth century. The corruptions of the papal court were not suffered to escape the severe investigation of this illustrious triumvirate, and especially of Petrarch, who scruples not to apply the most flagrant terms of reproach.

Among the learned of this century should be mentioned Richard of Bury, who provided the first grammatical treatises of the Greek and Hebrew languages for the use of his countrymen; rescued the works of many ancient authors from oblivion, and formed one of the most valuable libraries the age could boast of. (See *Memoires pour la Vie de Petrarque*, tom. i, p. 164, &c.)

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY

Expulsion of the Moors from Spain—Discovery of America—Extension of the Mussulman empire in Asia—Overthrow of the Grecian empire—Taking of Constantinople by Mohammed II.—Continuance of the western schism—Council of Pisa—Three popes at one time—Council of Constance—Retrenchment of the papal power—Election of Martin V.—Persecution of heretics—John Huss, and Jerome of Prague—Their persecution and death—Council of Basil—Eugenius IV.—Wishes to remove the council to Italy—Contest between the pope and the council—Eugenius summons a council at Ferrara—Deposition of Eugenius—Felix V.—Nicholas V.—Alexander VI.

In the year 1492, Ferdinand, surnamed the Catholic, by the conquest of Granada completely subverted the dominion of the Moors, or Saracens, in Spain. With a degree of moderation, which is honourable to the memory of this monarch, he at first made a solemn declaration, that none of the numerous adherents of Mohammedanism, who still remained, should be disturbed in the full enjoyment of their religious opinions. Ferdinand indeed flattered himself that the exhortations and instructions of the clergy, together with the imperceptible effects of time, would produce the conversion of the Moors; but the experience of seven years only proved the fallacy of his hopes. Perceiving the inefficacy of these measures, the zealous king was persuaded by Cardinal Ximenes, his prime minister, to have recourse to severity; and the prevailing arguments of the inquisition induced two hundred thousand of the wretched Mussulmans to profess themselves believers in Christ. Many however still pertinaciously adhered to their former opinions; and the numerous victims, who were offered upon the sanguinary altar of the inquisition, sufficiently testify how far we may rely upon the sincerity of the conversion which the greater number originally professed.

The zeal of Ferdinand for the extension of Christianity was not confined to the disciples of the prophet of Mecca. His Jewish subjects were involved in a similar persecution, and were commanded either to unite with their Catholic brethren, or to depart from the kingdom. Banishment, to which the confiscation of their property would in all probability be annexed, was a sentence so rigorous, that great numbers were impelled to dissemble their opinions, and to feign an assent to the doctrines of Christianity. A still more considerable number, allured by the encouragement afforded them by John II., king of Portugal, took refuge in that country, where they hoped to find either a safe asylum, or the means of transporting themselves and their effects to some happier situation. Their hopes were, however, fatally blasted, their property was confiscated to the state, and their persons were sold into slavery. Emanuel, the successor of John, on his ascension to the throne, made some reparation for this injustice, by an emancipation

from slavery, and the restoration of their effects. This clemency was, however, transient: Emanuel deprived them of their children, and would once more have reduced them to a state of bondage, had not their remembrance of past sufferings, and the apprehension of farther cruelty, induced them to submit to the initiatory rite of baptism, and to communion with their orthodox brethren. Three hundred thousand were baptized; but the sincerity of this conviction may be collected from the dark records of the abominable inquisition.

The light of evangelical truth was diffused in this century among the Samogetæ, and the neighbouring nations, but without producing its full effect. Toward the conclusion of this age the Portuguese, who cultivated with ardour and success the art of navigation, had penetrated as far as Ethiopia and the Indies; and, in the year 1492, Christopher Columbus, by discovering the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, and Jamaica, opened a passage to America; and after him Americus Vespucius, a citizen of Florence, landed on the continent of that vast region. Some of the new Argonauts, who discovered these nations, which had been hitherto unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, judged it their duty to enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth. The first attempt of this nature was made by the Portuguese among the Africans who inhabit the kingdom of Congo, and who, together with their monarch, were suddenly converted to the Roman faith in the year 1491. After this religious revolution in Africa, Alexander VI. afforded a singular specimen of papal presumption, in dividing America between the Portuguese and Spaniards; but at the same time demonstrated his zeal for the propagation of the gospel, by the ardour with which he recommended to these two nations the instruction and conversion of the Americans, both in the isles and on the continent of that immense region; and, in consequence of this exhortation, a number of Franciscans and Dominicans were despatched into these countries. Interest, not religion, was, unfortunately, the governing spring of action with the first American settlers; the cruelties, therefore, inflicted upon the unhappy natives were infinitely more calculated to alienate them from the reception of Christianity, than to invite them to it; and the antichristian practice of slavery was in every respect ill calculated to promote the objects of piety. Instead, therefore, of gaining converts, these detestable ravagers exterminated whole nations. A few scattered Christians on the coasts of Africa and India remain as testimonies of the industry of the Portuguese missionaries; but in both these continents the faith of Mohammed has been more extensive than that of Christ.

In that vast territory of the east which once acknowledged the Roman sway, Christianity lost ground with unparalleled rapidity, and the Mohammedans, whether Turks or Tartars, united their barbarous efforts to extinguish its bright and salutary lustre. Asiatic Tartary, Mogul, Tangut, and the adjacent provinces, where the religion of Jesus had long flourished, were now become the gloomy abodes of superstition, which reigned among them under the most oppressive forms.

The dominions of the Byzantine Cesars had been gradually diminished by the encroachments of the Mussulman; and toward the conclusion of the preceding century the imperial jurisdiction was contracted to a corner of Thrace, about fifty miles in length and thirty in

breadth: even this narrow space was denied by the enterprising Bajazet, who, in an insolent tone, demanded the possession of Constantinople itself. He was prevented from taking by force what could not by treaty be granted, only by the intervention of a savage stronger than himself: and the victorious arms of Tamerlane afforded a short respite to the devoted city.

Under the reign of Amurath the Second, the grandson of Bajazet, the capital of the east sustained a severe siege; and, after his retreat, it was indulged in a servile and precarious respite of thirty years, subject, however, to an exorbitant tribute. The year 1453 was distinguished by the final overthrow of the Grecian empire. Mohammed the Second had long beheld, with a wishing eye, the venerable city of Constantine, and resolved, by one great effort, to make it his own, or perish in the attempt. On the 29th of May, after a siege of fifty-three days, Constantinople was taken by storm. The last of the Cesars, Constantine Paleologus, bravely fighting for his country and religion, fell, worthy of his name and imperial dignity, buried under a mountain of the slain. (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, vol. vi.) With the empire of the Greeks their religious establishment was annihilated; and though a partial toleration was at first permitted, the religious despotism of their conquerors soon contracted it within more confined limits, and reduced the Christian religion and its professors to the miserable state in which they at present exist under the yoke of the Ottomans.

At the commencement of this century we have already seen that the Latin Church was divided into two great factions, and was governed by two contending pontiffs, Boniface IX., who remained at Rome, and Benedict XIII., who resided at Avignon. Upon the death of the former, the cardinals of his party raised to the pontificate, in the year 1404, Cosmat de Meliorati, who assumed the name of Innocent VII., and held that high dignity during the short space of two years only. After his decease, Angeli Carrario, a Venetian cardinal, was chosen in his room, and ruled the Roman faction under the title of Gregory XII. A plan of reconciliation was, however, formed; and the contending pontiffs bound themselves, each by an oath, to make a voluntary renunciation of the papal chair, if that step should be adjudged necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the Church; but they both violated this solemn obligation. Benedict XIII., besieged in Avignon by the king of France, in the year 1408, saved himself by flight, retiring first into Catalonia, his native country, and afterward to Perpignan. Hence eight or nine of the cardinals, who adhered to his cause, finding themselves deserted by their pope, changed their party; and, joining publicly with the cardinals of Gregory XII., they agreed together to assemble a council at Pisa, on the 25th of March, 1409, in order to heal the divisions and factions which had so long rent the papal empire. This council, however, which was designed to close the wounds of the Church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was universally expected, and only served to open a new breach, and to excite new divisions. Its proceedings were, indeed, vigorous, and its measures were accompanied with a just severity. A heavy sentence of condemnation was pronounced on the fifth day of June against the contending pontiffs, who were both declared guilty of heresy, perjury, and

contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honour or respect, and consequently separated from the communion of the Church. This step was followed by the election of one pontiff in their place. The election was made on the twenty-fifth of June, and fell upon Peter of Candia, known in the papal annals by the name of Alexander V., but all the decrees and proceedings of this famous council were treated with contempt by the condemned pontiffs, who continued to enjoy the privileges and to perform the functions of the papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. Benedict assembled a council at Perpignan; and Gregory another, near Aquileia, in the district of Friuli. The latter, however, apprehending the resentment of the Venetians, made his escape in a clandestine manner, from the territory of Aquileia, arrived at Gaeta, where he threw himself upon the protection of Ladislaus, king of Naples; and, in the year 1412, he fled to Rimini.

Thus was the government of the Christian Church violently assumed by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies, and excommunications. Alexander V., who had been elected pontiff at the council of Pisa, died at Bologna in the year 1410; and the sixteen cardinals, who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy by choosing, as his successor, Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, who was destitute of all principles, both of religion and probity, and who assumed the title of John XXIII.* The dispositions and habits of the warlike pontiff were little calculated for producing the reunion of the Church. His first efforts were directed against Ladislaus, king of Naples; but his insolence was severely punished by that monarch, who compelled him to leave Rome, whence he fled to Bononia. The duration of the schism in the papacy was a source of many calamities, and became daily more detrimental both to the civil and religious interests of those nations who were infested with the spirit of the contending parties. Hence the Emperor Sigismund, the king of France, and several other European princes, employed all their zeal and activity, and spared neither labour nor expense, in restoring the tranquillity of the Church, and uniting it again under one spiritual head. The pontiffs could not, however, be persuaded by any means to prefer the peace of the Church to the gratification of their ambition; so that no other possible method of accommodating this unfortunate contest remained than that of assembling a general council, in which the controversy might be examined and terminated by the judgment and decision of the universal Church. This council was accordingly summoned to meet at Constance, in the year 1414, by John XXIII., who was engaged in this measure by the

* In a council held at Rome by this pope, at the first session, happened the adventure of the owl. After the mass of the Holy Ghost, all being seated, and John sitting on his throne, suddenly a frightful owl came screaming out of his hole, and placed himself just before the pope, staring earnestly upon him. The arrival of this nocturnal bird in the day time, caused many speculations; some took it for an ill omen, and were terrified. As to the pope, he blushed, and was in a sweat, and arose, and broke up the assembly. But at the next session, the owl took his place again, fixing his eyes upon John, who was more dismayed than before, and ordered them to drive away the bird. A pleasing sight it was, to behold the prelates occupied in hunting him; for he would not decamp. At last they killed him, as an incorrigible heretic, by flinging their canes at him.

entreaties of Sigismund, and the expectation that the decrees of the assembly would be favourable to his interests. He appeared in person, attended by a great number of cardinals and bishops, at this celebrated council, which was also honoured with the presence of the Emperor Sigismund, and of a great number of German princes, and with that of the ambassadors of all the European states, whose monarchs or regents could not be personally present at the decision. As a preliminary to the deliberations of the council, John, conjointly with the other pretenders to the papacy, was required to engage that he would relinquish the pontifical chair, if such a measure should be found necessary to the extirpation of the schism. The wary pope endeavoured to evade this agreement by studied delays, and by expressing his assent in ambiguous terms. He was at length, however, persuaded to comply with this requisition, and this promise was confirmed by a solemn oath; but he seized the first opportunity to withdraw from the city, in the full expectation that his absence would prevent the deliberations of the council. In this hope he was disappointed.

The great purpose indeed of the convocation was to heal the schism which had so long rent the papacy; and this purpose was happily accomplished. It was solemnly declared, in the fourth and fifth sessions of this council, by two decrees, that the Roman pontiff was inferior and subject to a general assembly of the universal Church; and the authority of the councils was effectually vindicated and maintained at the same time. This vigorous proceeding prepared the way for the degradation of John XXIII., who, during the twelfth session, was unanimously deposed from the pontificate, and Martin V. elected in his stead.

It is to be regretted that the proceedings of this council were not all equally directed to the promotion of peace and good order. But the persecution of the heretics which succeeded, disgraced the rational and prudent measures which were adopted for the regulation of the popedom. Before the meeting of this council, considerable commotions had been raised in several parts of Europe, and particularly in Bohemia, concerning religious opinions. A principal party in these disputes was John Huss, so called from Hussinetz in Bohemia, the place of his nativity. In the university of Prague, where he studied, Huss was early distinguished, and was honoured, while a very young man, with a letter from the celebrated Wickliff. (*Jo. Amos Comenii Hist. Frat. Boh.*) After taking his degree he continued to reside at Prague, and enjoyed a very high reputation, both on account of the sanctity of his manners and the purity of his doctrine. He was distinguished by his uncommon erudition and eloquence, and was chosen to fill the important functions of professor of divinity in the university, as well as those of pastor in the church of that city. This eminent ecclesiastic declaimed with vehemence against the vices which had corrupted all the different ranks and orders of the clergy; he even went farther; and, from the year 1408, used his most assiduous endeavours to withdraw the university of Prague from the jurisdiction of Gregory XII., whom the kingdom of Bohemia had hitherto acknowledged as the lawful head of the Church. Such an open defiance of the established hierarchy could scarcely escape the notice of those who were interested in its support; the archbishop of Prague, therefore, and the clergy in general,

who were warmly attached to the interests of Gregory, became naturally exasperated at these proceedings. A violent dispute arose between the incensed prelate and the zealous reformer, which the latter greatly inflamed and augmented by his pathetic exclamations against the court of Rome, and the corruptions prevalent among the sacerdotal orders; he even proceeded to recommend openly the writings and opinions of Wickliff. (See *Laur. Byzinii Diarium Belli Hussitici, in Ludwig's Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi, p. 127.) Hence an accusation was brought against him, in the year 1410, before the tribunal of John XXIII., by whom he was solemnly expelled from the communion of the Church. He treated, it is true, this excommunication with contempt; and the fortitude and zeal, which he discovered on this occasion, were almost universally applauded.

This eminent man, whose piety was truly fervent and sincere, though his zeal was perhaps rather too violent, and his prudence not always equally circumspect, was summoned to appear before the council of Constance. He was obedient to this order, and thought himself secured from the rage of his enemies, by the safe conduct which had been granted him by the Emperor Sigismund,* for his journey to Constance, his residence in that place, and his return to his own country. Huss was accompanied on this occasion by his faithful and intimate friend, Jerome of Prague, who voluntarily came to the council with the generous design of supporting and seconding his fellow-labourer. Jerome had early imbibed in England the doctrines of Wickliff, and had brought home to his native country the books of that reformer. When Huss appeared before the council, he declaimed, with extraordinary vehemence, against the abuses of the Church; but this freedom was not considered as unlawful in the council of Constance, where the tyranny of the court of Rome, and the corruption of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were censured with unreserved severity. Personal enmity was however supposed to co-operate with ecclesiastical tyranny in the persecution of the Bohemian reformer. His active and malignant adversaries coloured the accusation brought against him with such artifice and success that he was cast into prison, declared a heretic, because he refused to obey the order of the council, commanding him to plead guilty against the dictates of his conscience, and was burnt alive, the 6th of July, 1415. The courage which he had manifested in the pulpit did not forsake him at the stake; he endured with unparalleled magnanimity and resignation the dreadful punishment, expressing in his last moments the noblest sentiments of love to God, and the most triumphant hope of the accomplishment of those promises with which the Gospel arms the true Christian at the approach of eternity. The same unhappy fate was endured by Jerome. Terrified however by the near prospect of a cruel death, Jerome at first appeared willing to submit to the orders of the council, and to abandon the tenets and opinions which he had affirmed in his writings. But this submission was not attended with the advantages he expected from it, nor did it

* Sigismund basely surrendered Huss, on this occasion, to his enemies; and when the intrepid reformer fixed his eyes steadily upon him, he was observed to blush. It is said that Charles V., being importuned by Eccius to arrest Luther, notwithstanding the safe conduct granted him, replied, "I will not blush with my predecessor Sigismund." (*L'Enfant.*)

deliver him from the close and severe confinement in which he was retained. He therefore resumed his fortitude, professed anew, with an heroic constancy, the opinions which the sudden impression of fear had caused him to desert, and maintained them in the flames, in which he expired on the 30th of May, 1416.

Before sentence had been pronounced against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the famous Wickliff, whose opinions they were supposed to adopt, and who was long since dead, was called from his rest before this tribunal, and his memory was solemnly branded with infamy by a decree of the council. On the 4th of May, in the year 1415, a long list of propositions, selected from his writings, was examined and condemned; and an order was issued to commit all his works, together with his bones, to the flames. On the 14th of June following, the assembled fathers passed the celebrated decree, which took the cup from the laity in the celebration of the eucharist, ordered that the Lord's Supper should be received by them only in one kind, *i. e.* the bread, and rigorously prohibited the communion in both kinds. This decree was occasioned by complaints which had been exhibited of the conduct of Jacobellus de Misa, curate of the parish of St. Michael at Prague, who, about a year before this, had been persuaded by Peter of Dresden to administer the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and was followed in this by several churches. (*Byzinii Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 124.) The council, being informed of this circumstance by one of the Bohemian bishops, thought proper to oppose with vigour the progress of this heresy; and therefore they enacted the statute, which ordered the communion to be administered to the laity in one kind only, and which obtained the authority of a law in the Church of Rome. After these and some other acts, more zealous than useful to the Church, and much less to the real interests of Christianity, this famous council was dissolved on the 22d of April, 1418, having continued sitting for the extended space of three years and six months.

Previous to the dissolution of the assembly a decree was enacted in favour of the frequent assembling of general councils, for the preservation of good order in the Church. Two were accordingly appointed, the first at the expiration of five years, which was to be succeeded by another three years afterward. A longer period than five years had however elapsed before a council was convened; but the remonstrances of those, whose zeal for the reformation of the Church interested them in this event, prevailed at length over the stratagems which were repeatedly employed to defer it; and Martin V. summoned a council to meet at Pavia, whence it was removed to Sienna, and thence to Basil. The pope did not live to be a witness of the proceedings of this assembly, being carried off by a sudden death, on the 21st day of February, in the year 1431, about the time when the council was to meet. He was immediately succeeded by Gabriel Condolmerus, a native of Venice, and bishop of Sienna, who is known by the title of Eugenius IV. This pontiff approved of all the measures which had been entered into by his predecessor in relation to the assembling of the council at Basil, which was accordingly opened the 23d of July, 1431, under the superintendence of Cardinal Julian Cesarini, who performed the functions of president in the absence of Eugenius.

On the first meeting of this council, it appeared, by its method of

proceeding, and by the decrees which it enacted, that the assembled fathers were firmly resolved to effect the great purpose of their assembling. Eugenius IV. became alarmed at the prospect of a reformation, and, beholding with terror the zeal and designs of these spiritual physicians, attempted twice the dissolution of the council. His repeated attempts were vigorously and successfully opposed by the assembled fathers, who proved by the decrees of the council of Constance, and by other arguments equally conclusive, that the council was superior, in point of authority, to the pope. This controversy, which was the first that had arisen between a council and the pope, was terminated in the month of November, 1433, by the silence and concessions of the latter, who, the month following, wrote a letter from Rome, containing his approbation of the council, and his acknowledgment of its authority.

These preliminary measures being concluded, the council proceeded with zeal and activity to the accomplishment of the important purposes for which it was assembled. The pope's legates were admitted as members of the council, but not before they had declared upon oath that they would submit to the decrees which should be enacted in it, and more particularly that they would adhere to the laws which had been framed in the council of Constance in relation to the supremacy of general councils, and the subordination of the pontiffs to their authority and jurisdiction. Nay, these very laws, which the popes beheld with such aversion and horror, were solemnly renewed by the council, the 26th of June, in the year 1434; and, on the 9th of the same month, in the following year, the annates, as they were called, were publicly abolished, notwithstanding the opposition which was made to this measure by the legates of the Roman see. On the 25th of March, 1436, a confession of faith was read, which every pontiff was to subscribe on the day of his election; the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four, and the papal impositions, called expectatives, reservations and provisions, were entirely annulled. These measures, with others of a similar nature, provoked Eugenius in the highest degree, and induced him to form a design either for removing this troublesome and enterprising council into Italy, or erecting a new council in opposition to it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the Church. On the 7th of May, in the year 1437, the assembled fathers having, on account of the Greeks, come to the resolution of holding a council at Basle, Avignon, or some city in the duchy of Savoy, the intractable pontiff opposed this motion, and maintained that it should be transferred into Italy. Each of the contending parties persevered with the utmost obstinacy in the resolution they had taken, and a warm and violent contest ensued between the pope and the council. The latter summoned Eugenius to appear before them at Basil, the 26th day of July, 1437, in order to give an account of his conduct; but the pontiff, instead of complying with this summons, issued a decree, by which he pretended to dissolve the council, and to assemble another at Ferrara. The decree was, indeed, treated with contempt by the council, which, with the consent of the emperor, the king of France, and several other princes, continued its deliberations at Basil, and, on the 28th of September in the same year, pronounced a sentence of contumacy against the rebellious pontiff for having refused to obey their order.

In the year 1438, Eugenius in person opened the council which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara, and at the second session published an excommunication against the fathers assembled at Basil. On the other hand, the council of Basil, exasperated by the imperious proceedings of Eugenius, deposed him from the papacy on the 25th of June, in the year 1439; but this vigorous measure was not approved by the European potentates. It may be easily conceived what an impression this step made upon the affronted pontiff; his patience became wholly exhausted; and he devoted, for the second time, to damnation the members of the council of Basle, by a solemn and most severe edict, in which also he declared all their acts null, and all their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of papal thunder was held in derision by the council of Basle, who, persisting in their purpose, elected another pontiff, and raised to that important dignity Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who at that time resided in the most profound solitude at a delicious retreat called Ripaille, upon the borders of the Leman lake. This pontiff is known in the papal annals by the name of Felix V.

The council which at first assembled at Ferrara was transferred to Florence, and the deliberations of its members were chiefly directed to effecting a reconciliation between the Greek and the Latin Churches. At this council the Greek emperor, John Paleologus, personally attended, accompanied by his brother Demetrius Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, Marcus Eugenius, bishop of Ephesus, and other considerable persons. As the subjects in dispute were intricate, it was judged expedient to commit the decision to a few persons selected from both parties. At the head of the Greek arbitrators was the learned Besarion, who was devoted to the Latins, and indeed was afterward made a cardinal in the Romish Church. By the influence chiefly of this great man, and the emperor's earnest solicitude to obtain succours against the Turks, the dispute was terminated, and the submissive Greeks agreed to observe as articles of faith the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as the Father; the doctrine of purgatory; the use of unleavened bread; and the supremacy of the pope. Marcus, bishop of Ephesus, was the only protester on this occasion, and no bribes could induce him to make the slightest concession of his principles. Such a league, however, which had no cement but that of artifice and momentary interest, could not long continue. The deputies, on their return to Constantinople, complained that they had been grossly deceived, and disavowed the whole of what they had apparently transacted.

Eugenius, who had been the occasion of the new schism in the see of Rome, died in the month of February, 1447, and was succeeded, in a few weeks, by Thomas de Sarzano, bishop of Bologna, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of Nicholas V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the best pretensions possible to the papal throne. Under his pontificate, the European princes, particularly the king of France, exerted their utmost endeavours to restore tranquillity and union in the Latin Church, and their efforts were crowned with the desired success. In the year 1449, Felix V. resigned the papal chair and returned to his delightful hermitage at Ripaille, while the fathers of the council of Basle assembled at Lausanne, ratified his voluntary abdication, and, by a solemn decree, ordered the universal Church to

submit to the jurisdiction of Nicholas as their lawful pontiff. Nicholas proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of June, in the same year, and set the seal of his approbation and authority to the acts and decrees of the council of Basle.

In the series of pontiffs who governed the Church during this century, the last, in order of time, was Alexander VI., a Spaniard by birth, originally of the name of Roderick Borgia. That some monsters should have existed among so extended a succession as the possessors of the papal throne, who were raised to that dignity through unworthy motives and interests, is surely not to be wondered at; and among these none are branded with stronger marks of infamy than the house of Borgia.

CHAPTER II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, AND CEREMONIES, IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Rich donations to the saints—Festival of the transfiguration—Indulgences granted to all who should devoutly celebrate the immaculate conception.

FEW alterations appear to have taken place in the established religion of this century. The reputation of Christian knowledge and piety was easily acquired; and was lavished upon those who professed a profound veneration for the sacred order, who studied to render the saints propitious by frequent and rich donations, who were exact and regular in the observance of the stated ceremonies of the Church, and who had sufficient wealth to pay the fines which the papal questors had annexed to the commission of all the different degrees of transgression, or, in other words, to purchase indulgences. Such were the ingredients of ordinary piety; but such as added to these a certain degree of austerity and bodily mortification were placed in the highest order of devotees, and considered as the peculiar favourites of Heaven.

Though the more rational and judicious of the Roman pontiffs complained of the increased multitude of ceremonies, festivals, and temples, and did not seem unwilling to have this enormous mass somewhat diminished, each of them distinguished his own pontificate by some new institution, and thought it a duty to perpetuate his fame by some new edict of this nature. Thus Calixtus III., to immortalize the remembrance of the deliverance of Belgrade from the victorious arms of Mohammed II., who had been obliged to raise the siege of that city, ordered, in the year 1456, the festival in honour of the transfiguration of Christ (which had been celebrated in some places by private authority before this period) to be religiously observed throughout all the western world. Sixtus IV., also, in the year 1476, granted indulgences, by an express and particular edict, to all those who should devoutly celebrate an annual festival in honour of the immaculate conception of the blessed virgin, with respect to which none of the popes before him had thought proper to make any express declaration, or any positive appointment. The other additions to the Roman ritual, relating to the worship of the Virgin Mary, public and private prayers, and the traffic

of indulgences, are of too little importance to deserve an exact enumeration. We need not such a particular detail to convince us, that in this century religion was reduced to mere show, a show composed of pompous absurdities and splendid trifles.*

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Wickliffites—Waldenses—Savanarola—Bohemian troubles from the disciples of Huss.

PERSECUTION, though it might stifle, could not wholly extinguish the latent sparks of reformation which were diffused through most parts of Christendom. In England and Scotland, the disciples of Wickliff, whom the multitude had stigmatized with the title of Lollards, continued to inveigh against the despotic laws of the pontiffs, and the licentious manners of the clergy. (See *Wilkins, Magnæ Britann. et Hibern.* tom. iv; *Wood Antiq., Oxon.*, tom. i, pp. 202, 204.) The Waldenses, though oppressed on all sides and from every quarter, raised their voices, even in the remote valleys and lurking places whither they were driven by the violence of their enemies, and excited the attention of all reflecting persons to the expiring cause of religion and virtue.—Even in Italy many, and among others the famous Savanarola, had the courage to declare that Rome was become the image of Babylon; and this opinion was soon adopted by multitudes of all ranks and conditions. But the greater part of the clergy and monks, persuaded that their honours, influence, and riches, would diminish in proportion to the increase of knowledge among the people, and receive inexpressible detriment from the downfall of superstition, opposed every thing that bore the remotest aspect of a reformation, and imposed silence upon hese importunate censors, by the formidable authority of fire and sword.

The religious dissensions which had been excited in Bohemia by the ministry of John Huss and his disciple Jacobellus de Misa, were greatly inflamed by the deplorable fate of Huss and Jerome of Prague, and broke out into an open war, which was carried on with the most savage and unparalleled barbarity. The followers of Huss, who pleaded for the administration of the cup to the laity in the holy sacrament, and the other dissidents, being persecuted and oppressed in every possible manner by the emissaries and ministers of the court of Rome, retired to a steep and high mountain in the district of Bechin, in which they held their religious meetings, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper in both kinds. This mountain they called Thabor, from the tents which they at first erected there for their habitation; and afterward they raised a strong fortification for its defence, and

* So little was the ecclesiastical canon which forbids priests to bear arms regarded, that a bishop newly elected at Hildeshun, inquiring after the library of his predecessor, was conducted to an arsenal full of all military weapons. These are the books, said they, of which your predecessors made use, and which you must use to defend your church against the usurpations of your neighbours. (*L'Enfant.*)

adorned it with a well-built and regular city. The inhabitants of Thabor consisted of several sects, whose only bond of union was their opposition to the court of Rome. The first and most numerous class of dissidents were called *Calixtins*, from *calix*, a cup; and these differed from the Catholics only in insisting on the sacrament being administered in both kinds. Another party was termed *Zealots*, because they contended for a complete reformation of the Church. The *Picards*, also, who, in the course of this century, revived some of the tenets of the Adamites, and several of the Waldenses, repaired to this seat of liberty as to a city of refuge.

John Zisca, a Bohemian knight, was at the head of this new establishment. From, perhaps, a too literal application of the prophecies, his immediate followers concluded that the temporal reign of the Messiah was at hand, that he would immediately extirpate the enemies of the faith, and that it was consequently lawful to employ violent measures for the promotion of the truth. The war was sustained with great success by the Thaborites till the death of Zisca, after which the people chose a general of the name of Procopius, a man of considerable ability. After defeating the Catholics in several engagements, Procopius, with several of his clergy, consented to attend the council of Basil. After this they appear to have been deserted by the Calixtins, to whom the council conceded their demand; and, their force being broken, the Emperor Sigismund opposed them with considerable success. In a fatal battle, their general, Procopius, was killed; and though they still maintained themselves in Thabor, they continued to diminish both in number and in consequence, till the succeeding century, when they, with the rest of the Bohemian brethren, were among the first who joined Luther and the fathers of the Reformation

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CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Superiority of Greek literature—Cultivated by Petrarch and Boccacio—Greek professorship established at Florence—Cardinal Basiarion—Ardour of the Latins—Nicholas V.—Cosmo de Medicis—Discovery of printing—Nicholas Clemengis—Laurentius Valia—Aretin and Poggio—English writers—John Wesselus—Jerome Savanarola—Æneas Silvius—Thomas à Kempis—Pica della Mirandola.

NOTWITHSTANDING the strenuous, and in some degree successful efforts which took place in the ages immediately preceding, still the true era of the revival of letters is the fifteenth century. In the short sketches which have been occasionally exhibited in this history of the state of literature, the superiority of the Greeks to the Latins must be obvious to every reader. "In their lowest servitude and depression," says a modern historian, "the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy." (*Gibbon*, vi, 414.)

In this calamitous period, however, the few Byzantine writers which

appeared were chiefly employed upon the controversies between the eastern and western Churches. But if they performed little in their own country, still, after their dispersion, it must be confessed that they did more to the enlightening of Europe with true science than perhaps the most excellent compositions could have effected.

In the preceding century some sparks of Grecian taste had been caught by the inquisitive Tuscans; and the learned Barlaam, in his fruitless visits to Italy, formed an intimate connection with the famous Petrarch, and produced in the first of Latin scholars an enthusiastic admiration of the language of Homer and of Plato. The progress of Petrarch, however, does not appear to have reached beyond mere admiration; his avocations were too many for the attainment of a difficult language at an advanced period of life; and the necessary absence of Barlaam deprived him of that assistance on which he perhaps rested his hopes of success. Boccacio, the friend of Petrarch, and the father of Tuscan prose, was more fortunate; and by his influence a Greek professorship was instituted at Florence, and Leo Pilatus, the master of Boccacio, was chosen the first professor.

The feeble rudiments, however, of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged, and Boccacio had fostered, soon declined and expired; and it was not till the calamities of Constantinople had dispersed through Europe a crowd of learned and indigent Greeks, that the study of that language may be said to have prospered in the west. Manuel Chrysoloras, who came on a begging embassy from the eastern empire to the courts of Europe, was converted from an envoy into a professor, and Florence had again the honour of this second preferment. The celebrated Cardinal Bessarion was at once the patron and promoter of his native studies; and his zeal was seconded by the successful labours of Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, John Argyropulus and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who explained the classics of Greece in the schools of Florence and of Rome.

The ardour of the Latins was, however, not confined to a single branch of science; but it became the ambition of princes and of republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. "The fame of Nicholas V.," says Mr. Gibbon, "has not been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin, he raised himself by his virtue and learning; the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope; and he sharpened those weapons which were soon pointed against the Roman Church. He had been the friend of the most eminent scholars of the age: he became their patron; and such was the humility of his manners, that the change was scarcely discernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the measure of desert, but as the proof of benevolence; and when modest merit declined his bounty, 'accept it,' he would say, with a consciousness of his own worth, 'you will not always have a Nicholas among ye.'" The influence of the holy see pervaded Christendom; and he exerted that influence in the search, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. The Vatican, the old repository for bulls and

legends, for superstition and forgery, was daily replenished with more precious furniture; and such was the industry of Nicholas that, in a reign of eight years, he formed a library of five thousand volumes.—To his munificence the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's Geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek Church."

The example of this pontiff was emulated by a Florentine merchant, Cosmo of Medicis, the father of a line of princes whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning. He traded with the remotest quarters of the globe, and a cargo of Indian spices and of Greek books was frequently imported in the same vessel. The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. (*Gibbon*, vi, p. 430.)

But the almost accidental discovery of the art of printing, between the years 1440 and 1443, conduced more than any other cause to the cultivation of learning and science in the west. It is an unpleasing reflection, that the authors of the most useful discoveries generally wear their honours by a dubious or disputed title. Thus the invention of printing was originally claimed by a multitude of contemporaries, and even still the honour seems to be divided between Mentol of Strasburgh, Guttenburgh and Faust of Mentz, and Coster of Haarlem. It is not credible that an art, which had escaped the observation of ages, should be discovered at once by a number of persons; it is more probable that, on the first rumour of the invention, ingenious men would apply their imaginations to discover the means by which it was effected; and thus a number of claimants would appear before the real inventor could well establish his title to the fruits of his industry, or his good fortune. The tide of evidence seems at present however to run in favour of Faust, who is said to have received Guttenburgh as a partner, though there are not wanting advocates in favour of the latter as the father of printing. (See *Bowyer's Origin of Printing*.)

This useful invention was at first regarded as an effect of magic, and was retained as a singular mystery by the first professors of the art. It was, however, conveyed into England as early as the year 1464, by the influence of Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, who prevailed upon Henry VI. to despatch Robert Tournour, one of the gentlemen of the wardrobe, to Haarlem, with a view of making the English masters of the invention. Tournour, with a purse of one thousand marks, of which three hundred proceeded from the treasury of the archbishop, embarked for Holland, and, to conceal more completely his intention, took with him one Caxton a merchant, pretending to be himself of the same profession. With these precautions, and having altered his name, he proceeded first to Amsterdam, and thence to Haarlem, where, after some time, he was successful enough to persuade Corselli, one of the compositors of Guttenburgh, to carry off a set of letters, and embark with him for London. On their arrival, the archbishop, considering Oxford as a more convenient situation than London, sent Corselli thither. Thus the art of printing appeared at that university ten years sooner than at any other place in Europe, Haarlem and Mentz excepted. (*Wood's Hist. of Oxf. Univ.* l. i, p. 226.)

By this invention a knowledge not only of the Scriptures, but of all profane sciences, was more extensively diffused than it could otherwise have been: it became a means of perpetuating those valuable remains of antiquity, which the industry of the learned was daily drawing out of obscurity, and was a powerful instrument in the hand of Providence for the promotion of the important reformation which took place in the century succeeding.

Under these favourable circumstances the crowd of authors who sprung up far exceeds the limits of this publication. Nicholas Clemengis, a French divine, is accounted by Du Pin the most eloquent author of the age: his writings were chiefly controversial; but there are some fragments among them critical and historical. Laurentius Valla, canon of the Lateran, is also of some note as a critic; and the celebrated Aretin and Poggio were among the first who cultivated what may truly be called polite literature.

The controversy concerning the tenets of the Hussites produced a variety of authors; and the sanguine and unsettled temper of the English distinguished them in this century as the opponents of the Church. As early as the year 1404, Paul Langlais composed his treatise entitled "The Looking-glass of the Pope and his Court;" and Richard Ullerston wrote much on the subject of reformation. These topics were not indeed neglected in other countries. John Wesselus, a native of Groningen, for his acuteness and penetration, was entitled the light of the world; and Jerome Savanarola, originally a Dominican of Ferrara, was, in 1498, committed to the flames at Florence, for the boldness with which he impeached the papal vices. (*Mosh.* cent. xv.)

Æneas Silvius, afterward Pope Pius II., was a man of abilities and address. He employed his genius entirely for his own advancement, in other words, in promoting the designs of the court of Rome; and, as he was not suspected of much principle, he was possessed of a most convenient versatility in his opinions. "As Æneas Silvius," said he, "I was a damnable heretic, but as Pope Pius II., I am an orthodox pontiff." (*Bayle's Dic.; Mosh.* cent. xv.) The divine, however, of this century who is most generally known at present, was Thomas à Kempis, a native of Cologne. He composed many devotional treatises; but his title to the popular book on the Imitation of Jesus Christ is disputed.

In this age lived the much celebrated Pica, prince of Mirandola, whose attainments were so extraordinary, that at the age of twenty-three he is said to have published theses upon almost every science, and to have undertaken to maintain them in all the schools. He was suspected of heresy, but obtained an absolution from Alexander VI. To his great learning, he added the more estimable praise of fervent piety, and even renounced his sovereignty, and distributed all his property to the poor. (*Du Pin*, cent. xv.) Du Pin is candid enough to say of his writings, that they "are full of force and elegance, and teach the most exalted morality."

Among the greater part of the interpreters of Scripture who lived in this century, we find none worthy of applause. Such of them as aimed at something higher than the character of bare compilers, and ventured to draw their explication from their own sense of things, did little

more than amuse, or rather delude, their readers, with mystical and allegorical fancies. At the head of this class of writers is Alphonsus Tostatus, bishop of Avila, whose voluminous commentaries upon the sacred writings exhibit nothing remarkable but their enormous bulk. Laurentius Valla is entitled to a more favourable judgment, and his small collection of critical and grammatical annotations upon the New Testament is far from being destitute of merit, since it pointed out to succeeding authors the true method of removing the difficulties that sometimes present themselves to such as study with attention the Divine oracles. It is proper to observe here, that these sacred books were, in almost all the kingdoms and states of Europe, translated into the language of each respective people, particularly in Germany, Italy, France, and Britain. This circumstance naturally excited the expectations of a considerable change in the state of religion, and induced the thinking few to hope that the increase of knowledge would be at least in some degree attended by its proper consequence, the increase of virtue, and by the dissolution of that dreadful tyranny, which, under the pretence of a Divine authority, had so long been exercised by some of the most depraved of the human race over the minds, the bodies, and the fortunes of men.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH PREVIOUS TO THE REFORMATION.

General tranquillity of the Church—Pius III.—Julius II.—Warlike spirit of the pope—Dispute with Lewis XII.—Leo X.—Popes from Leo X. to Clement VIII.

THE situation of the Roman pontiffs was singular at the commencement of this century. They had not, according to the apparent state of things, the smallest reason to apprehend any opposition to their pretensions or rebellion against their authority; since those alarming commotions, which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses and Albigenses, and lately by the Bohemians, were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of the council and the sword. Such of the Waldenses as yet remained lived contented under the difficulties of extreme poverty in the valleys of Piedmont, and proposed to themselves no higher earthly felicity than that of leaving to their descendants that wretched and obscure corner of Europe which separates the Alps from the Pyrenian mountains; while the handful of Bohemians, who survived the ruin of their faction, and still persevered in their opposition to the Roman yoke, had neither strength nor knowledge adequate to any new attempt, and, therefore, instead of inspiring terror became objects of contempt.

Alexander VI. was succeeded in the pontificate by Pius III., who, in less than a month after his election, was deprived by death of his new dignity; and the vacant chair was obtained, by fraud and bribery, by Julius II. To the other odious vices with which this man dishonoured the pontificate, may be added the most savage ferocity, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and frenetic passion for war. He began his military enterprises by entering into a war with the Venetians, after having strengthened his cause by an alliance with the emperor and the king of France.* He then laid siege to Ferrara; and, at length, turned his arms against his former ally, the French monarch, in conjunction with the Venetians, Spaniards, and Swiss, whom he had drawn into this war, and engaged in his cause by an offensive league. His whole pontificate, indeed, was one continued scene of military tumult, nor during his life did he suffer Europe to enjoy one moment's tranquillity.

From this dreadful cloud which was suspended over Europe some rays of light, however, seemed to break forth, which promised a better state of things, and gave some reason to expect a reformation in the Church. Lewis XII., king of France, provoked by the insults he had received

* See Du Bos, Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray, published at the Hague in two volumes, 8vo., in the year 1710.

from this violent pontiff, meditated revenge, and even caused a medal to be struck, with a menacing inscription, expressing his resolution to overturn the power of Rome, which was represented by the title of Babylon on this coin. Several cardinals also, encouraged by the protection of this monarch, and the Emperor Maximilian I., assembled, in the year 1511, a council at Pisa, with an intention to set bounds to the tyranny of Julius, and to correct and reform the errors and corruptions of a superstitious Church. The pope, on the contrary, relying on his own strength, and on the power of his allies, beheld these threatening appearances without the least concern, and even treated them with mockery and contempt. He did not, however, neglect the proper methods of rendering ineffectual the efforts of his enemies, and therefore gave orders for a council to meet in the palace of the Lateran, in the year 1512, in which the decrees of the council of Pisa were condemned and annulled in the most injurious and insulting terms. This condemnation would, undoubtedly, have been followed with the most formidable anathemas against Lewis and other princes, had not death snatched away the wicked pontiff, in 1512, in the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects.

He was succeeded, in the year 1513, by Leo. X., of the family of Medicis. This pontiff was a protector of men of learning, and was himself learned. He was a lover and a patron of the arts. His time was divided between conversation with men of letters and pleasure. He had an invincible aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care, and discovered the utmost impatience under events of that nature. He did not, however, neglect the grand object which the generality of his predecessors had so much at heart, the promoting and advancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman see. He was careful that nothing should be transacted in the council of the Lateran, which Julius had assembled and left sitting, that had the least tendency to favour the reformation of the Church. He went still farther; and, in a conference with Francis I., king of France, at Bologna, engaged that monarch to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction, so long odious to the popes of Rome, and to substitute in its place another body of laws, more advantageous to the papacy, which were imposed upon his subjects under the title of the Concordate, and received with the utmost indignation and reluctance.

The principal transactions of the six immediate successors of Leo will be found in a succeeding chapter, which treats of the reformation. Let it suffice, for the present, to remark, that they were the melancholy witnesses of the dismemberment of the papal dominion, for the maintenance of which they, however, contended with zeal, at least, if not with policy. Of the popes who followed the establishment of the reformed religion, Pius V., a man of a severe and melancholy disposition, rendered himself remarkable by a bull, which he published against Elizabeth, queen of England, degrading her from her dignity, and exhorting her subjects to revolt against her; and Gregory XIII. openly commanded the massacre of the Protestants in France. Sixtus V. was the son of a poor peasant on the borders of Anconá, but was possessed of a most ambitious mind, and proved a severe master and a troublesome neighbour. His best quality was a love of letters. He caused the version of the Bible called the Vulgate, as corrected by the

council of Trent, to be printed in 1589, as the only authentic version of the sacred Scriptures. The three succeeding popes enjoyed their dignity only a few weeks; and, on the 26th of February, 1592, Clement VIII. was elected, whose pontificate was distinguished by a famous dispute concerning grace; which for some time divided and harassed the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, CEREMONIES, ETC., IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Splendid but trifling ceremonies—Scholastic subtleties—Sermons—Strange acceptation of the term good works—Increase of monkery—Institution of the Jesuits—Their constitution and policy—Capuchins—Recollets—Regular clerks or Theatins—Priests of the oratory—Bare-footed Carmelites.

THE public worship of the Romish Church consisted, in this age, of only a pompous round of external ceremonies, the greater part of which were insignificant and senseless, and much more adapted to dazzle the eyes than to affect the heart. The number of those who were at all qualified to administer public instruction to the people was not very considerable; and their discourses, which contained little more than fictitious reports of miracles and prodigies, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, deceived instead of instructed the multitude. Several of these sermons are yet extant, which it is impossible to read without indignation and contempt. Those declaimers, who, on account of their gravity of manners, or their supposed superiority in wisdom and knowledge, held the most distinguished rank, had a common place set of subjects allotted to them, on which they were constantly exercising the power of their eloquence. These subjects were the authority of the Church, and the obligations of obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of the saints, and their credit at the tribunal of heaven; the dignity, glory, and love of the blessed virgin; the efficacy of relics; the duty of adorning churches, and endowing monasteries; the necessity of these good works (as that phrase was then understood) to salvation; the intolerable flames of purgatory, and the utility of indulgences.—Such were the subjects which employed the zeal and labours of the most eminent doctors of this century. Nor was the restoration of letters sufficient to revive in mankind a sense of their own dignity, or to recover them from the miserable bondage to which through ignorance they had imperceptibly subjected themselves, and in which they were now partly retained by the extended arm of persecution.

The prodigious swarms of monks that overspread Europe in the course of this century occasioned universal murmurs and complaints. Such, however, was the genius of the age, that they would have remained undisturbed had they taken the smallest pains to preserve any remains even of that external decency and religion which distinguished them in former times. But the Benedictine and other monkish fraternities, who were invested with the privilege of possessing certain lands

and revenues, broke through all restraint, made the worst possible use of their opulence; and, forgetful of the gravity of their character, and of the laws of their order, rushed headlong into the shameless practice of every vice. The mendicant orders, and particularly those who followed the rules of St. Dominic and St. Francis, though perhaps not borne away by the general torrent of licentiousness, lost their credit in a different manner; for their rusticity, their superstitions, their ignorance, and cruelty, alienated from them the minds of the people, and effectually diminished their reputation. They had the most barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences, and expressed an abhorrence of those eminent and learned men who endeavoured to open the paths of science to the pursuits of the studious youth, who recommended the culture of the mind, and attacked the barbarism of the age in their writings and conversation.

In the course of this century the internal government of the Church of Rome underwent some not unimportant alterations, a considerable part of which may be ascribed to the influence of the reformation by Luther. One of the most remarkable of these events was the establishment of the order of Jesuits, a body whose influence on ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs has been more considerable than that of any religious order that ever appeared within the pale of the Christian Church. When men take a view of the rapid progress of this society toward wealth and power; when they contemplate the admirable prudence with which it has been governed; when they attend to the persevering and systematic spirit with which its schemes have been carried on; they are apt to ascribe such a singular institution to the superior wisdom of its founder, and to suppose that he had formed and digested his plan with profound policy. But the Jesuits, as well as the other monastic orders, are indebted for the existence of their order, not to the wisdom of their founder, but to his enthusiasm. Ignatius Loyola was a fanatic, distinguished by extravagances in sentiment and conduct, no less incompatible with the maxims of reason than repugnant to the spirit of religion. The wild adventures and visionary schemes in which his enthusiasm engaged him equal any thing recorded in the legends of the Romish saints, but are unworthy of notice in history.

Prompted by this fanatical spirit, or incited by the love of power and distinction, from which such pretenders to superior sanctity are not exempt, Loyola was ambitious of becoming the founder of a religious community. The plan which he formed of its constitution and laws was suggested, as he gave out, by the immediate inspiration of Heaven. But, notwithstanding this high pretension, his design met at first with violent opposition. The pope, to whom Loyola had applied for the sanction of his authority to confirm the institution, referred his petition to a committee of cardinals. They represented the establishment to be unnecessary as well as dangerous, and Paul refused to grant his approbation. At last Loyola removed all his scruples by an offer which it was impossible for any pope to resist. He proposed, that besides the three vows of poverty, of chastity, and of monastic obedience, which are common to all the orders of regulars, the members of his society should take a fourth vow of obedience to the pope, binding themselves to go whithersoever he should command for the service of religion, and without requiring any thing from the holy see for their support. At a

time when the papal authority had received such a shock by the revolt of so many nations from the Romish Church; at a time when every part of the popish system was attacked with so much violence and success, the acquisition of a body of men thus peculiarly devoted to the see of Rome, and whom it might set in opposition to all its enemies, was an object of the highest consequence. Paul, instantly perceiving this, confirmed the institution of the Jesuits by his bull; granted the most ample privileges to the members of the society, and appointed Loyola to be the first general of the order.

The constitution and laws of the society were perfected by Laynez and Aquaviva, the two generals who succeeded Loyola, men far superior to their master in abilities, and in the science of government.

The professed object of almost all the monastic orders is to separate men from the world, and from any concern in its affairs. On the contrary, the Jesuits were taught to consider themselves as formed for action. They were chosen soldiers, bound to exert themselves continually in the service of God, and of the pope, his vicar upon earth. That they might have full leisure for this active service, they were totally exempted from those functions, the performance of which is the chief business of other monks. They appeared in no procession; they practised no rigorous austerities; they did not consume one half of their time in the repetition of tedious offices. But they were required to attend to all the transactions of the world, on account of the influence which these may have upon religion; they were directed to study the dispositions of persons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendship; and by the very constitution, as well as genius of the order, a spirit of action and intrigue was infused into all its members.

As the object of the society of Jesuits differed from that of the other monastic orders, the diversity was no less in the form of its government. The other orders are to be considered as voluntary associations, in which whatever affects the whole body is regulated by the common suffrage of all its members. The executive power is vested in the persons placed at the head of each convent, or of the whole society; the legislative authority resides in the community. Affairs of moment, relating to particular convents, are determined in conventual chapters; such as respect the whole order are considered in general congregations. But Loyola, full of the ideas of implicit obedience which he had derived from his military profession, appointed that the government of his order should be purely monarchical. A general, chosen for life by deputies from the several provinces, possessed power that was supreme and independent, extending to every person and to every case. He by his sole authority nominated provincials, rectors, and every other officer employed in the government of the society, and could remove them at pleasure. In him was vested the sovereign administration of the revenues and funds of the order. Every member belonging to it was at his disposal; and by his uncontrollable mandate he could impose on them any task, or employ them in any service. To his commands they were required not only to yield outward obedience, but to resign to him the inclinations of their wills, and the sentiments of their minds. There is not in the annals of mankind any example of such absolute despotism, exercised not over monks confined in the cells of a convent, but over men dispersed among all the nations of the earth.

As the constitutions of the order vested in the general such absolute dominion over all its members, they carefully provided for his being perfectly informed with respect to the character and abilities of his subjects. Every novice who offered himself as a candidate for entering into the order was obliged to manifest his conscience to the superior, or to a person appointed by him; and in doing this was required to confess not only his sins and defects, but to discover the inclinations, the passions, and the bent of his soul. This manifestation was to be renewed every six months.* The society, not satisfied with penetrating in this manner into the innermost recesses of the heart, directed each member to observe the words and actions of the novices; and he was bound to disclose every thing of importance concerning them to the superior. In order that this scrutiny into their character might be as complete as possible, a long noviciate was to expire, during which they passed through the several gradations of ranks in the society, and they must have attained the full age of thirty-three years before they could be admitted to take the final vows, by which they became professed members.† In order that the general, who was the soul that animated and moved the whole society, might have under his eye every thing necessary to inform or direct him, the provincials and heads of the several houses were obliged to transmit to him regular and frequent reports concerning the members under their inspection. In these they descended into minute details with respect to the character of each person, his abilities, natural or acquired, his temper, his experience in affairs, and the particular department for which he was best fitted. These reports, when digested and arranged, were entered into registers kept on purpose, that the general might, at one comprehensive view, survey the state of the society in every corner of the earth; observe the qualifications and talents of its members; and thus choose, with perfect information, the instruments which his absolute power could employ in any service for which he thought proper to destine them.‡

Unhappily for mankind, the vast influence which the order of Jesuits acquired was often exerted with the most pernicious effect. Such was the tendency of that discipline observed by the society in forming its members, and such the fundamental maxims in its constitution, that every Jesuit was taught to regard the interest of the society as the capital object, to which every consideration was to be sacrificed. This spirit of attachment to their order, the most ardent, perhaps, that ever influenced any body of men,§ is the characteristic principle of the Jesuits, and serves as a key to the genius of their policy, as well as to the peculiarities in their sentiments and conduct.

The other monastic orders underwent some changes in their constitution. Matthew de Bassi, a native of Italy, and a Franciscan of the more rigid class, persuaded himself, in the year 1521, that he was divinely inspired for the purpose of restoring the primitive discipline of his order. He became the father of the *Capuchins*, who are a branch of the Franciscans, and derive their name from the sharp-pointed *capuche* or cowl, which they added to the ordinary Franciscan habit.

* Compte par M. de Monclar, p. 121, &c. † Compte par M. de Moncl. 215, 241. Sur la Doster. des Jes. par M. d'Alemb. p. 39. ‡ Compte par M. de Moncl. pp. 215, 439. Compte par M. de Chalotais, pp. 52, 222. § Compte par M. de Moncl. p 285.

They differ from the others only in this, and in the profession of a higher degree of sanctity and severity. Another branch of the Franciscan order received the denomination of *Recollets** in France, *reformed Franciscans* in Italy, and *bare-footed Franciscans* in Spain. In 1532 they were furnished with a separate rule by Clement VII., and are called *friars minors of the strict observance.*

The first society of *regular clerks* was formed in 1529, and called *Theatins*, from their founder. John Peter Carassa, bishop of Theate in Naples, and afterward pope, under the title of Paul IV. The distinguishing profession of this order is extreme poverty without even the resource of begging. In this age, so fertile in these noxious productions, the society of *priests of the oratory* also sprung up. They derive their name from the oratory or cabinet of devotion, which Philip Neri, their founder, built at Florence, for himself and the companions of his studies. It is but justice to remark, that this order has been adorned by Baronius, Raynaldus, Laderchius, and many others respectable for their literary worth.

The zeal for reformation was not in this century confined to the male sex. St. Theresa, a Spanish lady of illustrious birth, in conjunction with Johannes Santa Crusa, made some zealous efforts for the improvement of the *Carmelites*. Her self-denying discipline not being however equally relished by the rest of the order, proved only a perpetual source of discord and uneasiness. The more austere part of the society was therefore separated from the others in 1580, and formed into a distinct order, under the name of the *bare-footed Carmelites.*

* So called from the faculty of *recollection*, by which they pretended to revive the rule of St. Francis. (*Formey.*)

CHAPTER III.

OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

SECTION I.

Indigence of the papal treasury—Sale of indulgences—Tetzel—Luther—Opposes Tetzel in the publication of indulgences—Supported by the Augustine monks, and the elector of Saxony—Contest with Eccius, &c.—At first disregarded by Leo—Afterward summoned to Rome—Appears before Cardinal Cajetan—Appeals to a general council—Zuinglius begins the Reformation in Switzerland—Luther excommunicated—Burns the papal bull—Views of the emperor with regard to Luther—Luther summoned to the diet at Worms—Edict against him—Seized and concealed at Wartburgh—Controversy with the university of Paris and Henry VIII., of England—Translates the Bible—Character of Adrian VI.—List of grievances presented by the diet of Nuremberg—Clement VII.—Marriage of Luther—Reformation in Prussia—Danger of persecution—Contest between the pope and the emperor—Friends of reformation distinguished by the name of Protestants—Confession of Augsburg—League of Smalkalde—Negotiations of the Protestants with France and England—Treaty with the emperor at Nuremberg—Death of the elector of Saxony.

To overturn a system of religious belief founded on ancient and deep-rooted prejudices, supported by power, and defended with no less art than industry,—to establish in its room doctrines of the most contrary genius and tendency,—and to accomplish all this, not by external violence or the force of arms, are operations which historians the least prone to credulity and superstition ascribe to that Divine Providence which, with infinite ease, can effect designs that to human sagacity appear impossible. The interposition of Heaven in favour of the Christian religion at its first publication, was manifested by miracles and prophecies wrought and uttered in confirmation of it.—Though none of the reformers possessed, or pretended to possess, these supernatural gifts, yet that wonderful preparation of circumstances which disposed the minds of men for receiving their doctrines, that singular combination of causes which secured their success, and enabled men destitute of power and of policy to triumph over those who employed against them extraordinary efforts of both, may be considered as no slight proof that the same Hand which planted the Christian religion protected the reformed faith, and reared it, from beginnings extremely feeble, to an amazing degree of strength and maturity.

It was from causes seemingly fortuitous, and from a source very inconsiderable, that all the mighty effects of the Reformation flowed. Leo X., when raised to the papal throne, found the revenues of the Church exhausted by the vast projects of his two ambitious predecessors. His own temper, naturally liberal and enterprising, rendered him incapable of severe and patient economy, and his schemes for aggrandizing the family of Medicis, his love of splendour, and his munificence in rewarding men of genius, involved him daily in new expenses; in order to provide a fund for which, he tried every device

that the fertile invention of priests had fallen upon, to drain the credulous multitude of their wealth. Among others, he had recourse to a sale of indulgences.*

The right of promulgating these indulgences in Germany, together with a share in the profits arising from the sale of them, was granted to Albert, elector of Mentz and archbishop of Magdeburg, who, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony, employed Tetzel, a Domini-

* The Romish Church believe that pious persons may do works of supererogation, that is to say, more good works than are necessary for their own salvation. All such works, according to their doctrine, are deposited together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter, and to his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure; and by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person for a sum of money, may convey to him either pardon for his own sins, or a release, for any one for whom he feels an interest, from the pains of purgatory. Such indulgences were offered as a recompense for those who engaged in the war of the crusades against the infidels. Since those times the power of granting indulgences has been greatly abused in the Church of Rome. Pope Leo X., finding that the sale of indulgences was likely to be lucrative, granted to Albert, elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburg, the benefit of the indulgences of Saxony, and the neighbouring parts, and farmed out those of other countries to the highest bidders; who, to make the best of their bargain, procured the ablest preachers to cry up the value of their commodity. The form of these indulgences was as follows:—"May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the most holy pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they may have been incurred; then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be; even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see, and as far as the keys of the holy Church extend. I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism; so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost." According to a book, called the Tax of the sacred Roman Chancery, in which are the exact sums to be levied for the pardon of each particular sin, some of the fees are thus stated:—For simony 10*s.* 6*d.*—for sacrilege, 10*s* 6*d.*—for taking a false oath, 9*s*—for robbing, 12*s.*—for burning a neighbour's house, 12*s.*—for defiling a virgin, 9*s.*—for murdering a layman, 7*s.* 6*d.*—for keeping a concubine, 10*s.* 6*d.*—for laying violent hands on a clergyman, 10*s.* 6*d.*

The terms in which the retailers of these abominable licenses described their advantages to the purchasers, and the arguments with which they urged the necessity of obtaining them, were so extravagant that they appear almost incredible. If any man, said they, purchase letters of indulgence, his soul may rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in purgatory, for whose redemption indulgences are purchased, as soon as the money is paid, instantly escape from that place of torment, and ascend into heaven. That the efficacy of indulgences was so great, that the most heinous sins would be remitted and expiated by them, and the person be freed both from punishment and guilt. That this was the unspeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile man to himself. That the cross erected by the preachers of indulgences was equally efficacious with the cross of Christ. "Lo," said they, "the heavens are open; if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of purgatory; and are you so ungrateful that you will not rescue the soul of your parent from torment? If you had but one coat, you ought to strip yourself of that instantly, and sell it in order to purchase such benefit,"&c. It was against these preachers of licentiousness, and their diabolical conduct, that Luther began first to declaim. Since the Reformation, the popes have been more sparing in the exercise of this pretended power; although it is said they still carry on a trade with them to the Indies, where they are readily purchased. It is likewise stated, that indulgences may still be obtained at Rome, but it is presumable that the purchases are less frequent. (See *Buck's Theo. Dictionary*; also, *Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.*)

can friar, of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his noisy and popular eloquence. He, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but with little discretion or decency; and though, by magnifying excessively the benefit of their indulgences, and by disposing of them at a very low price, they carried on for some time an extensive and lucrative traffic among the credulous and the ignorant; the extravagance of their assertions, as well as the irregularities in their conduct, came at last to give general offence. The princes and nobles were irritated at seeing their vassals drained of so much wealth, in order to replenish the treasury of a profuse pontiff; and men of piety regretted the delusion of the people. Even the most unthinking were shocked at the scandalous behaviour of Tetzel and his associates, who often squandered in drunkenness, gaming, and low debauchery, those sums which were piously bestowed in hopes of eternal happiness; and all began to wish that some check was given to this commerce, no less detrimental to society than destructive to religion.

Such was the favourable juncture when Martin Luther first began to question the efficacy of indulgences, and to declaim against the vicious lives and false doctrines of the persons employed in promulgating them. Luther was a native of Eisleben, in Saxony, and though born of poor parents, had received a learned education, during the progress of which he gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteness of genius. As his mind was naturally susceptible of serious impressions, and tinctured with somewhat of that religious melancholy which delights in the solitude and devotion of a monastic life, he retired into a convent of Augustine friars, and assumed the habit of that order. He soon acquired great reputation for his piety, his love of knowledge, and his unwearied application to study. He had been taught the scholastic philosophy and theology which were then in vogue, and wanted not penetration to comprehend all the niceties and distinctions with which they abound; but his understanding, naturally sound, soon became disgusted with those subtle and uninstructive sciences, and sought for some more solid foundation of knowledge and of piety in the Holy Scriptures. Having found a copy of the Bible, which lay neglected in the library of his monastery, he devoted himself to the study of it with such eagerness and assiduity as astonished the monks, who were little accustomed to derive their theological notions from that source. The great progress which he made in this uncommon course of study augmented so much the fame both of his sanctity and of his learning, that Frederick, elector of Saxony, having founded a university at Wittemberg, on the Elbe, the place of his residence, Luther was chosen first to teach philosophy, and afterward theology, there; and was deemed the chief ornament of that society.

While Luther was at the height of his reputation and authority, Tetzel began to publish indulgences in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg. As Saxony was not more enlightened than the other provinces of Germany, Tetzel met with prodigious success. It was with the utmost concern that Luther beheld the artifices of those who sold, and the simplicity of those who bought indulgences. His warm and impetuous temper did not suffer him long to conceal his opinions, or to continue a silent spectator of the delusion of his countrymen. From

the pulpit in the great church at Wittemberg he inveighed bitterly against the irregularities and vices of the monks who published indulgences; he ventured to examine the doctrines which they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for salvation upon any other means than those appointed by God in his word. The boldness and novelty of these opinions drew great attention, and being recommended by the authority of Luther's personal character, and delivered with a popular and persuasive eloquence, they made a deep impression on his hearers. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines, he wrote to Albert, elector of Mentz and archbishop of Magdeburg, to whose jurisdiction that part of Saxony was subject, and remonstrated warmly against the false opinions, as well as wicked lives of the preachers of indulgences; but he found that prelate too deeply interested in their success to correct their abuses. His next attempt was to gain the suffrage of men of learning. For this purpose he published ninety-five theses, containing his sentiments with regard to indulgences. These he proposed, not as points fully established, or of undoubted certainty, but as subjects of inquiry and disputation. He appointed a day, on which the learned were invited to impugn them, either in person or by writing: to the whole he subjoined solemn protestations of his high respect for the apostolic see, and of his implicit submission to its authority. No opponent appeared at the time prefixed: the theses spread over Germany with astonishing rapidity; they were read with the greatest eagerness, and all admired the boldness of the man, who had ventured, not only to call in question the plenitude of papal power, but to attack the Dominicans, armed with all the terrors of inquisitorial authority.*

The friars of St. Augustine, Luther's own order, gave no check to the publication of these uncommon opinions. Luther had, by his piety and learning, acquired extraordinary authority among his brethren; he professed the highest regard for the authority of the pope; his professions were at that time sincere; and as a secret enmity subsists among all the monastic orders of the Romish Church, the Augustines were highly pleased with his invectives against the Dominicans, and hoped to see them exposed to the hatred and scorn of the people. His sovereign, the elector of Saxony, the wisest prince at that time in Germany, secretly encouraged his attempts, and flattered himself that this dispute among the ecclesiastics themselves might give some check to the exactions of the court of Rome, which the secular princes had long, though without success, been endeavouring to oppose.

Several theses appeared in opposition to the ninety-five published by Luther, and the arguments produced for his confutation were the sentiments of schoolmen, the conclusions of the canon law, and the decrees of popes; (*F. Paul*, p. 6; *Seckend.* p. 40; *Palavic.* p. 8.) The decisions of judges so partial and interested did not satisfy the people, who began to call in question the authority even of these venerable guides, when they found them standing in direct opposition to the dictates of reason, and the determinations of the Divine law. (*Seckend.* p. 30.)

Meanwhile these novelties in Luther's doctrines, which interested

* Lutheri Opera, Jenæ, 1612, vol. i, præfat. 3, pp. 2, 66; Hist. of Counc. of Trent, by F. Paul, p. 4; Seckend. Com. Apol. p. 16.

all Germany, excited little attention and no alarm in the court of Rome. Leo, fond of elegant and refined pleasures, intent upon great schemes of policy, a stranger to theological controversies, and apt to despise them, regarded with the utmost indifference the operations of an obscure friar, who, in the heart of Germany, carried on a scholastic disputation in a barbarous style. Leo imputed the whole to monastic enmity and emulation, and seemed inclined not to interpose in the contest, but to allow the Augustines and Dominicans to wrangle about the matter with their usual animosity.

The solicitations however of Luther's adversaries, together with the surprising progress which his opinions made in different parts of Germany, roused at last the attention of the court of Rome, and obliged Leo to take measures for the security of the Church against an attack that now appeared too serious to be despised. For this end he summoned Luther to appear at Rome, within sixty days, before the auditor of the chamber, and the inquisitor-general, Prierias, who had written against him, whom he empowered jointly to examine his doctrines, and to decide concerning them. He wrote, at the same time, to the elector of Saxony, beseeching him not to protect a man whose heretical and profane tenets were so shocking to pious ears; and enjoined the provincial of the Augustines to check by his authority the rashness of an arrogant monk, which brought disgrace upon the order of St. Augustine, and gave offence and disturbance to the whole Church.

From the strain of these letters, as well as from the nomination of a judge so prejudiced and partial as Prierias, Luther easily saw what sentence he might expect at Rome. He discovered, for that reason, the utmost solicitude to have his cause tried in Germany, and before a less suspected tribunal. The professors in the university of Wittemberg, anxious for his safety, wrote to the pope, and, after employing several pretexts to excuse Luther from appearing at Rome, entreated Leo to commit the examination of his doctrines to some persons of learning and authority in Germany. The elector requested the same thing of the pope's legate at the diet of Augsburg; and as Luther himself, who at that time did not even entertain the smallest suspicion concerning the Divine original of papal authority, had written to Leo a submissive letter, promising an unreserved compliance with his will, the pope gratified him so far as to empower his legate in Germany, Cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and passionately devoted to the Roman see, to hear and determine the cause.

Luther, having obtained the emperor's safe conduct, immediately repaired to Augsburg. The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured at first to gain upon him by gentle treatment; but, thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute with a person of such inferior rank, he required him, by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was clothed, to retract his errors with regard to indulgences and the nature of faith; and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, fully persuaded of the truth of his own tenets, and confirmed in the belief of them by the approbation which they had met with among persons conspicuous both for learning and piety, was surprised at this abrupt mention of a recantation, before any endeavours were used to convince him that he was mistaken. He had flattered himself that, in

a conference concerning the points in dispute, with a prelate of such distinguished abilities, he should be able to remove many of those imputations with which the ignorance or malice of his antagonists had loaded him; but the high tone of authority that the cardinal assumed extinguished at once all hopes of this kind, and cut off every prospect of advantage from the interview. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not desert him. He declared, with the utmost firmness, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; nor should any consideration ever induce him to do what would be so base in itself, and so offensive to God. At the same time he continued to express no less reverence than formerly for the authority of the apostolic see; (*Luth. Oper.* vol. i, p. 164;) he signified his willingness to submit the whole controversy to certain universities which he named; and promised neither to write nor to preach concerning indulgences for the future, provided his adversaries were likewise enjoined to be silent with respect to them. (*Luth. Oper.* vol. i, p. 169.) All these offers Cajetan disregarded or rejected, and still insisted peremptorily on a simple recantation, threatening him with ecclesiastical censures, and forbidding him to appear again in his presence, unless he resolved instantly to comply with what he had required. This haughty and violent proceeding, as well as other circumstances, gave Luther's friends such strong reasons to suspect that even the imperial safe conduct would not be able to protect him from the legate's power and resentment, that they prevailed on him to withdraw secretly from Augsburg, and to return to his own country. But before his departure he prepared a solemn appeal from the legate to the pope, who indeed ought not to have committed a cause of this importance to an inferior agent. (*Sleid. Hist. of Reform.* p. 7; *Seckend.* p. 45; *Luth. Oper.* i, 163.)

Cajetan, enraged at Luther's abrupt retreat, and at the publication of his appeal, wrote to the elector of Saxony, complaining of both; and requiring him, as he regarded the peace of the Church, or the authority of its head, either to send that seditious monk a prisoner to Rome, or to banish him out of his territories. It was not from theological considerations that Frederick had hitherto countenanced Luther. His protection flowed almost entirely from political motives, and was afforded with great secrecy and caution. He had neither heard any of Luther's discourses, nor read any of his books; and, though all Germany resounded with his fame, he had never once admitted him into his presence. (*Seckend.* p. 27; *Sleid. Hist.* p. 12.) But upon this demand which the cardinal made, it became necessary to throw off somewhat of his former reserve. He had been at great expense, and had bestowed much attention on founding a new university, an object of considerable importance to every German prince; and foreseeing how fatal a blow the removal of Luther would be to its reputation, (*Seckend.* p. 59,) he, under various pretexts, and with many professions of esteem for the cardinal, as well as of reverence for the pope, not only declined complying with either of his requests, but openly discovered great concern for Luther's safety. (*Sleid. Hist.* p. 10; *Luth. Oper.* i, 172.)

The inflexible rigour with which Cajetan insisted on a simple recantation, gave great offence to Luther's followers in that age. But it

was impossible for the legate to act another part. The judges before whom Luther had been required to appear at Rome, without waiting for the expiration of the sixty days allowed him in the citation, had already condemned him as a heretic. (*Luth. Oper.* i, 161.) Leo had, in several of his briefs and letters, stigmatized him as a child of iniquity, and a man given up to a reprobate sense. Nothing less, therefore, than a recantation could save the honour of the Church, whose maxim it is never to abandon the smallest point it has established, and which is even precluded, by its pretensions to infallibility, from having it in its power so to do.

In this situation, Luther discovered no symptoms of timidity or remissness, but continued to vindicate his own conduct and opinions, and to inveigh against those of his adversaries with more vehemence than ever. (*Seckend*, p. 59.)

As every step, however, which was taken by the court of Rome convinced Luther that Leo would soon proceed to the most violent measures against him, he had recourse to the only expedient in his power in order to prevent the effect of the papal censures. He appealed to a general council, which he affirmed to be the representative of the Catholic Church, and superior in power to the pope, who, being a fallible man, might err, as St. Peter, the most perfect of his predecessors, had erred. (*Sleid. Hist.* 12 ; *Luth. Oper.* i, 179.)

It soon appeared that Luther had not formed rash conjectures concerning the intentions of the Romish Church. A bull, of a date prior to his appeal, was issued by the pope, in which he magnified the virtue and efficacy of indulgences ; he required all Christians to assent to what he delivered as the doctrine of the Catholic Church ; and subjected those who should hold or teach any contrary opinion to the heaviest ecclesiastical censures.

Among Luther's followers, this bull, which they considered as an unjustifiable effort of the pope in order to preserve that rich branch of his revenue which arose from indulgences, produced little effect. But among the rest of his countrymen, such a clear decision of the sovereign pontiff against him, and enforced by such dreadful penalties, must have been attended with consequences very fatal to his cause, if these had not been prevented, in a great measure, by the death of the Emperor Maximilian, whom both his principles and his interest prompted to support the authority of the holy see. In consequence of this event, the vicariat of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws devolved to the elector of Saxony ; and under the shelter of his friendly administration, Luther not only enjoyed tranquillity, but his opinions were suffered, during the interregnum which preceded the election, to take root in different places, and to grow up to some degree of strength and firmness. At the same time, as the election of an emperor was a point more interesting to Leo than a theological controversy which he did not understand, and of which he could not foresee the consequences, he was so extremely solicitous not to irritate a prince of such considerable influence in the electoral college as Frederick, that he discovered a great unwillingness to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against Luther, which his adversaries demanded with the most clamorous importunity.

To these political views of the pope, as well as to his natural aversion to severe measures, was owing the suspension of any farther

proceedings against Luther for eighteen months. Perpetual negotiations, however, in order to bring the matter to some amicable issue, were carried on during that space. The manner in which these were conducted having given Luther many opportunities of observing the corruption of the court of Rome, he began to utter some doubts with regard to the Divine original of the papal authority. A public disputation was held upon this important question at Leipsic, between Luther and Eccius, one of his most learned and formidable antagonists; but it was as fruitless and indecisive as such scholastic combats usually prove. (*Luth. Oper.* i, 199.)

Nor did this spirit of opposition to the doctrines and usurpations of the Romish Church break out in Saxony alone; an attack no less violent, and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them about this time in Switzerland. The Franciscans, being entrusted with the promulgation of indulgences in that country, executed their commission with the same indiscretion and rapaciousness which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Germany. They proceeded nevertheless with uninterrupted success till they arrived at Zurich.—There Zuinglius, a man not inferior to Luther in zeal and intrepidity, ventured to oppose them: and being animated with a republican boldness, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established religion. (*Sleid. Hist.* 22; *Seckend.* 59.) The appearance of such a vigorous auxiliary, and the progress which he made, was at first matter of great joy to Luther. On the other hand, the decrees of the universities of Cologne and Louvain, which pronounced his opinions to be erroneous, afforded great cause of triumph to his adversaries.

But the undaunted spirit of Luther acquired additional fortitude from every instance of opposition; and he began to shake the firmest foundations on which the wealth and power of the Church were established. Leo came at last to be convinced, that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were vain: several prelates of great wisdom exclaimed, no less than Luther's personal adversaries, against the pope's unprecedented lenity; the dignity of the papal see rendered the most vigorous proceedings necessary; the new emperor, it was hoped, would support its authority; nor did it seem probable that the elector of Saxony would so far forget his usual caution, as to set himself in opposition to their united power. The college of cardinals was often assembled in order to prepare the sentence with due deliberation, and the ablest canonists were consulted how it might be expressed with unexceptionable formality. At last, on the 15th of June, 1520, the bull, so fatal to the Church of Rome, was issued. Forty-one propositions, extracted out of Luther's works, are therein condemned as heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears; all persons are forbidden to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication; such as had any of them in their custody are commanded to commit them to the flames; he himself, if he did not within sixty days publicly recant his errors, and burn his books, is pronounced an obstinate heretic; is excommunicated, and delivered unto Satan for the destruction of his flesh; and all secular princes are required, under pain of incurring the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved.—(*Palavic*, 27; *Luth. Oper.* i, 423.)

The publication of this bull in Germany excited various passions in different places. Luther's adversaries exulted; his followers read Leo's anathemas with more indignation than terror. In some cities, the people violently obstructed the promulgation of the bull; in others, the persons who attempted to publish it were insulted, and the bull itself torn in pieces, and trodden under foot. (*Seckend.* p. 116.)

This sentence, which he had for some time expected, did not disconcert or intimidate Luther. After renewing his appeal to the general council, he published remarks upon the bull of excommunication; and, being now persuaded that Leo had been guilty both of impiety and injustice in his proceedings against him, he boldly declared the pope to be that man of sin, or antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the New Testament; he declaimed against his tyranny and usurpations with greater violence than ever; he exhorted all Christian princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke; and boasted of his own happiness in being marked out as the object of ecclesiastical indignation, because he had ventured to assert the liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his expressions of contempt for the papal power to words alone; Leo having, in execution of the bull, appointed Luther's books to be burned at Rome, he, by way of retaliation, assembled all the professors and students in the university of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, in presence of a vast multitude of spectators, cast the volumes of the canon law, together with the bull of excommunication, into the flames; and his example was imitated in several cities in Germany. The manner in which he justified this action was still more offensive than the action itself. Having collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with regard to the plenitude and omnipotence of the papal power, as well as the subordination of all secular jurisdiction to the authority of the holy see, he published these with a commentary, pointed out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil government. (*Luth. Oper.* ii, 316.)

After the death of Maximilian I., his grandson, Charles V., king of Spain, succeeded him in the empire, in the year 1519. Leo X. seized this occasion of putting the emperor in mind of his character as advocate and defender of the Church, and demanding the exemplary punishment of Luther, who had rebelled against its sacred laws.

The vast and dangerous schemes which Francis I., king of France, was forming against Charles, made it necessary for him to secure the friendship of the pope, and determined him to treat Luther with great severity, as the most effectual method of soothing Leo into a concurrence with his measures. His eagerness to accomplish this rendered him not unwilling to gratify the papal legates in Germany, who insisted that, without any delay or formal deliberation, the diet, which was assembled at Worms, ought to condemn a man whom the pope had already excommunicated as an incorrigible heretic. Such an abrupt manner of proceeding, however, being deemed unprecedented and unjust by the members of the diet, they made a point of Luther's appearing in person, and declaring whether he adhered or not to those opinions which had drawn upon him the censures of the Church.—(*P. Mart.* ep. 722.) Not only the emperor, but all the princes through whose territories he had to pass, granted him a safe conduct; and Charles wrote to him at the same time, requiring his immediate attend-

ance on the diet, and renewing his promises of protection from any injury or violence. (*Luth. Oper.* ii, 411.) Luther did not hesitate one moment about yielding obedience, and set out for Worms, attended by the herald who had brought the emperor's letter and safe conduct.—While on his journey, many of his friends, whom the fate of Huss under similar circumstances, and notwithstanding the same security of an imperial safe conduct, filled with solicitude, advised and entreated him not to rush wantonly into the midst of danger. But Luther, superior to such terrors, silenced them with this reply, "I am lawfully called," said he, "to appear in that city, and thither will I go in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as there are tiles on the houses were there combined against me." (*Luth. Oper.* ii, 412.)

The reception he met with at Worms was such as he might have reckoned a full reward of all his labours, if vanity and the love of applause had been the principles by which he was influenced. Greater crowds assembled to behold him than had appeared at the emperor's public entry; his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank, (*Seckend.* 156; *Luth Oper.* ii, 414,) and he was treated with all the respect paid to those who possess the power of directing the understanding and sentiments of other men; a homage more sincere, as well as more flattering, than any which pre-eminence in birth or condition can command. At his appearance before the diet, he behaved with great decency and firmness. He readily acknowledged an excess of vehemence and acrimony in his controversial writings, but refused to retract his opinions, unless he were convinced of their falsehood; or to consent to their being tried by any other rule than the word of God. When neither threats nor entreaties could prevail on him to depart from this resolution, some of the ecclesiastics proposed to imitate the example of the council of Constance, and, by punishing the author of this pestilent heresy, who was now in their power, to deliver the Church at once from such an evil. This was opposed both by the members of the diet and by the emperor, and Luther was permitted to depart in safety. (*F. Paul. Hist. of Counc.* p. 13; *Seckend.* 160.) A few days after he left the city, a severe edict was published in the emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, depriving him, as an obstinate and excommunicated criminal, of all the privileges which he enjoyed as a subject of the empire, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and requiring all to concur in seizing his person, as soon as the term specified in his safe conduct was expired. (*Gold. Const. Imperial.* ii, 408.)

But this rigorous decree had no considerable effect, the execution of it being prevented, partly by the multiplicity of occupations which the commotions in Spain, together with the wars in Italy and the Low Countries, created to the emperor; and partly by a prudent precaution employed by the elector of Saxony. As Luther, on his return from Worms, was passing near Altenstein in Thuringia, a number of horsemen in masks rushed suddenly out of a wood, where the elector had appointed them to lie in wait for him, and, surrounding his company, carried him, after dismissing all his attendants, to Wartburg, a strong castle not far distant. There the elector ordered him to be supplied with every thing necessary or agreeable, but the place of his retreat was carefully concealed, until the fury of the present storm against him began to abate.

In this solitude he remained nine months, and exerted his usual vigour and industry in defence of his doctrines, or in confutation of his adversaries, publishing several treatises, which revived the drooping spirits of his followers.

During his confinement, his opinions continued to gain ground in every city in Saxony; and the Augustines of Wittemberg, with the approbation of the university, and the connivance of the elector, ventured upon the first step toward an alteration in the established forms of public worship, by abolishing the celebration of private masses, and by giving the cup as well as the bread to the laity in administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

During his retirement in Wartburg, Luther received the intelligence that a solemn decree condemning his opinions had been published by the university of Paris, and that Henry VIII. of England had written a treatise on the seven sacraments, in confutation of his opinions.—Luther, who was not overawed, either by the authority of the university, or the dignity of the monarch, soon published his animadversions on both, in a style no less vehement and severe than he would have used in confuting his meanest antagonist. A controversy, managed by disputants so illustrious, drew more general attention; and the doctrines of the reformers, in spite both of the civil and ecclesiastical powers combined against them, daily gained converts both in France and in England.

Luther was drawn from his retreat by the imprudence of Carlostadius, one of his disciples, who, animated with the same zeal, but possessed of less moderation, propagated wild and dangerous opinions, chiefly among the lower people. Encouraged by his exhortations, they rose in several villages of Saxony, broke into the churches with tumultuary violence, and destroyed the images with which they were adorned. These irregular and outrageous proceedings were so repugnant to all the elector's cautious maxims, that, if they had not received a timely check, they could hardly have failed of alienating from the reformers a prince, no less jealous of his own authority than afraid of giving offence to the emperor, and other patrons of the ancient opinions.—Luther, sensible of the danger, without waiting for Frederick's permission, returned to Wittemberg. Happily for the Reformation, the veneration for his person and authority was still so great that his appearance alone suppressed that spirit of extravagance which began to seize his party. Carlostadius and his fanatical followers, struck dumb by his rebukes, submitted at once, and declared that they heard the voice of an angel, not of a man. (*Sleid. Hist.* 51; *Seckend.* 195.)

Before Luther left his retreat, he had begun to translate the Bible into the German tongue, an undertaking for which he was well qualified: he had a competent knowledge in the original languages, a thorough acquaintance with the style and sentiments of the inspired writers; and though his compositions in Latin were rude and barbarous, he was reckoned a great master of the purity of his mother tongue. By his own assiduous application, together with the assistance of Melancthon, and several other of his disciples, he finished part of the New Testament in the year 1522. It was read with wonderful avidity and attention by persons of every rank. They were astonished at discovering how contrary the precepts of the Author of our religion are to the inventions

of those priests who pretended to be his vicegerents; and having now in their hand the rule of faith, they thought themselves qualified, by applying it, to judge of the established opinions, and to pronounce when they were conformable to the standard, or when they departed from it. The great advantages arising from Luther's translation of the Bible encouraged the advocates for reformation in the other countries of Europe to imitate his example, and to publish versions of the Scriptures in their respective languages.

About this time, Nuremberg, Frankfort, Hamburgh, and several other cities in Germany, of the first rank, openly embraced the reformed religion, and by the authority of their magistrates abolished the mass, and the other superstitious rites of popery. (*Seckend.* 241; *Chytræi Contin. Krantzii*, 203.) The dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, the prince of Anhalt, and other distinguished personages, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions, and countenanced the preaching of them among their subjects.

Leo X. had been succeeded in the pontificate by Adrian VI., a native of Utrecht, and a man of some probity and candour. He could not, however, behold this growing defection without concern; and his first care, after his arrival in Italy, had been to deliberate with the cardinals concerning the proper means of putting a stop to it. He was profoundly skilled in scholastic theology, and having been early noticed on that account, he still retained such an excessive admiration of the science to which he was first indebted for his reputation and success in life, that he considered Luther's invectives against the schoolmen, particularly Thomas Aquinas, as little less than blasphemy. At the same time his own manners being extremely simple, and uninfected with any of the vices which reigned in the court of Rome, he was as sensible of its corruptions as the reformers themselves, and viewed them with no less indignation. The brief which he addressed to the diet of the empire assembled at Nuremberg, November, 1522, and the instructions which he gave to Cheregato, the nuncio whom he sent thither, were framed agreeably to these views. On the one hand, he condemned Luther's opinions with more asperity than Leo had ever used; he severely censured the princes of Germany for suffering him to spread his pernicious tenets, by their neglecting to execute the edict of the diet at Worms, and required them, if Luther did not instantly retract his errors, to destroy him with fire as a gangrened and incurable member. (*Fascic. Rer. expet. and fugiend.* p. 342.) On the other hand, he, with great candour, acknowledged the corruptions of the Roman court to be the source from which had flowed most of the evils the Church now felt or dreaded; he promised to exert all his authority toward reforming these abuses; and he requested of them to give him their advice with regard to the most effectual means of suppressing that new heresy which had sprung up among them. (*Fascic. Rer. expet. and fugiend.* p. 345.)

The members of the diet, after praising the pope's pious and laudable intentions, excused themselves for not executing the edict of Worms, by alleging that the prodigious increase of Luther's followers, as well as the aversion to the court of Rome among their other subjects, on account of its innumerable exactions, rendered such an attempt not only dangerous, but impossible. They affirmed that the grievances of Germany, which arose from impositions no less real than intolerable,

called now for some new and efficacious remedy; and, in their opinion, the only remedy which afforded them any hopes of seeing the Church restored to soundness and vigour was a general council. Such a council, therefore, they advised him, after obtaining the emperor's consent, to assemble without delay in one of the great cities of Germany. (*Fascic. Rer. expet. and fugiend.* p. 346.)

The nuncio, more artful than his master, was startled at the proposition of a council; and easily foresaw how dangerous such an assembly might prove, at a time when many openly denied the papal authority, and the reverence and submission yielded to it visibly declined among all. For that reason he applied his utmost address, in order to prevail on the members of the diet to proceed themselves with greater severity against the Lutheran heresy, and to relinquish their proposal concerning a general council to be held in Germany. They, perceiving the nuncio to be more solicitous about the interests of the Roman court than the tranquillity of the empire, or purity of the Church, remained inflexible, and continued to prepare the catalogue of their grievances to be presented to the pope. (*Fascic. Rer. expet. and fugiend.* p. 349.) The nuncio, that he might not be the bearer of a remonstrance so disagreeable to his court, left Nuremberg abruptly, without taking leave of the diet. (*Ibid.* 376.)

The secular princes accordingly drew up the list (so famous in the German annals) of a hundred grievances, which the empire imputed to the iniquitous dominion of the papal see. They complained of the sums exacted for dispensations, absolutions, and indulgences; of the expense arising from the lawsuits carried by appeal to Rome; of the innumerable abuses occasioned by reservations, commendams, and annats; of the exemption from civil jurisdiction which the clergy had obtained; of the arts by which they brought all secular causes under the cognizance of the ecclesiastical judges; of the indecent and profligate lives which not a few of the clergy led; and of various other particulars. In the end they concluded that, if the holy see did not speedily deliver them from those intolerable burdens, they would employ the power and authority with which God had entrusted them in order to procure relief.

Instead of such severities against Luther and his followers as the nuncio had recommended, the *recess* or edict of the diet contained only a general injunction to all ranks of men to wait with patience for the determinations of the council which was to be assembled, and in the meantime not to publish any new opinions contrary to the established doctrines of the Church; together with an admonition to all preachers to abstain from matters of controversy in their discourses to the people, and confine themselves to the plain and instructive truths of religion.

While these affairs were in agitation, Pope Adrian died, and was succeeded, on the 23d of November, 1523, by the Cardinal de Medicis, who assumed the name of Clement VII. This pontiff excelled Adrian as much in the arts of government as he was inferior to him in purity of life and uprightness of intention. Having gained his election by very uncanonical means, he was afraid of an assembly that might subject it to a scrutiny which it could not stand, and determined therefore to elude the demands of the Germans, both with respect to the calling of a council, and reforming abuses in the papal court. For this pur-

pose he made choice of Cardinal Campeggio, an artful man, as his nuncio to the diet of the empire, assembled again at Nuremberg.

Campeggio, without taking notice of what had passed in the last meeting, exhorted the diet to execute the edict of Worms with vigour, as the only effectual means of suppressing Luther's doctrines. The diet, in return, desired to know the pope's intentions concerning the council and the redress of the hundred grievances. The former the nuncio endeavored to elude by general declarations of the pope's resolution to pursue such measures as would be for the greatest good of the Church. With regard to the latter, as Adrian was dead before the catalogue of grievances reached Rome, and as, of consequence, it had been regularly laid before the present pope, Campeggio declined making any definitive answer to them in Clement's name; though, at the same time, he observed that their catalogue of grievances contained many particulars extremely indecent and undutiful, and that the publishing it by their own authority was highly disrespectful to the Roman see. In the end he renewed his demand of their proceeding with vigour against Luther and his adherents. But though an ambassador from the emperor, who was at that time very solicitous to gain the pope, warmly seconded the nuncio, with many professions of his master's zeal for the honour and dignity of the papal see, the *recess* of the diet was conceived in terms of almost the same import with the former, without enjoining any additional severity against Luther and his party.

Before he left Germany, Campeggio, in order to soothe the people, published certain articles for the amendment of some disorders and abuses which prevailed among the inferior clergy; but this partial reformation, which fell so far short of the expectations of the Lutherans, gave no satisfaction, and produced little effect. (*Seckend.* 292.)

The marriage of Luther, in the year 1526, with Catharine Boria, a nun of a noble family, who had fled from the cloister, was far from meeting with general approbation. Luther himself was sensible of the impression which it had made to his disadvantage; but being satisfied with his own conduct, he bore the censure of his friends, and the reproaches of his adversaries, with his usual fortitude. (*Seckend.* lib. ii., p. 15.)

This year the Reformation lost its first protector, Frederick, elector of Saxony; but the blow was the less sensibly felt, as he was succeeded by his brother John, a more avowed and zealous, though a less able patron of Luther and his doctrines.

Another event happened about the same time, which occasioned a considerable change in the state of Germany. The Teutonic order, being driven from their settlements in the east, had been obliged to return to their native country. Their zeal and valour were too impetuous to remain long inactive. They invaded, as was already intimated, the province of Prussia, the inhabitants of which were still idolaters; and having completed the conquest of it, held it many years as a fief depending on the crown of Poland. Fierce contests arose during this period between the grand masters of the order and the kings of Poland. Albert, a prince of the house of Brandenburgh, who was elected grand master in the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, engaging keenly in this quarrel, maintained a long war with Sigismund,

king of Poland; but having become an early convert to Luther's doctrines, this gradually lessened his zeal for the interests of his fraternity, so that he took the opportunity of the confusions in the empire, and the absence of the emperor, to conclude a treaty with Sigismund, greatly to his own private emolument. By it, that part of Prussia which belonged to the Teutonic order was erected into a secular and hereditary duchy, and the investiture of it granted to Albert, who, in return, bound himself to do homage for it to the kings of Poland as their vassal. Immediately after this, he made public profession of the reformed religion, and married a princess of Denmark.

In this state of affairs, the patrons of popery projected a war against the Lutherans, who in their turn prepared for defence. In the meantime the diet, assembled at Spire in the year 1526, at which Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, presided, ended in a manner more favourable to the friends of the Reformation than they could naturally expect. The emperor's ambassadors at this diet were ordered to use their most earnest endeavours for the suppression of all farther disputes concerning religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the sentence which had been pronounced at Worms against Luther and his followers. The greater part of the German princes resolutely opposed this motion, declaring that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter was submitted to the cognizance of a general council lawfully assembled; alleging that the decisions of controversies of this nature belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone. This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by a great majority, and at length consented to by the whole assembly; when it was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, beseeching him to assemble, without delay, a free and general council; and it was also agreed, that in the meantime, the princes and states of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think the most expedient; yet so as to be able to give to God and to the emperor an account of them.

Nothing could be more favourable to those who had the cause of pure and genuine Christianity at heart, than a resolution of this nature. The emperor was, at this time, so entirely engaged in regulating the troubled state of his dominions in France, Spain, and Italy, as rendered it impossible for him to turn his attention to the affairs of Germany in general, and still less to the state of religion in particular. He was besides little disposed to favour the pope, who, after the defeat of Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, filled with uneasy apprehensions of the growing power of the emperor in Italy, had entered into a confederacy with the French and the Venetians against Charles V. This imprudent measure, therefore, inflamed the resentment and indignation of Charles to such a degree, that he abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope in Italy, laid siege to Rome in the year 1527, blocked up Clement in the castle of St. Angelo, and exposed him to the most severe and contumelious treatment.—These critical events, together with the liberty granted by the diet at Spire, were prudently and industriously improved by the friends of the Reformation to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number. Several princes, being delivered now from their

restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of Rome, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, which had been received in Saxony. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the Roman pontiff, were, however, far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke. In the meantime Luther and his fellow-labourers, particularly those who were with him at Wittemberg, by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions and counsels, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the floating and inconstant, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of their undertaking.

But this tranquillity was not of long duration. It was interrupted by a new diet, assembled in the year 1529, in the same place, by the emperor, after he had appeased the commotions and troubles which had employed his attention in several parts of Europe, and concluded a treaty of peace with Clement VII. The power which had been granted by the former diet to the princes, of managing ecclesiastical matters as they thought proper, until the meeting of a general council, was now revoked by a majority of votes; and every change was declared unlawful which should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the established religion, before the determination of the approaching council was known.

The elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Lunenburg, the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities, entered a solemn protest against this decree, as unjust and impious. On that account they were distinguished by the name of *Protestants*, an appellation which has since been applied indiscriminately to all the sects, of whatever denomination, which have revolted from the Roman see. The Protestants next sent ambassadors into Italy, to lay their grievances before the emperor, from whom they met with the most discouraging reception. Charles was at that time in close union with the pope, and solicitous to attach him inviolably to his interest.

The emperor set out for Germany, having already appointed a diet of the empire to be held at Augsburg. In his journey toward that city he had many opportunities of observing the disposition of the Germans with regard to the points in controversy, and found their minds everywhere so much irritated and inflamed as convinced him that nothing tending to severity or rigour ought to be attemped, until all other measures proved ineffectual. He made his public entry into Augsburg with extraordinary pomp; and found there such a full assembly of the members of the diet, as was suitable both to the importance of the affairs which were to come under their consideration, and to the honour of an emperor, who, after a long absence, returned to them crowned with reputation and success. His presence seems to have communicated to all parties an unusual spirit of moderation and desire of peace. The elector of Saxony would not permit Luther to accompany him to the diet, lest he should offend the emperor by bringing into his presence a person excommunicated by the pope, and who had been the author of all those dissensions which it now appeared so

difficult to compose. At the emperor's desire, all the Protestant princes forbade the divines who accompanied them to preach in public during their residence at Augsburg. For the same reason they employed the gentle and pacific Melancthon to draw up a confession of their faith, expressed in terms as little offensive to the Roman Catholics as a regard for truth would permit. Melancthon executed a task so agreeable to his natural disposition, with great moderation and address. The creed which he composed, known by the name of the *Confession of Augsburg*, from the place where it was presented, was read publicly in the diet. A controversy ensued between the reformed and popish divines; but, notwithstanding the interference of the emperor to reconcile the contending parties, such insuperable barriers existed between the two churches, that all hopes of bringing about a coalition seemed utterly desperate. The endeavours of Charles among the princes were equally unproductive of success. Such was the excess of their zeal, that it overcame all attachment to their political interest, which is commonly the predominant motive among princes. The chiefs of the Protestants, though solicited separately by the emperor, and allured by the promise or prospect of those advantages which it was known they were most solicitous to obtain, refused, with a fortitude highly worthy of imitation, to abandon what they deemed the cause of God for the sake of any earthly acquisition.

Every scheme, in order to gain or disunite the Protestant party, proving abortive, nothing now remained for the emperor but to take some vigorous measures toward asserting the doctrines and authority of the established Church. To effect this, a severe decree against the Protestants was enacted in the diet; and the utmost danger to the reformers arose on every side. Luther, by his exhortations and writings, revived the desponding hopes of his associates, and his exhortations made the deeper impression upon them, as they were greatly alarmed at that time by the account of a combination among the popish princes of the empire for the maintenance of the established religion, to which Charles himself had acceded. Convinced that their own safety, as well as the success of their cause, depended upon union, they assembled at Smalkalde, where they concluded a league of mutual defence against all aggressors, by which they formed the Protestant states of the empire into one regular body, and beginning already to consider themselves as such, they resolved to apply to the kings of France and England, and to implore them to patronize and assist their new confederacy.

Francis, the king of France, and avowed rival of the emperor, without seeming to countenance their religious opinions, determined secretly to cherish those sparks of political discord; and the king of England, highly incensed against Charles, in complaisance to whom the pope had long retarded, and now openly opposed his long-solicited divorce from his queen, Catharine of Arragon, was equally disposed to strengthen a league which might be rendered so formidable to the emperor. But his favourite project of the divorce led him into such a labyrinth of schemes and negotiations, and he was, at the same time, so intent on abolishing the papal jurisdiction in England, that he had no leisure for foreign affairs. This obliged him to rest satisfied with giving general promises, together with a small supply of money, to the confederates of Smalkalde. (*Herbert*, 152, 154.)

Meanwhile, many circumstances convinced Charles that this was not a juncture when the extirpation of heresy was to be attempted by violence and rigour; and that, in compliance with the pope's inclinations, he had already proceeded with imprudent precipitation. Negotiations were, therefore, carried on, by his direction, with the elector of Saxony and his associates; and, after many delays, terms of pacification were agreed upon at Nuremberg, and ratified solemnly in the diet at Ratisbon. In this treaty it was stipulated that universal peace be established in Germany, until the meeting of a general council, the convocation of which, within six months, the emperor shall endeavour to procure; that no person shall be molested on account of religion; that a stop shall be put to all processes begun by the imperial chamber against Protestants, and the sentences already to their detriment shall be declared void. On their part, the Protestants engaged to assist the emperor with all their forces in resisting the invasion of the Turks. (*Du Mont, Corps Diplomatique*, tom. iv, part ii, 87, 89.) Thus, by their firmness, by their unanimity, and by their dexterity in availing themselves of the emperor's situation, the Protestants obtained terms which amounted almost to a toleration of their religion; and the Protestants of Germany, who had hitherto been viewed only as a religious sect, came henceforth to be considered as a political body of no small consequence. (*Sleid.* 149, &c.; *Seck.* iii, 19.)

About the beginning of August in this year, 1532, the elector of Saxony died, and was succeeded by his son, John Frederic; the Reformation, however, rather gained than lost by that event.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY, ETC.

SECTION II.

Gradual spread of Luther's doctrines—In Sweden—In Denmark—France—Calvin—Reformation established in all Saxony—Council of Trent—Death and character of Luther—Decrees of the Council of Trent—The pope excommunicates the archbishop of Cologne—Diet at Ratisbon—War declared against the emperor—Perfidy of Maurice—Seizes the elector's dominions—Elector of Cologne resigns—Elector of Saxony and landgrave made prisoners—Publication of the Interim—Obnoxious to both parties—Violence of the emperor—Death of Paul III., and elevation of Julius III.—Defection of Maurice—Peace of religion.

DURING those important transactions in Germany which have been just related, the glorious dawn of Reformation gradually arose upon other nations. Some of the most considerable provinces of Europe had already broken their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of Rome and the jurisdiction of its pontiff. The reformed religion was propagated in Sweden soon after Luther's rupture with Rome, by one of his disciples. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public-spirited

prince, Gustavus Vasa Ericson. But as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions and the doctrine of Luther, Gustavus wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking in a manner suitable to the principles of the Reformation, which he regarded as diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence. The first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Scriptures, and he spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible, which had been made by Olaus Petri. After having taken every proper measure to effect his design, Gustavus, in the assembly of the states at Westeraas, recommended the doctrine of the reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that it was unanimously resolved, that the plan of reformation proposed by Luther should have free admission among the Swedes. This resolution was principally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of Gustavus, who declared publicly that he would lay down his sceptre and retire from his kingdom rather than rule a people enslaved to the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops than by the laws of the kingdom. From this time the papal empire in Sweden was entirely overturned, and Gustavus was declared the head of the Church.

The Reformation was also received in Denmark, as early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by Christian or Christiern II., of having his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrine of Luther. The kingdom of France was not inaccessible to the Reformation. Margaret, queen of Navarre, and sister of Francis I., the implacable enemy and perpetual rival of Charles V., was extremely favourable to the new doctrine. The auspicious patronage of this illustrious princess encouraged several pious and learned men to propagate the principles of the Reformation in France, and even to erect several Protestant churches in that kingdom. It is manifest from the most authentic records, that, so early as the year 1523, there were in several of the provinces of that country multitudes of persons who had conceived the utmost aversion both against the doctrine and tyranny of Rome, and, among these, many persons of rank and dignity, and even some of the episcopal order. As their numbers increased from day to day, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of religious differences, the authority of the monarch and the cruelty of his officers intervened to support the doctrine of Rome by the edge of the sword and the terrors of the gibbet; and on this occasion many persons, eminent for their piety and virtue, were put to death with the most unrelenting barbarity.* This cruelty, however, instead of retarding, rather accelerated the progress of the Reformation.

About this time the famous Calvin began to draw the attention of the public, but more especially of the queen of Navarre. He was born at Noyon, in Picardy, on the 10th of July, 1509, and was bred to the law, in which, as well as in all the other branches of literature then known, his studies were attended with the most rapid success.

* See Beze, Histoire des Eglises Reformées de France, tom. i, livr. i, p. 5. Benoit, Histoire de l'Eit de Nantes, livr. i, p. 6. Christ. Aug. Salig. Histor. August. Confession, vol. ii, p. 190.

Having acquired the knowledge of religion, by a diligent perusal of the Holy Scriptures, he began early to perceive the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. His zeal exposed him to various perils, and the connections he had formed with the friends of the Reformation, whom Francis I. was daily committing to the flames, placed him more than once in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the good offices of the excellent queen of Navarre. To escape, however, the impending storm, he retired to Basil, where he published his Christian Institutions; and prefixed to them that famous dedication to Francis I. which has attracted the admiration of many in succeeding ages, and which was designed to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince against the Protestants.

The doctrine of Luther made a considerable, though perhaps a secret progress in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and the Netherlands, and had in all these countries many friends, of whom several repaired to Wittemberg to improve their knowledge and enlarge their views under such an eminent master.

In the year 1539, George, duke of Saxony, died; and his death was an event of great advantage to the reformers. From the first dawn of the Reformation he had been its enemy as avowedly as the electoral princes were its protectors. But by his death without issue, his succession fell to his brother Henry, whose attachment to the Protestant religion surpassed, if possible, that of his predecessor to popery.—Henry no sooner took possession of his new dominions than he invited some Protestant divines, and among them Luther himself, to Leipsic; and, by their advice and assistance, he overturned in a few weeks the whole system of ancient rites, establishing the full exercise of the reformed religion, with the universal applause of his subjects, who had long wished for this change, which the authority of their duke alone had hitherto prevented.

After a long succession of negotiations and delays, a general council was convoked at Trent, in the year 1545, which appeared extremely hostile to the Protestant cause. As soon as the confederates of Smalkalde received information of the opening of the council, they published a long manifesto, containing a protest against its meetings, together with the reasons which induced them to decline its jurisdiction. The pope and emperor, on their part, were so little solicitous to quicken or add vigour to its operations, as plainly discovered that some object of greater importance occupied and interested them.

The Protestants were not inattentive spectators of the motions of the sovereign pontiff and of Charles V.; and a variety of information, corroborating all which their own jealousy or observation led them to apprehend, left little reason to doubt of the emperor's hostile intentions. Under this impression the deputies of the confederates of Smalkalde assembled at Frankfort, and, by communicating their intelligence and sentiments to each other, reciprocally heightened their sense of the impending danger. But their union was not such as their situation required, or the preparation of their enemies rendered necessary.

To calm the apprehensions of the Protestants, Charles had recourse to duplicity; and the military preparations he had already made were represented by Granvelle, the imperial minister, as designed only as a defence against the attacks of the English and French. But the em

peror's actions did not correspond with these professions. For, instead of appointing men of known moderation and a pacific temper to appear in defence of the Catholic doctrines, at a conference which had been agreed on he made choice of fierce bigots attached to their own system with a blind obstinacy, which rendered all hope of a reconciliation desperate. Malvenda, a Spanish divine, who took upon him the conduct of the debate on the part of the Catholics, managed it with all the subtle dexterity of a scholastic metaphysician, more studious to perplex his adversaries than to convince them, and more intent on palliating error than on discovering truth. The Protestants, filled with indignation, as well at his sophistry as at some regulations which the emperor endeavoured to impose on the disputants, broke off the conference abruptly, being now fully convinced that, in all his late measures, the emperor could have no other view than to amuse them, and to gain time for ripening his own schemes. (*Sleid.* 358 ; *Seck.* l. iii, 620.)

While appearances of danger daily increased, and the tempest which had been so long gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence against the Protestant Church, Luther was saved, by a seasonable death, from feeling or beholding its destructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining state of health and during a rigorous season, to his native city of Eisleben, in order to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the counts of Mansfeld, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, February 18th, 1546, in the sixty-third year of his age.— As he was raised up by Providence to be the instrument of one of the greatest and most interesting revolutions recorded in history, there is not any person perhaps whose character has been drawn with such opposite colours. It is, however, his own conduct, not the undistinguishing censure or the exaggerated praise of his contemporaries, which ought to regulate the opinions of the present age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own system, abilities, both natural and acquired, to defend his principles, and unwearied industry in propagating them, are virtues which shine so conspicuously in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies must allow him to have possessed them in an eminent degree. To these may be added, with equal justice, such purity, and even austerity of manners, as became one who assumed the character of a reformer; such sanctity of life as suited the doctrine which he delivered; and such perfect disinterestedness as affords no slight presumption of his sincerity. Superior to all selfish considerations, a stranger to the elegances of life, and despising its pleasures, he left the honours and emoluments of the Church to his disciples, remaining satisfied himself in his original state of professor in the university, and pastor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to these offices. His extraordinary qualities were alloyed with no inconsiderable mixture of human frailty and human passions. These, however, were of such a nature that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but seem to have taken their rise from the same source with many of his good qualities. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, roused by great objects, or agitated by violent passions, broke out, on many occasions, with an impetuosity which astonishes men of feebler spirits, or such as are placed in a

more tranquil situation. By carrying some praiseworthy dispositions to excess, he bordered sometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which exposed him to censure.

Toward the close of Luther's life, though without any perceptible diminution of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increased upon him, so that he grew more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be a witness of his own amazing success; to see a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to shake the foundation of the papal throne, before which the mightiest monarchs had trembled, he discovered, on some occasions, symptoms of vanity. He must have been, indeed, more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accomplished, he had never felt any sentiment of this kind. But he was, in word and deed, a Christian.

Some time before his death he felt his strength declining, his constitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of business, added to the labour of discharging his ministerial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of constant study, besides the composition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leisure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forsake him at the approach of death; his last conversation with his friends was concerning the happiness reserved for good men in a future life, of which he spoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wished to enter soon upon the enjoyment of it. (*Sleid.* 362; *Seck.* lib. iii, 632, &c.) His funeral was celebrated, by order of the elector of Saxony, with extraordinary pomp. He left several children by his wife Catharine Boria, who survived him. Toward the end of the last century, there were in Saxony some of his descendants in decent and honourable stations. (*Seck.* l. iii, 651.)

The emperor, meanwhile, pursued the plan of dissimulation with which he had set out; but such events soon occurred as staggered the credit which the Protestants had given to his declarations. The council of Trent, though still composed of a small number of Italian and Spanish prelates, without a single deputy from many of the kingdoms which it assumed a right of binding by its decrees, being ashamed of its long inactivity, proceeded now to settle articles of the greatest importance. Having begun with examining the first and chief point in controversy between the Church of Rome and the reformers, concerning the rule which should be held as supreme and decisive in matters of faith, the council, by its infallible authority, determined, "that the books, to which the designation of *apocryphal* hath been given, are of equal authority with those which were received by the Jews and primitive Christians into the sacred canon; that the traditions handed down from the apostolic age, and preserved in the Church, are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inspired authors have committed to writing; that the Latin translation of the Scriptures, made or revised by St. Jerome, and known by the name of the *Vulgate* translation, should be read in churches, and appealed to in the schools, as authentic and canonical:" and against all who disclaimed the truth of these tenets, anathemas were denounced in the name and by the authority of the Holy Ghost.

Several circumstances conspired to convince the Protestants that the council was ready to condemn their opinions, and the pope to punish

all who embraced them; and that Charles had determined upon their extirpation. In this situation they expostulated with the emperor, and proposed several projects for settling the matter in dispute; but their memorial was received by him with a contemptuous smile. Having already taken his final resolution, and perceiving that nothing but force could compel them to acquiesce in it, he despatched the cardinal of Trent to Rome, to conclude an alliance with the pope, the terms of which were already agreed on; he commanded a body of troops, levied on purpose in the Low Countries, to advance toward Germany; he gave commissions for raising men in different parts of the empire; he warned John and Albert of Brandenburg, that now was the proper time of exerting themselves, in order to rescue their ally, Henry of Brunswick, from captivity. (*Sleid.* 374; *Seck.* iii, 658.)

The Protestants, in this disagreeable situation, had recourse to negotiations. The powers to which they addressed themselves were the state of Venice, the Helvetic body, the kings of France and England; but in all these applications they were successively disappointed.—Notwithstanding, however, their ill success in their negotiations with foreign courts, the confederates found no difficulty at home in bringing a sufficient force into the field. By a concurrence of causes, they were enabled to assemble in a few weeks an army composed of seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, provided with a train of one hundred and twenty cannon, eight hundred ammunition wagons, eight thousand beasts of burden, and six thousand pioneers. (*Thuan.* l. i, 601; *Ludovici ad Avila*, and *Zuniga Commentariorum de Bel. Germ.* lib. duo., Antw. 1550, 12mo. p. 13, a.)

The number of their troops, as well as the amazing rapidity with which they had assembled them, astonished the emperor, and filled him with the most disquieting apprehensions. He was, indeed, in no condition to resist such a mighty force. Shut up in Ratisbon, a town of no great strength, whose inhabitants, being mostly Lutherans, would have been more ready to betray than to assist him, with only three thousand Spanish foot, and about five thousand Germans who had joined him from different parts of the empire, he must have been overwhelmed by the approach of such a formidable army, which he could not fight, nor could he even hope to retreat from it in safety. The pope's troops, though in full march to his relief, had hardly reached the frontiers of Germany; the forces which he expected from the Low Countries had not yet begun to move, and were even far from being complete. His situation, however, called for more immediate succour, nor did it seem practicable for him to wait for such distant auxiliaries, with whom his junction was so precarious.

But it happened, fortunately for Charles, that the confederates did not avail themselves of the advantage which lay so full in their view. They addressed themselves to him by manifestoes, when they should have assailed him with arms. On the other hand, Charles, though in such a perilous situation as might have inspired him with moderate sentiments, appeared as inflexible and haughty as if his affairs had been in the most prosperous state. His only reply was to publish the ban of the empire against the elector of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse, their leaders, and against all who should dare to assist him.

A few days after the ban of the empire was published, the confede-

rates, according to the custom of that age, sent a herald to the imperial camp with a solemn declaration of war against Charles, to whom they no longer gave any other title than that of pretended emperor, and renounced all allegiance, homage, or duty which he might claim, or which they had hitherto yielded to him.

The war was carried on with various success for the greater part of the campaign, when the perfidy of Prince Maurice of Saxony gave a decided turn in favour of the emperor. His view was manifestly from the first the increase of his dominions, which were too small for his aspiring mind. With this view he had repaired to Ratisbon in the month of May, under pretext of attending the diet; and with the most mysterious secrecy concluded a treaty, in which he engaged to assist the emperor as a faithful subject; and Charles, in return, stipulated to bestow on him all the spoils of the elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories. (*Haræi Annal. Brabant*, vol. i, 638; *Struvii Corp.* 1048; *Thuan.* 84.) History hardly records any treaty that can be considered as a more manifest violation of the most powerful principles which ought to influence human actions. Maurice, a professed Protestant, at a time when the belief of religion, as well as zeal for its interests, took strong possession of every mind, binds himself to contribute his assistance toward carrying on a war which had manifestly no other object than the extirpation of the Protestant doctrines. He engages to take arms against his father-in-law, and to strip his nearest relation of his honours and dominions. He joins a dubious friend against a known benefactor, to whom his obligations were both great and recent. Nor was the prince who ventured upon all this one of those audacious politicians, who, provided they can accomplish their ends, and secure their interest, avowedly disregard the most sacred obligations, and glory in contemning whatever is honourable or decent. Maurice's conduct, if the whole must be ascribed to policy, was both artful and masterly; he executed his plan in all its parts, and yet endeavoured to preserve, in every step which he took, the appearance of what was fair, and virtuous, and laudable. It is probable, from his subsequent behaviour, that, with regard to the Protestant religion at least, his intentions were upright, that he fondly trusted to the emperor's promises for its security, but that, according to the fate of all who refine too much in policy, in attempting to deceive others he himself was in some degree deceived.

His first care, however, was to keep the engagements into which he had entered with the emperor, closely concealed: and so perfect a master was he in the art of dissimulation, that the confederates, notwithstanding his declining all connections with them, and his remarkable assiduity in paying court to the emperor, seemed to have entertained no suspicion of his designs. Even the elector of Saxony, when he marched at the beginning of the campaign to join his associates, committed his dominions to Maurice's protection, which he, with an insidious appearance of friendship, readily undertook. (*Struvii Corp.* 1046.) But scarcely had the elector taken the field, when Maurice began to consult privately with the king of the Romans how to invade those very territories, with the defence of which he was intrusted.—Soon after, the emperor sent him a copy of the imperial ban denounced against the elector and landgrave. As he was next heir to the former,

and particularly interested in preventing strangers from getting his dominions into their possession, Charles required him, not only for his own sake, but upon the allegiance and duty which he owed to the head of the empire, instantly to seize and detain in his hands the forfeited estates of the elector; warning him, at the same time, that if he neglected to obey these commands, he should be held as accessary to the crimes of his kinsman, and be liable to the same punishment.

This artifice, which it was probable Maurice himself suggested, afforded him a flimsy pretext for seizing the dominions of his friend and benefactor, which, with some sacrifices to appearance, he presently put in practice.

In the fatal battle of Mulhausen, the 24th of April, 1547, the elector of Saxony was taken prisoner. He was treated by the emperor with the utmost insolence; and contrary to the laws of the empire and the faith of treaties, was brought to a mock trial, not before the states of the empire, but before a court martial composed of Spanish and Italian officers. He was condemned to die by this unjust tribunal, and received the sentence with a magnanimity which can only be exhibited by those who are actuated by the principles of true religion. It was his earnest desire to submit to his fate, and preserve his dominions untouched for his posterity; but the tears and entreaties of his wife and family prevailed over this resolve, and he resigned his electoral dignity, to which was annexed the severe condition of remaining the emperor's prisoner for life. The perfidious Maurice was put in possession of his electoral dominions; though this sacrifice was not made without reluctance by the ambitious emperor.

The unfortunate landgrave, terrified by the fate of the elector, was induced to commit himself to the emperor's clemency; but he too found that, after the most ignominious submission, he was detained a prisoner contrary to the faith of the emperor, expressly pledged; and he and the degraded elector of Saxony were exhibited to the populace in all the journeys of the emperor, the melancholy witnesses and ornaments of his insolent triumph.

The unbounded ambition of the emperor, and the jealousy and resentment of the pope operated at this dangerous crisis for the preservation of the reformed religion in Germany. While both agreed that all religious disputes should be submitted to the general council, it was warmly debated where this council should sit, at Trent where it was originally convened, or at Bologna. When Charles found himself unable to overcome the obstinacy of the pope, he published that system of faith which is known by the name of the *Interim*, because it professed to contain only temporary regulations, till a free general council should be held; and he had influence enough with the diet, which was sitting at Augsburg, to obtain a kind of extorted or tacit consent that it should be received and enforced as a general system of faith throughout the German empire.

This system, which contained almost every article of the popish tenets expressed with studied ambiguity, proved equally disgusting to Papists and Protestants. While the Lutheran divines fiercely attacked it on the one hand, the general of the Dominicans with no less vehemence impugned it on the other. But at Rome, as soon as the con-

tents of the Interim came to be known, the indignation of the courtiers and ecclesiastics rose to the greatest height.

The pope, however, whose judgment was improved by longer experience in great transactions, as well as by a more extensive observation of human affairs, was astonished that a prince of such superior sagacity as the emperor should be so intoxicated with a single victory as to imagine that he might give law to mankind, and decide even in those matters with regard to which they are most impatient of dominion.

The emperor, on the other hand, fond of his own plan, adhered to his resolution of carrying it into full execution. But though the Elector Palatine, the Elector Brandenburg, and Maurice, seemed ready to yield implicit obedience to whatever he should enjoin, he met not every where with a like obsequious submission. John, marquis of Brandenburg Anspach, although he had taken part with great zeal in the war against the confederates of Smalkalde, refused to renounce doctrines which he held to be sacred; and, reminding the emperor of the repeated promises which he had given his Protestant allies, of allowing them the free exercise of their religion, he claimed, in consequence of these, to be exempted from receiving the Interim. Some other princes also ventured to mention the same scruples, and to plead the same indulgence. But on this, as on other trying occasions, the firmness of the elector of Saxony was most distinguished, and merited the highest praise. Charles, well knowing the authority of his example with all the Protestant party, laboured with the utmost earnestness to gain his approbation of the Interim, and attempted alternately to work upon his hopes and his fears. But he was alike regardless of both. After having declared his fixed belief in the doctrines of the Reformation, he refused to abandon the principles for which he had so long contended. By this magnanimous resolution, he set his countrymen a pattern of conduct, so very different from that which the emperor wished him to have exhibited to them, that it drew upon him fresh marks of his displeasure, and he was deprived of every consolation which could mitigate the rigours of a close and tedious confinement. (*Sleid.* 462.) The landgrave of Hesse, his companion in misfortune, did not maintain the same constancy, but wrote to the emperor, offering not only to approve of the Interim, but to yield an unreserved submission to his will in every other particular. Charles, however, who knew that whatever course the landgrave might hold, neither his example nor authority would prevail on his children or subjects to receive the Interim, paid no regard to his offers. He was kept confined as strictly as ever; and while he suffered the cruel mortification of having his conduct set in contrast with that of the elector, he derived not the smallest benefit from the mean step which exposed him to such deserved censure. (*Sleid.* 462.)

But it was from the free cities that Charles experienced the most violent opposition. He therefore proceeded, contrary to the laws of the German empire, to seize them by force, and to new model their constitutions. While these affairs were transacting, Paul III. expired at Rome, in 1549, and the Cardinal di Monte, who had been the confidential minister of Paul, was elected in his stead, and assumed the title of Julius III. With some difficulty this pontiff was prevailed upon by Charles to reassemble the council at Trent. But a different scene

now opened to the eyes of Europe. Maurice, who had formerly sacrificed so much to his inordinate ambition, became secretly jealous of the growing tyranny of the emperor; and, desirous of retaining the power which he himself had obtained, his first measure was to protest in the warmest terms against the council to be called at Trent, unless the subjects already examined there were redebated, and the Protestants allowed a deciding voice in the council. His next was to conclude a secret treaty with Henry II., of France, for the purpose of reducing the emperor; and, in the beginning of March, 1552, he declared war against that monarch, in support of the Protestant religion. Charles was soon ignominiously expelled from Germany; the council of Trent dissolved itself with consternation, and was not able to reassemble for the space of ten years.

After these events, so glorious to the Protestant cause, the peace of religion was concluded at Passau, on the 2d of August, 1552. By this treaty the landgrave was restored to liberty; the Interim was declared null and void; and both Protestants and Catholics were secured in the free exercise of their religion, until the meeting of a diet, which was to be summoned within six months, to determine amicably the present disputes. Maurice did not long survive to enjoy the fruits either of his newly acquired glory, or of his former treachery and usurpation. He was killed in the battle of Sieverhausen, fighting against Albert of Brandenburg, (who had not acceded to the peace of Passau,) on the 9th of June, 1553, in the 32d year of his age, and in the sixth after his attaining the electoral dignity. It is to be regretted that the degraded elector derived no advantage from this event. The states of Saxony, with that ingratitude and inconsistency which distinguishes the proceedings of every mob, preferred the claim of Augustus, the brother of Maurice, by the descendants of whom the electorate is still possessed.

It was nearly three years before the troubles of Germany would permit a diet to be assembled. In the year 1555, however, this famous and eagerly expected diet met at Augsburg, and was opened by Ferdinand, in the emperor's name; and after many debates and intrigues, a recess was at length framed and passed on the 25th of September, which completely confirmed the peace of religion. The following are the chief articles which this act of legislature contained:—That such princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the confession of Augsburg, shall be permitted to profess the doctrine and exercise the worship which it authorizes, without interruption or molestation from any power or person whatsoever; that the Protestants, on their part, shall give no disquiet to the princes and states who adhere to the tenets and rites of the Church of Rome; that, for the future, no attempt shall be made toward terminating religious differences, but by the gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference; that the popish ecclesiastics shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such states as receive the confession of Augsburg; that such as had seized the benefices or revenues of the Church previous to the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, and be liable to no prosecution in the imperial chamber on that account; that the supreme civil power in every state shall have a right to establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper, and, if any of its subjects refuse to conform to these, shall permit them to remove with all their effects whither-

soever they shall please; that if any prelate or ecclesiastic shall hereafter abandon the Romish religion, he shall instantly relinquish his diocess or benefice, and it shall be lawful for those in whom the right of nomination is vested, to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office were vacant by death or translation, and to appoint a successor of undoubted attachment to the ancient system. (*Sleid.* 620; *F. Paul* 368; *Pallav.* 11, 161.)

CHAPTER IV.

REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

Unexpectedly favoured by Henry VIII.—Wolsey favours the king's project for obtaining a divorce—The pope embarrassed between the English and Spanish factions—Cardinal Campeggio despatched to England—Cranmer's project—His elevation and the fall of Wolsey—Decisions in favour of the divorce—Henry forbids his subjects to receive bulls from Rome—Marries Anna Bullen—Proceedings of the parliament and convocation—The marriage with Catharine annulled—Displeasure of the emperor—The pope asserts the validity of Catharine's marriage—Henry resolves to reject the papal yoke, but treats the reformers with severity—Reformation favoured by the queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell—Translation of the Bible—Death of the queen—Entire suppression of the monasteries—Downfall and death of Cromwell—Opposition to the new translation of the Bible—Translation of the prayers—Death of Henry—Edward VI., with the protector, favours the Reformation—Opposed by Bonner, Gardiner, and the Princess Mary—Marriages of the clergy declared legal—Liturgy confirmed—Death of Edward VI.—Mary opposes the Reformation—Restoration of the ancient rites—Degradation of Cranmer—Treaty between Mary and the pope—Marriage of Mary with the prince of Spain—Proceedings against the reformers—Death of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer—Death of Mary—Completion of the Reformation under Elizabeth.

WHILE the Reformation in Germany was evidently conducted by the aid of Heaven, the glorious flame was kindled in England and extended under the same Divine influence. For though the commencement of it has been referred to the measures of Henry VIII., yet it certainly never obtained his full concurrence, and a persecution of the reformed opinions marked almost every period of his reign. Educated by his father, Henry VII., with uncommon care, the literary attainments of this monarch exceeded those of the generality of princes; and the scholastic divinity, so congenial to his vain and contentious temper, was prosecuted by him with unremitting industry. Thomas Aquinas became his favourite author, and the contempt with which Luther treated the dogmas of this writer, excited in Henry the warmest indignation and abhorrence. Impelled by resentment, he published a treatise upon the *seven sacraments*, in reply to the book concerning the Babylonish captivity, written by Luther.* This work was admired by the multitude, extolled by the courtiers, and spoken of by the pope in full consistory, in terms only suited to the productions of immediate inspiration; and the zeal of the monarch was rewarded by the descendant of St. Peter, with the title (still enjoyed by his successors) of *Defender of the Faith.*

* This work was published in Henry's name, but it is now believed with confidence to have been written *for him*, by another hand.

A perfect agreement among the most formidable opponents of Luther was however prevented by various circumstances. Both public and private interest induced Henry to oppose the designs of the emperor, Charles V.; and the offence he had given to his favourite, Cardinal Wolsey, in opposing his views to the papacy, contributed to the declaration of the monarch in favour of the antagonists of Charles. It is probable that the hatred and resentment of the cardinal toward the house of Spain contributed, in no inconsiderable degree, to his ready concurrence in the real or fictitious scruples of Henry, against farther cohabitation with his wife, Catharine of Arragon, the widow of his deceased brother. The greater part of the bishops obediently acquiesced in the project of the king and his favourite for obtaining a divorce, and all, except the bishop of Rochester, declared their opinions against the legality of the marriage, though it had received the sanction of a papal dispensation. Wolsey flattered the king with speedily obtaining a favourable decision from the court of Rome; and, had no other interest intervened, it is probable, from the facility with which all dispensations from that court were procured, that Henry would not have been disappointed. But the pope, though under obligations to Henry, was in the power of the emperor. The reiterated entreaties and presents of Wolsey at length obtained the appointment of Cardinal Campeggio as legate, who was invested with powers to examine and afterward to annul the marriage; and to this commission was added the authority for indulging Cardinal Wolsey in his long-meditated scheme of appropriating the revenues of several monasteries to the support of colleges, bishoprics, and cathedral churches.

Previous to the arrival of the legate, the queen had engaged the assistance of the emperor, her nephew, in her cause. The English and imperial factions at Rome sedulously endeavoured to obtain a decision favourable to the views of their respective courts; and the embarrassed pontiff, to avoid giving positive offence to either party, despatched orders to Campeggio to protract the decision. The legate secretly favoured the party of the emperor, and contrived delays little adapted to the desires of the king, who was violently enamoured with the beautiful and accomplished Anna Bullen, whom he ardently wished to espouse. Every artifice and intrigue which could be suggested by policy were employed to procure a decretal bull annulling the marriage; but the pope was inflexible, and it was not till after repeated delays that the legate began the process in England. The unhappy Catharine refused to defend her cause in a court in which she was certainly prejudged, and appealed to the pope, who, by the influence of the emperor, cited Henry to appear at Rome: but this summons the monarch absolutely refused.

Extremely irritated by the protraction of his suit, Henry became disgusted with Cardinal Wolsey for not having accomplished the business of the divorce. In this situation of affairs, a project was proposed by Dr. Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, that the king should engage the principal European divines, and the universities, to examine the legality of his marriage; and if they, from the evidence of Scripture, pronounced it unlawful, that he should then declare the marriage null, as the dispensation of the pope could not be sufficient to abrogate the law of God. This measure introduced Cranmer into the

confidence of the king, and his elevation kept pace with the falling fortunes of Wolsey. The decisions of those to whom the cause of the king was referred were in favour of a divorce: but the pope refused a ratification of their sentence; and Henry, disgusted with his conduct, prohibited any person within his dominions from publishing a bull contrary to his own authority. The decision of the divines was confirmed by the parliament and the convocation; and every thing foreboded a rupture with Rome.

A protracted courtship had not abated the affections of the king, and he married Anna Bullen. He was again cited to appear at Rome, but his agents protested against the jurisdiction of the pope. In 1533, the parliament again met, and an act passed by which it was determined that no appeal should be made to the court of Rome, nor any respect paid to its censures. The convocation proceeded concerning the king's union with Catharine, which was declared unlawful; and Cranmer, who had, though contrary to his wish, been appointed archbishop of Canterbury,* pronounced a divorce which annulled the marriage of Henry with his former queen. Anna Bullen was immediately invested with the crown, and made a public procession through the city. The emperor was extremely incensed by these measures; and the king of France, though he had previously engaged to mediate with the pope in favour of Henry, and even to institute a patriarch in France in opposition to the see of Rome, yet appeared little disposed to involve himself in disputes with that court. The pope, however, alarmed at the probability of losing England, promised Henry that upon his return to spiritual obedience he would still decide in his favour. Henry readily acceded to the terms, and despatched an envoy to Rome, who, from the delays he encountered in his journey, did not arrive there in the appointed time, and the imperial faction represented his non-appearance as contumacy on the part of Henry, who was punished by a papal decree which ratified the decision of the consistory, that the marriage between the king and Catharine was perfectly valid, and he was required to live with her as his lawful wife. This determined Henry to shake off the papal yoke. The arguments concerning the supremacy were fully discussed, and it was determined, both by the parliament and convocation, that the pope possessed no power in England, and that the authority of the king extended to the regulation not only of civil, but of ecclesiastical concerns. The succession to the throne was settled upon the issue of his present marriage, or, in default of that, on the king's right heirs for ever, and sworn to by nearly all the clergy, regular and secular. In the ensuing session of 1534 an act passed, declaring the king *the supreme head, on earth, of the Church of England*, and all heresies and abuses in the spiritual jurisdiction were referred to him and his heirs, to be openly tried. The revenues formerly exacted by the popes were assigned to the crown.

The preachers of reformation had been little molested during the ministry of Wolsey. The German reformers had despatched to them a considerable number of books, which exposed the errors and absurdities of the Romish Church, and were secretly but extensively circu-

* The papal *bulls* confirming this appointment amounted to eleven, each of which had a certain price affixed; one of the common stratagems for filling the pontifical coffers.

lated. The principal performance they received was a translation of the Bible. On the appointment of Sir Thomas More to the chancellorship, the king was however persuaded to treat the reformers with severity, as the most infallible method to conciliate the favour of the Romish see. The laws against them were accordingly rigorously enforced, and numbers were burned at the stake. These persecutions were however checked by an act which regulated the proceedings against heretics, and by the necessity in which the king was involved, in order to embarrass the operations of the emperor, and to prevent his directing his arms against England.

A convocation was held in 1536, in which, after several vehement disputes, Cranmer obtained permission from the king to have the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue, and within a short time the impression was completed. This brilliant dawn preceded however a tempestuous day. The versatile Henry had again changed the object of his affections, whose influence over his mind had probably occasioned the readiness with which he entered into schemes calculated to produce effects to which he was in reality adverse: and the enemies of the Reformation took advantage of the change in the king's mind, to ruin Anna Bullen, whose unhappy death considerably retarded the progress of the reformed doctrines.

The translation of the Bible was completed in 1537, and Cromwell had the address to obtain an order from the king that it should be permitted to be read by all his subjects. There was however no abatement of zeal against the heretics in the mind of Henry, and his hatred toward them was increased by the exhortations of the bigoted Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who represented that severity against them was not only in itself proper and salutary, but extremely well adapted to conciliate the good opinion of the people. The influence of Cranmer with the king had for some time been declining; but Cromwell, who still preserved his place in the confidence of Henry, and who was equally solicitious in the cause of reformation, determined to engage the monarch in such an alliance with the princes of Germany, as should secure the promotion of their views.

In 1539 the total dissolution of the monasteries was effected; but Cromwell's activity in their suppression, and his ardour for the doctrines of reformation, had rendered him extremely unpopular; and his elevation from the station of an obscure individual to the enjoyment of the highest honours of the state made him extremely obnoxious to the nobility. The attachment of the king to Catharine Howard afforded the duke of Norfolk, her uncle, an opportunity of effecting the ruin of a man whose birth he despised, whose sentiments he abhorred, and whose elevation he envied. The clergy had suffered too much from the exposure and censures of Cromwell, not to concur in any measure which might accelerate his fall. He was accordingly attainted of high treason, and lost his life on the block. The death of Cromwell for some time impeded the progress of the doctrines of the Reformation, and the king was engaged in a renewal of severities against the reformed party.

The full use of the translation of the Bible was not yet allowed, and in the year 1543, an act passed, which prohibited the inferior orders of the people from possessing a Bible. The spirits of the reformers

were revived in the ensuing year by an order from the king, for translating into English the prayers, processions, and litanies, which they flattered themselves would be succeeded by a full translation of all the different liturgies. Henry however lived not farther to prosecute the work of reformation, or any other work; but died on the 27th of January, in the year 1547. He left all parties dissatisfied with his conduct. His system of reformation was not calculated to satisfy the minds of either. He had proceeded too far not to offend the one, but stopped very short of what would have gratified the other; and to both he was equally the object of distrust and of fear.

The first step respecting the Reformation which was publicly taken after the accession of Edward VI., his son and successor, was in consequence of the marked disapprobation which was frequently shown to images. Several were forcibly taken down from the churches; and Seymour, duke of Somerset, who had been invested with the title of protector during the minority of the king, justified the measure, but prudently censured the violent and disorderly mode in which it had been performed. The deceased monarch, by the suppression of the monasteries, had without reluctance deprived the dead of the masses which had already been paid for, and which were supposed to effect their deliverance from purgatorial pains; but this was during the enjoyment of health, and in the prospect of an extended life. That superstition which has been early implanted in the mind is, however, apt to recur whenever the mind, from any cause, becomes weakened; and Henry conferred a rich endowment upon the church of Windsor for the reciting of masses upon his account. This splendid donation was not however, without effects, of the benefit of which the reformers largely partook: it introduced an inquiry into the utility of soul masses and obits, which was extremely favourable to the cause of reformation.

In the first parliament of Edward an act passed for receiving the communion in both kinds; and the convocation which sat at the same time determined in favour of the legality of marriages contracted by any of the sacerdotal order. In the year 1548 an order was issued for the suppression of several ceremonies, and to this an injunction ensued for the removal of all images from the churches; and all shrines, together with the plate, were appropriated to the use of the king.

In the year 1549 an act passed, legalizing the marriages of the clergy, and another confirming the liturgy. Cranmer, having obtained these concessions, endeavoured still farther to extend the reformed opinions respecting the nature of the Lord's Supper. In 1550 a new form of ordination was prepared, and confirmed under the great seal; the prayers to the saints were erased from the ancient rituals, and the clergy ceased to oppose the progress of alteration. From the different changes which had arisen in ecclesiastical promotions, the bishops were in general extremely well affected to the Reformation; and it was therefore agreed to proceed to a settlement of the articles of religion. The brilliancy of the prospect they had now attained was, however, soon obscured, and the premature death of the virtuous young king impeded the establishment of the Reformation.

Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII., and of Catharine of Arragon, ascended the throne with a fixed determination to introduce popery, and would precipitately have abolished every vestige of the Reforma-

tion, had not the persuasions and advice of her counsellors, and principally of Gardiner, whom she had promoted to the office of chancellor, induced her to effect her measures by gradual means. Bonner, whose violence had occasioned his expulsion from the bishopric of London during the former reign, was soon reinstated in his see; but some oblique reflections against the memory of the deceased monarch, thrown out in a sermon, by Bourn, one of the bishop's chaplains, occasioned a violent ferment among the populace. This tumult afforded a pretext for new measures, and a prohibition was issued to prevent the preaching of any but such as could obtain a license from the bigoted chancellor. Images and the ancient rights began soon to reappear; the Roman Catholics were encouraged and promoted, and the reformers, as much as possible, excluded from all offices of power and trust. These measures were too unjust and violent not to excite the indignation of Cranmer, who, with the benevolent and virtuous Latimer, bishop of Worcester, and several others, was imprisoned in the Tower. A parliament was speedily summoned, from which many of the friends of reformation were either artfully or violently excluded, and an act passed for repealing all the laws relative to religion enacted during the former reign. Cranmer was degraded from the see of Canterbury, and attainted of high treason.

These events, so distressing to the reformers, were succeeded by the intelligence, which soon began to transpire, of the treaty between Mary and the pope. On her accession to the throne a messenger had been secretly despatched to her from his holiness, to persuade her to a reconciliation with the apostolic see. Mary was perfectly disposed to the measure, and assured him of her firm intention to return to the obedience required; but was too sensible of the obstruction which might arise to her affairs by the premature declaration of such an intention, not to oblige the messenger to secrecy. The submission of the queen was gratefully received by the court of Rome. A public rejoicing of three days succeeded the intelligence, during which the pope officiated at the mass in person, and made a liberal distribution of indulgences to the people. Cardinal Pole was appointed in the quality of legate to negotiate the affair in England; but his journey was deferred at the express desire of the queen, who found that the restoration of the papal power, and the union with the prince of Spain, which was then negotiating, were steps too adventurous to be undertaken at the same time.

The marriage of Mary with the prince of Spain was a measure so extremely unpopular that insurrections took place in several parts of the kingdom. They were, however, soon quelled; but produced the general effects of an ill-concerted opposition to a weak government; the friends of the queen were elated and her enemies depressed. Nor was this the only advantage they produced: a pretext was by this means afforded for the removal of suspected or disaffected persons, and the reformed party were charged, though without any sufficient proof, of being the authors of the revolt. Injunctions were issued to the bishops to enforce the ecclesiastical laws which existed during the reign of Henry VIII. They were farther required to suppress all heresy and heretics, and to dismiss all married clergymen from their appointments. This was succeeded by an order for the expulsion of

seven of the reformed bishops, under the pretext either of their marriage, or their opposition to the *universal Church*. Several others of the bishops fled; the remainder had too ardent aspirations for preferment to oppose the views of the court; and the introduction of sixteen new bishops, to replace those who had voluntarily or forcibly been expelled from their sees, composed a bench little disposed to counteract the designs of the queen.

A cruel persecution soon after took place, and several eminent persons were condemned to the stake. These cruel executions had their customary effects; they united the interests of the persecuted party, and excited the censures of the moderate. Gardiner, alarmed for the consequences, resigned the management of these affairs to the fierce and sanguinary Bonner. Every circumstance of aggravated cruelty was inflicted upon the unhappy victims, and humanity recoils from the relation of their sufferings. The zealous queen restored to the clergy all the lands of which they had been deprived by her predecessors, and animated Bonner in his efforts for the extirpation of heresy. The bigotry and austerity of Mary had been increased by her adoption of Spanish counsels, and her natural peevishness was increased by her losing all hopes of producing a successor to the crown, and by the desertion of her husband, the unworthy Philip. The only alleviation of which her melancholy appeared susceptible, arose from the destruction of the reformed party, and the restoration of several of the religious houses. Sixty-seven of the reformers suffered in the year 1555, at the stake, among whom was the virtuous Ridley, and the aged Latimer, whose primitive simplicity of character was a tacit reproach upon the luxury and false refinements of the Romish clergy.

The ruin of the chief of the reformed party in England had been previously resolved, yet the life of the illustrious Cranmer was spared till the year 1556. The utmost ingenuity of malice was employed to ridicule and increase the sufferings under which he laboured; and the credit in which he stood with the reformed party both at home and abroad made his opponents extremely desirous to procure a change in his opinions. For this purpose every effort was employed to produce a recantation of his sentiments; and, unfortunately for the peace of that short portion of life which remained to him, Cranmer, in a fit of weakness or of terror, signed his abjuration of the new opinions. The inhuman queen had, however, determined upon his destruction, but the knowledge of her intentions was concealed from the destined victim. Cranmer, however, immediately repented, with great anguish of mind, of the compliance into which he had been betrayed, and composed a confession of faith according to the real dictates of his conscience. He was condemned to the stake; and when taken from his prison to the church, previous to his execution, he discovered the utmost agitation, and expressed extreme remorse for having in a weak and unguarded moment been tempted to relinquish those principles for which he was willing to sacrifice his life. He was desirous to proceed in his exhortations to the people; but he was hurried to the stake, where he endured his severe sufferings with unshaken constancy, and appeared particularly desirous to expiate his fault by voluntarily exposing his right hand to the flames till it dropped off, repeatedly exclaiming, "This unworthy hand!"

Thus perished the distinguished leader of the English reformation, whose virtues and talents would have conferred dignity on a less important cause. His death was the prelude to several others. Seventy-nine unhappy sufferers expiated the crime of heresy at the stake in 1557, and several more in the following year; great numbers died in prison; and the collective number of those who perished for the faith during these unhappy transactions amounted to above six hundred persons, of whom five were bishops, and twenty-one ministers. The graves were even summoned to surrender the guilty dead. Martin Bucer, and Fagius, two German divines who had been invited into England by Edward VI., were cited to appear and give an account of their faith; but as they had been interred some years before, they did not appear, and this *contumacy* was punished by their bodies being taken up, hanged, and then consumed to ashes!

The death of Mary, in 1558, was received with despondence by the papal party, and with equal joy by the friends to reformation. The opinions of Elizabeth, her successor, respecting religion were well known: her legitimacy, and consequently her claim to the throne depended upon the invalidity of her father's marriage with Catharine of Arragon; she was therefore both from political and religious motives an enemy to the papal power, and attached to the Reformation. One of the first measures taken by Elizabeth was to notify her accession to the foreign courts, and among others to that of Rome. The pope, however, received her ambassadors with great haughtiness, and refused to acknowledge her title to the throne upon any other terms than a submission to the apostolic see. To that authority the queen was on every account determined not to submit, and it was resolved by her council that she should take the advice of parliament concerning the measures which might be most efficacious for opposing his influence against her in foreign courts.

Every measure pursued by the new queen predicted the destruction of the papal party. Public disputations on the controverted points were once more commanded, and probably were terminated in their usual way, leaving each party rather confirmed than altered in their original opinion. The book of Common Prayer was again revised, and introduced into the churches; and the abbey lands, restored by Mary, were again resumed by the crown. The oath respecting the queen's supremacy was, however, rejected by many of the bishops; but the greater part of them remained quietly in England after the deprivation of their sees; and the character of Elizabeth derives one of its brightest rays from the policy or the clemency with which she permitted the unmolested departure of all who desired leave to retire into other countries, and the moderation with which all abuses were suppressed, and all alterations introduced. The Bible underwent another translation, which was completed in three years: and the doctrines of the Reformation were declared those of the English Church. The reformed party in Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, were powerfully assisted by Elizabeth, who was left at sufficient leisure to attend to their concerns by the submission with which the English Catholics received all the innovations she introduced. Her lenity, though in fact only the dictate of justice, yet, contrasted with the violence of her predecessor, demanded their gratitude. The monks who had been

dispossessed of their monasteries had been assigned pensions, which were to be paid by the possessors of the forfeited lands. These payments were, however, neglected; and this unhappy fraternity, who had been educated in solitude and ignorance, were starving in old age, disregarded by the Protestants, and too numerous to find relief from those of their own persuasion. In this exigency their wants were relieved by Elizabeth: she commanded that their pensions should be paid with punctuality and justice, and satisfaction be made for all arrears unjustly detained

The dependence of so considerable a country as England upon the see of Rome was a circumstance too flattering to the vanity, and too gratifying to the avarice of that court, to be easily relinquished. Pius IV., therefore, no sooner ascended the papal chair, than, condemning the arrogance of his predecessor, he made several overtures for a reconciliation with Elizabeth, and proposed to concede to the English the ritual they approved, and the use of the communion in both kinds, on condition that the queen should acknowledge her subjection to the Roman see. This she refused. His successor, Pius V., was much less moderate, and is accused of having instigated several attempts against the life of Elizabeth. These, and the designs of the king of Spain to invade her dominions, together with the endeavours made use of by the Catholic priests to seduce her subjects from their allegiance, form some excuse for the departure of the queen from those sentiments of moderation which had distinguished and illumined the commencement of her reign. It is with regret that posterity will view this change from mildness to severity toward her opponents in religion. Though induced to it by strong provocations, her course in several instances can never be justified.

CHAPTER V.

REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND, IRELAND, THE LOW COUNTRIES, ETC.

Doctrines received in the reign of James V. persecuted—Hamilton, Seton, and Forest—Cardinal Beaton—Court of inquisition—Persecution—Murder of the cardinal—John Knox—Regent surrenders his power—First Covenant—Duplicity of the queen dowager—Reformation established at Perth—Second Covenant—Perfidy of the queen dowager—Hostilities—Third Covenant—Contests with the queen dowager—Expulsion of the regent—Perplexities—Fourth Covenant—Death of the queen dowager—Peace proclaimed—Completion of the Reformation—State of Ireland, Holland, Italy, Spain, and France.

The opinions which had been propagated by Luther in Germany, were soon extended to Scotland, which in common with the other nations in Europe had long groaned under the papal yoke. The Reformation doctrines were received by considerable numbers in that country during the reign of James V., and political causes contributed to their extension. This monarch wished to humble the nobility, and for this purpose sought the support of the clergy; and the nobles, who envied the power of the sacerdotal order, were, in opposition to the crown, additionally disposed to give their weight to the people. The new opinions were therefore favourably received by many persons of superior rank, by some of whom they had been imbibed in Germany, and were perse-

cuted by James and the clergy with implacable fury. Patrick Hamilton, the young and virtuous abbot of Ferne, was executed at the stake for his attachment to the reformed doctrines. They were recommended, however, by Seton, the king's confessor, who saved his life by a precipitate flight. A Benedictine friar of the name of Forest was in the year 1533 detected in the crime of defending the opinions of Hamilton, and the belief of his heresy was confirmed by an English Bible which was found in his possession; and for these misdemeanors he was, after public trial, condemned to the flames. His death was succeeded by that of several others for a similar offence.

Among the most active opposers of reformation in Scotland was the crafty and profligate Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews.—Perceiving that confiscations and imprisonment had little effect in suppressing the reformed doctrines, the cardinal, in conjunction with the other clergy, persuaded James to institute an inquisitorial court; and the sanguinary Hamilton, brother to the earl of Arran, was appointed president, with the power of summoning to his tribunal all who were suspected of heresy. The powers of this detestable engine of tyranny were however almost immediately suspended by an accusation of high treason being preferred against the president; and after his execution the project died away. Soon after this James ended his days, and the earl of Arran was appointed regent.

Beaton, who, under the title of lord chancellor, swayed the councils of the Scotch, openly opposed an alliance with England, and favoured all the views of the queen dowager, who in her turn implicitly submitted to the directions of her brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Guise. This political confederacy had an immediate tendency to check the progress of reformation. The preachers whom the regent had invited to impugn the doctrines of the Church were discharged; several zealous adherents to the Reformation were driven into England, and an act passed for rigorous proceedings against the heretics. The cardinal, who had obtained from the pope the dignity of legate *a latere*, made a visitation in great form through the diocess. This was the signal of persecution. Great numbers suffered, among whom was the learned, the candid, the virtuous George Wishart, who, after a precipitate trial, was adjudged to the flames. The cardinal and the court beheld with triumph the cruel death of the unhappy sufferers. The clergy poured in their congratulations, but the people, disgusted with the immoderate power which had been assumed, were soon induced to join in a conspiracy against the haughty and exulting cardinal. With Norman Lesley, the eldest son of the earl of Rothes, at their head, they entered the castle of St. Andrews and murdered him. The conspirators immediately despatched messengers to solicit the assistance of Henry VIII., who hastened to collect troops; while the regent applied for succours to the French. During these transactions the regent attacked the castle of St. Andrews, which had been fortified by the conspirators; his attempt was, however, without success; the besieged received, by sea, assistance from England, and the favourers of the Reformation daily increased. The celebrated John Knox entered the castle, and with the other preachers, under the protection of the conspirators, preached the reformed doctrines with a freedom of language before unknown.

A navy despatched from France enabled the regent to vanquish the conspirators, who were carried into France, and used with cruelty in defiance of a particular treaty; some were confined in prison, and others, among whom was John Knox, sent to the galleys. During the succeeding contests in Scotland between the English, the French, and the Scotch, a relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline prevailed, which was favourable to the cause of reformation. No sooner, however, was a peace declared, than the regent, now left at leisure to attend to the affairs of the Church, punished Adam Wallace for heresy; and an act passed for forfeiting to the crown the moveable goods of all excommunicated persons. The severity of the regent toward the reformers was sensibly felt in a circuit which he made through the kingdom in company with the queen dowager.

He had fully entered into the projects of the house of Guise for promoting a union between the young queen and the dauphin of France, and his acquiescence had been procured, or rewarded by the title of duke of Chatelherault. His conduct had, however, rendered him obnoxious to every party, and every rank, who beheld with pleasure the surrender of his power into the hands of the queen dowager, who was invested with the regency in the year 1553. Five years afterward the young queen was married to the dauphin.

The reformed party received a considerable accession, at this period, from the English fugitives, who, alarmed at the accession of Mary to the English throne, took refuge in Scotland. Knox, who had returned from France, made a circuit through Scotland, preaching in energetic terms the doctrines of the Reformation. He was entertained in his progress by several of the nobility and gentry, who partook with him in the ordinances of religion after the reformed method. Religious assemblies were held in defiance of the Church, and celebrated preachers were solicited to officiate in particular districts and towns. Knox was cited to appear before the clergy at Edinburgh, and went there, accompanied by a number of gentlemen who were interested in his cause. They, however, did not proceed in his prosecution, and the zealous reformer courageously inculcated his doctrines in the capital of the kingdom. His arguments and his energy occasioned a great accession to his cause, among whom was the Lord Marishal, who, conjointly with the earl of Glencairn, persuaded Knox to address the queen regent upon the subject of the Reformation, by whom, however, his letter was received with disdain. During these transactions he received an invitation to take charge of the English Church at Geneva. The clergy, after his departure, cited him to appear before them, and after condemning him as a heretic, ordered him to be burned in effigy.

The measures pursued against Knox prevented not the exertions of other preachers. Councils and conventions of the Protestants were regularly held, the ardour of the populace was inflamed, and the priests were treated with indecent ridicule. Images, crucifixes, and relics were stolen from the churches; and the efforts of the bishops and the queen were insufficient to prevent the repetition of the meetings and measures of the reformed party. They were supported by several noblemen, and by degrees they assumed a less irregular form, and added policy and address to their zeal and arguments. Animated by the letters of Knox, they formally subscribed an agreement entitled

The First Covenant, in which they solemnly rejected the superstitions and idolatry of the Romish Church, and devoted their lives and fortunes to the support of their cause.

Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, whose inclinations were naturally pacific, was incited by the failure of his endeavours to effect the downfall of the new opinions by gentleness, to recur to violence. The venerable Walter Mill was the first victim of this persecution; and the people, exasperated to fury by the execution of this martyr to the faith entered into public subscriptions for mutual defence, and their vehemence was encouraged by the leaders of the Protestant party. Reformation was loudly demanded on every hand, and the chiefs of the party presented a supplication to the queen dowager, in which they stated their grievances, enlarged upon their moderation, and besought the restoration of Christianity in its original purity. The queen dowager was embarrassed with these demands, which, in the present factious state of the kingdom, it was equally dangerous to oppose or encourage. She therefore adopted an indecisive conduct, and while she allowed the Protestants the use of the prayers and religious exercises in the vulgar tongue, requested that they would hold no public assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith.

At length the artifices of the queen regent toward the Reformation were fully manifested. Every honour was conferred upon the popish party, and every indignity offered to the members of the congregation. The queen regent fully threw off the mask of moderation, but she was soon mortified by the information that the Reformation was established at Perth. In vain she enjoined the suppression of these novelties, or the apprehension of one of the preachers with whom she was particularly offended; and in vain did she issue her commands for the ancient observation of Easter. Citations were issued to the preachers to appear at Stirling: they advanced attended by their Protestant friends; and the queen, struck with their unanimity, and dreading their power, entreated that their march might be stopped, and promised to drop the proceedings against them. Allured by this promise, the preachers failed to appear at Stirling on the day of citation, and were declared rebels, and all persons were prohibited from affording them comfort and assistance. This violation of faith produced distrust and terror of the civil power in every rank, and the reformers were urged to the most desperate extremities.

In this situation of affairs, Knox arrived in Scotland; he ascended the pulpit at Perth, forcibly and eloquently exposed the errors of the Church; and the populace, animated by his discourses, eagerly proceeded to destroy all the objects of idolatrous worship. After repeated negotiations a treaty was signed between the contending parties, in which, among other articles, it was agreed, on the part of the queen, that no persecutions on the reformed party should be undertaken, and that reformation should be finally established in the approaching assembly of the three states. The Protestant party strengthened their mutual attachment by engaging, before their separation, in a new association, which was termed the *Second Covenant*.

The troops of the congregation* were scarcely dispersed, before the

* *Congregation* was a name assumed by the Scotch Protestants.

queen regent violated the articles of the treaty, and seized the town of Perth. The earl of Argyle and Lord James Stuart, who had negotiated the treaty under the authority of the queen, withdrew their allegiance and joined the Protestant party. The minds of the people were inflamed still farther by the exhortations of the preachers, and particularly of Knox. Wherever he addressed the populace, they were animated with extreme fury, the monuments of idolatry were demolished, and the preacher, boldly obtaining the possession of the pulpit of St Andrews, exhorted his disciples to action against the enemies of the Church of Christ; the churches were instantly divested of their grandeur, and the monasteries levelled with the ground.

Each party immediately prepared for action, but intimidated by the formidable appearance of the congregation troops and the apprehension of a mutiny among the soldiers, the queen instructed the duke of Chatelherault, who led the Scottish soldiers, to treat for a peace. The congregation, allured by the promises of the queen, again agreed to a truce, and were again deluded. They retook Perth, burned the abbey and palace of Scone, and ravaged Stirling.

The congregation next proceeded to Edinburgh, whence the regent precipitately retreated to Dunbar. After repeated negotiations she returned; the congregation then retreated in their turn, and a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated that her palace and the instruments of coinage should be restored, and that the Protestants should abstain from violence, and the regent agreed to suffer the free profession of the reformed religion among all her subjects, and that no Scotch or French mercenaries should be stationed in the town. Still, however, doubtful of the faith of the regent, they entered into a still closer agreement, which they denominated the *Third Covenant*. Their union was indeed a measure of much importance; the most pertinacious obstinacy was shown by the regent for the cause of the Romish Church; and the appearance of a considerable body of French troops, which had been sent by Francis and Mary, who had ascended the French throne, to her assistance, excited a general alarm. The duke of Chatelherault and the earl of Arran, his son, joined the congregation. Mutual manifestoes were circulated, and the congregation again marched to Edinburgh: the regent returned to the protection of the French troops stationed at Leith, which she had fortified, and the nobles of the reformed party expostulated with her upon this fortification, and her unconstitutional introduction of foreign troops. The queen refused to destroy the fortifications, or to disband the troops, and commanded the lords to leave Edinburgh. This insult toward the natural counsellors and legislators of the realm produced an edict from the nobility, barons, and burgesses, which removed the regent from the administration of government.

The confederated nobles now attempted to enter Leith, but were repulsed; and their affairs, from the intrigues of the queen dowager and the want of money, fell into much perplexity. They besought aid from England, but the sum required fell into the hands of the queen's party. They were harassed by the French troops, many silently withdrew, others fled with precipitation, and the associated nobles in a panic abandoned the capital and fled to Stirling. They were animated to hope by the exhortations of Knox, and it was determined to solicit the

aid of Elizabeth of England, who, exasperated on many accounts against the court of France, promised her assistance.

Upon the dispersion of the confederated lords, the queen dowager took possession of Edinburgh, and restored there the service of the Church of Rome. She solicited fresh assistance from the court of France, and determined to destroy the congregation before the arrival of the English succours. Her first attempts were successful, but the progress of her troops was impeded by the intrepidity and sagacity of Lord James Stuart, though with a very inferior army. He was at length compelled to retire; the French army proceeded to St. Andrews, but in the moment of elation were surprised with the arrival of the English troops. The French precipitately retired to Leith. The queen dowager was still more bitterly disappointed by the failure of her expectations from France; her party dwindled, and those of the Scottish nobles who affected neutrality meditated a union with the Protestants. The Scots were called upon to assemble in arms, and expel the French. The English troops joined the congregation. The queen dowager in this extremity retired to Edinburgh castle, accompanied by a few domestics. There she received a letter from the congregation, expressive of their respect, justifying their measures, and requiring the queen once more to dismiss the mercenary troops with their officers and captains. The queen evaded a direct answer. The congregation proceeded to Leith, and several fell on both sides without a decisive victory. The grand object for which the congregation contended was brought more fully into the public view by the *Fourth Covenant*, which was entered into by the whole party with peculiar solemnity. They agreed to expel from the realm all foreigners as oppressors of public liberty, and professed their desire to live under due obedience to their king and queen, and be ruled by the laws of their country, and by officers born and educated among them. The queen dowager received the intelligence of this association with extreme sorrow, which was augmented by the continual distresses which attended her troops at Leith; and, wasted by grief and disease, she expired in the castle of Edinburgh.

The situation of France required an exemption from foreign wars, but Francis and Mary conceived it derogatory to their dignity to treat with the congregation, and applied to Elizabeth to effect a reconciliation with the confederated lords. The commissioners to Elizabeth were empowered, conjointly with the commissioners of that queen, to hear and to relieve the complaints of the congregation. The congregation, on their part, appointed commissioners to state their grievances and specify their demands. The English and French plenipotentiaries drew up a deed, in which several points relating to civil liberty were gained to the people, and it was determined to establish a full act of oblivion. The subject of the Reformation was referred to the ensuing meeting of parliament. Peace was proclaimed, and preachers appointed to teach regularly in the principal towns of the kingdom.

Upon the meeting of parliament, the Protestants presented their confession of faith, which was publicly read, and the Romish divines were commanded to state their objections. None were made, and the parliament examined and ratified the confession which had been presented. An act against the mass soon ensued; the authority of the pope was

annulled; and nothing remained to the Protestant party but to obtain the ratification of these transactions from Francis and Mary. This was however refused, but the parliament protected its own acts, and popery was completely destroyed in Scotland. The death of Francis removed the most formidable enemy to their measures, and the Scottish Church soon assumed a regular and permanent form.

The cause of the Reformation underwent in Ireland the same vicissitudes and revolutions which had attended it in England. When Henry VIII., after the abolition of the papal authority, was declared supreme head, upon earth, of the Church of England, George Brown, a native of England, and a monk of the Augustine order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of Dublin, began to act with the utmost vigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocess from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relics, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and by the influence as well as authority which he possessed in Ireland, caused the king's supremacy to be acknowledged in that nation. Henry demonstrated, soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents.—In the reign of Edward VI., still farther progress was made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labours of Archbishop Brown, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the Reformation. But the death of this excellent Prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of things in Ireland, as it had already done in England. The reign of Elizabeth, however, gave a new and deadly blow to popery, which was again recovering its force, and arming itself once more with the authority of the throne; and the Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in England.

The reformation had not long been established in Britain, when the Belgic provinces, united by a respectable confederacy, which still subsists, withdrew their spiritual allegiance to the pope. Philip II., king of Spain, apprehending the danger to which the religion of Rome was exposed from that spirit of liberty and independence which prevailed among the inhabitants of the Low Countries, adopted the most violent measures to dispel it. For this purpose he augmented the number of the bishops, enacted the most severe laws against all innovations in matters of religion, and erected that diabolical tribunal of the inquisition. But his measures, in this respect, were as unsuccessful as they were absurd; his furious and intemperate zeal for the superstitions of Rome accelerated their destruction, and the papal authority, which had only been in a critical state, was reduced to desperation, by the very steps which were designed to support it. The nobility formed themselves into an association, in the year 1566, with a view to procure the repeal of these tyrannical and barbarous edicts; but their solicitations and requests being treated with contempt, they resolved to obtain by force what they hoped to have gained from clemency and justice.—They addressed themselves to a free and an oppressed people, spurned his abused authority, and, with an impetuosity and vehemence which were perhaps excessive, trampled upon whatever was held sacred or respectable by the Church of Rome. To quell these tumults, a power-

ful army was sent from Spain, under the command of the duke of Alva, whose unprecedented and sanguinary proceedings kindled that long and bloody war from which the powerful republic of the United Provinces derived its origin, consistence, and grandeur. It was the heroic conduct of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, seconded by the assistance of England and France, which delivered this state from the Spanish yoke; and no sooner was this deliverance obtained, than the reformed religion, as it was professed in Switzerland, was established in the United Provinces;* and, at the same time, a universal toleration was granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of Rome, or embraced the reformation in another form, provided still they made no attempts against the authority of the government, or the tranquillity of the public.

The Reformation made a considerable progress in Italy and Spain soon after the rupture between Luther and the pope. In all the provinces of Italy, but more especially in the territories of Venice, Tuscany, and Naples, the religion of Rome lost ground, and great numbers of persons of all ranks and orders expressed an aversion to the papal dominion. Violent and dangerous commotions were consequently excited in the kingdom of Naples, in the year 1546, of which the principal authors were Bernard Ochino and Peter Martyr, who, in their public discourses from the pulpit, exhausted all the force of their eloquence in exposing the enormity of the reigning superstition. These tumults were appeased with much difficulty by the united efforts of Charles V., and his viceroy, Don Pedro di Toledo. In several places the popes put a stop to the progress of the Reformation, by letting loose the inquisitors upon the pretended heretics, who spread the marks of their usual cruelty through the greater part of Italy. But the horrors of the inquisition, which had terrified back into the profession of popery several Protestants in other parts of Italy, could not penetrate into the kingdom of Naples, nor could either the authority or entreaties of the pope engage the Neapolitans to admit within their territories either a court of inquisition, or even visiting inquisitors.

But the inquisition, which could not gain any footing in the kingdom of Naples, reigned triumphant in Spain; and by racks, gibbets, and stakes, and other such formidable instruments of persuasion, soon terrified the people back into popery; (See *Geddes, his Spanish Martyrology, in his Miscellaneous Tracts,* tom. i, p. 445;) and that kingdom still deplores the gloomy reign of ignorance and superstition, with the total extinction of civil and religious liberty.

But it was in France that the reformed religion underwent the most cruel vicissitudes, and felt most severely the arm of civil power. The religion of Francis I., if an abandoned profligate can be said to possess any religion, was of the most bigoted species; and by his zeal for the Romish Church, he perhaps flattered himself that he could in some degree compensate for the shameless immorality of his life. The flames of persecution were lighted up, during his unquiet reign, through every province of France; and though the zeal of the monarch was sometimes tempered by the gentle interference of his amiable sister, the queen of Navarre, and the exigencies of the times, still it occasionally recurred

* In the year 1573.

with fresh vigour, as caprice, or the dictates of his spiritual guide, the cardinal de Tournou, directed; and innumerable martyrs, eminent for virtue and learning, were daily exposed to tortures and to death.

In the mountains of Languedoc and Provence there still existed some remains of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, the miserable remnants of the memorable crusade which had been too successfully excited against them. These simple and virtuous people had, in 1532, formed a kind of union with the reformed Churches in Switzerland; but in 1545 they were selected as the victims of superstitious fury. Whole villages, particularly Merindol and Cabrieres, were exterminated by the Catholics; and so dreadful was the slaughter, that it is even said to have afflicted Francis on his death bed with the most poignant remorse.

The successor of Francis, Henry II., while motives of policy induced him to take arms in defence of the Protestants of Germany, still pursued in his own dominions the persecuting system of his father. Notwithstanding this, the progress of the Protestant doctrines was rapid. Several bishops of the Gallican Church were strongly disposed in their favour; and they were openly embraced by Anthony of Bourbon, king of Navarre, Lewis, prince of Conde, his brother, Admiral Coligny, the duke de Rohan, and some others of the nobility.

During the feeble minority of the son of Henry, Francis II., the nation fell under the arbitrary government of two inflexible bigots, the dukes of Guise, uncles to the unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots, who was wife to Francis II. Their conduct, however, proved so oppressive and obnoxious, that the famous league or conspiracy of Amboise was formed by the Protestant nobles for the purpose of wresting the power out of the hands of this arrogant and intolerant family; but the plan being unfortunately discovered, the leaders barely escaped with their lives.

Charles IX. succeeded Francis; and during his reign, the jealousy of the two parties, which had hitherto been restrained within moderate bounds, broke out into a flame. The first act of violence was the massacre of sixty persons of the reformed Church, at Vassy in Champagne, during the time of Divine service, by the duke of Guise and his army. A violent civil war ensued, in the course of which the duke of Guise lost his life by the hands of an assassin, and dying, advised the queen mother to agree to the peace which soon followed, and granted to the reformed the free exercise of their religion. An ill-compacted peace served but to smother for a season the zeal of the contending parties. A series of wars and persecutions succeeded, which would be tedious to detail. They were concluded at length by the fallacious treaty of 1570, which served only to cover the diabolical project which Charles and the Catholic party had formed for the extermination of the new opinions.

A marriage being concluded, in 1572, between the young king of Navarre (afterward the famous Henry IV.) and Margaret, the sister of Charles IX., the Hugonots* were invited from all parts of the kingdom to the celebration of the nuptials. On the bloody festival of St. Bartholomew, a signal was given to a party of desperate assassins,

* The reformed or French Protestants began to be distinguished by this appellation about 1561. The term is derived, according to some, from a gate in Tours called *Hugon*, where it is said they first assembled; and, according to others, from the first words of their original protest, or confession of faith. *Huc nos venimus*, &c.

headed by the house of Guise, and they furiously attacked the houses of Hugonots in every quarter of the city. The first victim was the Admiral Coligny. The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde escaped with difficulty by a pretended abjuration of their religion. The same tragedy was acted, by secret orders from the king, in all the principal cities of France, and upward of 30,000 martyrs were sacrificed to superstition and intolerance.

The Hugonots, though disheartened, were not destroyed by this unhappy transaction. They recovered their strength and their vigour before the succeeding campaign, and carried on the war with such spirit, that they forced the bigoted monarch to grant them terms still more favourable than they had obtained by any former treaty. On the death of Charles IX., his brother Henry III. succeeded, and the necessity of his affairs obliged him to grant terms very favourable to the Hugonots. At the instigation of the pope, the Catholics now formed, in contempt of the royal authority, the celebrated association called the *League*, the professed object of which was the extirpation of heresy. This combination, however, had a farther aim, and was, in reality, founded on the ambition of the house of Guise to raise itself to the throne of France. So dangerous a combination therefore demanded some exertion on the part of the king; and it is only to be lamented, that he did not oppose it by more justifiable measures. He caused the two heads of the league, Henry duke of Guise, and the cardinal his brother, to be assassinated at the states of Blois; and soon after, in 1589, he himself experienced the same fate: as he was approaching to lay siege to Paris, which was retained by the Catholic party, he was stabbed in his tent by an emissary of the leaguers.

The family of Valois ceased in Henry III., and the right of succession centred in Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, who assumed the title of Henry IV. The obstinacy of the Catholic party, who still maintained the league, withheld this great statesman and able commander for upward of four years from the possession of his hereditary dignities. Henry at length, however, made a final sacrifice of conscience to ambition. He publicly abjured the reformed religion in 1593, and by that step gained possession of the throne. By the famous edict of Nantz, which was termed a *perpetual* and *inviolable* edict, he however secured to his old friends, the Hugonots, the undisturbed exercise of their religion, and perfect liberty of conscience. And thus ended these religious disturbances, which had divided the kingdom of France for a considerable part of the sixteenth century. (*Formey*, cent. xvi, art. 5.)

Though the great body of Protestants proceeded with unanimity in the principal object of abolishing the superstition and tyranny of the Church of Rome, there did not exist among them that perfect harmony and consistency, with respect to doctrinal points, which might be expected from persons actuated by the love of truth, and professing to derive their information from the same source. Between the fathers of the Reformation, Luther and Zuinglius, there existed almost from the first a considerable difference of sentiment concerning the nature of the holy sacrament. Luther rejected the popish doctrine of transubstantiation; but, unfortunately, not able to free himself at once from all the fetters of prejudice, instead of wholly discarding the absurdity, he

attempted to new-model it. Though he rejected the opinion of the entire change of the elements by consecration, he held, nevertheless, that the body and blood of Christ are still *materially* present in the consecrated elements; and this union of the body and blood of Christ with the bread and wine, is, by the Lutheran Church, expressed by the intermediate term consubstantiation. Carlostadius, who was originally the coadjutor of Luther in the university of Wittemberg, and Zuinglius, the celebrated Swiss reformer, began their mission under more favourable circumstances than Luther, and they adopted a system, which, in their opinion, was more consistent both with Scripture and reason They considered the consecrated elements merely as figures or symbols of the absent body of Christ, and regarded the rite itself as intended chiefly to preserve in our minds a pious remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, and a sense of our obligations to fulfil the Gospel covenant. A real, though spiritual presence was acknowledged by Calvin, and his doctrine, on this point, seems at length to have prevailed in several of the reformed churches.

Other disputes arose between the followers of Luther and Calvin, concerning the nature of the Divine decrees respecting man's salvation. The latter, it is well known, maintain, with the utmost rigour, the doctrines of unconditional election and predestination.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE OTHER SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Causes for variety of opinion among the reformers—Anabaptists, or Menonites—Antinomians—Unitarians—Servetus—Socinians—Budneians—Farvonians—Stancarians—Zuinglians—Schwenkfeldtians—Brownists—Illuminati—Familists—Amsdorfians—Osiandrians—Molinists—Synergists.

IN the dark catalogue of heresies recorded by historians of the Romish communion, the opinions of Luther, Calvin, and Zuinglius, maintain a distinguished situation. Connected as they were with political events, they have already been sufficiently discussed. During the ardour of speculation which these religious contests occasioned, it would have been extraordinary, if, considering the different interests, views, prejudices, and passions, by which mankind are usually actuated, a perfect uniformity in point of doctrine and discipline had pervaded all who were desirous of being emancipated from the yoke of Rome. In the course of this century the Scriptures were translated into almost all the different languages of Europe. They would necessarily be read by men of different tempers, and of different attainments; and consequently (without even calling in the aid of that principle which impels mankind to render themselves eminent or distinguished) there are many motives which might create a difference of sentiment in the most impartial inquirers. Religious opinions, however distant from our own, are always objects of respect and veneration. It is not, therefore, with a design of casting a reflection upon the authors or professors of these opinions, but for the sake of order and perspicuity, that a distinction is observed in this history between those doctrines

which became the established religion of different countries, and those which are professed only by small or subordinate societies.

It was observed that, in a very early period of the Reformation, certain of the disciples of Luther, and particularly one of the name of Muncer, adopted opinions in some instances apparently replete with enthusiasm, and on some occasions proceeded to the disturbance of the public tranquillity. From these reformers proceeded the sect of the Anabaptists. They first made their appearance in the provinces of Upper Germany, where the severity of the magistrates kept them under control. But in the Netherlands and Westphalia they obtained admittance into several towns, and spread their principles. The most remarkable of their religious tenets related to the sacrament of baptism, which, as they contended, ought to be administered only to persons grown up to years of understanding, and should be performed, not by sprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it: for this reason they condemned the baptism of infants; and rebaptizing all whom they admitted into their society, the sect came to be distinguished by the name of Anabaptists. To this peculiar notion concerning baptism, they added other principles of a most enthusiastic as well as dangerous nature. They maintained that among Christians, who had the precepts of the Gospel to direct, and the Spirit of God to guide them, the office of magistracy was not only unnecessary, but an unlawful encroachment on their spiritual liberty; that the distinctions occasioned by birth, or rank, or wealth, being contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, which considers all men as equal, should be entirely abolished; that all Christians, throwing their possessions into one common stock, should live together in that state of equality which becomes members of the same family; that, as neither the laws of nature, nor the precepts of the New Testament, had imposed any restraints upon men with regard to the number of wives which they might marry, they should use that liberty which God himself had granted to the patriarchs.

Such opinions, propagated and maintained with enthusiastic zeal and boldness, were not long without producing the violent effects natural to them. Two Anabaptist prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Hærlem, and John Boccold, or Beukels, a journeyman tailor of Leyden, possessed with the rage of making proselytes, fixed their residence at Munster, an imperial city of Westphalia, of the first rank, under the sovereignty of its bishop, but governed by its own senate and consuls. As neither of these fanatics wanted the talents requisite in desperate enterprises, great resolution, the appearance of sanctity, bold pretensions to inspiration, and a confident and plausible manner of discoursing, they soon gained many converts. Among these were Rothman, who had first preached the Protestant doctrine in Munster, and Knipperdoling, a citizen of considerable eminence. Emboldened by the countenance of such disciples, they openly taught their opinions; and, not satisfied with that liberty, they made several attempts, though without success, to become masters of the town, in order to get their tenets established by public authority. At last, having secretly called in their associates from the neighbouring country, they suddenly took possession of the arsenal and senate house in the night, and running through the streets with drawn swords, and horrible howlings, cried out alternately, "Repent and be baptized," and, "Depart, ye

ungodly." The senators, the canons, the nobility, together with the more sober citizens, whether papists or Protestants, terrified at their threats and outcries, fled in confusion, and left the city under the dominion of a frantic multitude, consisting chiefly of strangers. Nothing now remaining to overawe or control them, they set about modelling the government according to their own wild ideas; and though at first they showed so much reverence for the ancient constitution as to elect senators of their own sect, and to appoint Knipperdoling and another proselyte consuls, this was nothing more than form; for all their proceedings were directed by Matthias, who, in the style, and with the authority of a prophet, uttered his commands, which it was instant death to disobey. Having begun with encouraging the multitude to pillage the churches, and deface their ornaments, he enjoined them to destroy all books except the Bible, as useless or impious; he ordered the estates of such as fled to be confiscated, and sold to the inhabitants of the adjacent country; he commanded every man to bring forth his gold, silver, and other precious effects, and to lay them at his feet: the wealth amassed by these means he deposited in a public treasury, and named deacons to dispense it for the common use of all. The members of this commonwealth being thus brought to a perfect equality, he commanded all of them to eat at tables prepared in public, and even prescribed the dishes which were to be served up each day. Having finished his plan of reformation, his next care was to provide for the defence of the city; and he took measures for that purpose with a prudence which betrayed nothing of fanaticism. He collected large magazines of every kind; he repaired and extended the fortifications, obliging every person, without distinction, to work in his turn; he formed such as were capable of bearing arms into regular bodies, and endeavoured to add the stability of discipline to the impetuosity of enthusiasm. He sent emissaries to the Anabaptists in the Low Countries, inviting them to assemble at Munster, which he dignified with the name of Mount Sion, that they might set out to reduce all the nations of the earth under their dominion. He himself was unwearied in attending to every thing necessary for the security or increase of the sect; animating his disciples by his own example to decline no labour, as well as to submit to every hardship; and their enthusiastic passions being kept from subsiding by a perpetual succession of exhortations, revelations, and prophecies, they seemed ready to undertake or to suffer any thing in maintenance of their opinions.

While they were thus employed, the bishop of Munster, having assembled a considerable army, advanced to besiege the town. On his approach, Matthias sallied out at the head of some chosen troops, attacked one quarter of his camp, forced it, and after great slaughter returned to the city loaded with glory and with spoil. Intoxicated with this success, he appeared next day brandishing a spear, and declared, that, in imitation of Gideon, he would go forth with a handful of men, and smite the host of the ungodly. Thirty persons, whom he named, followed him without hesitation in this wild enterprise, and, rushing on the enemy with a frantic courage, were cut off to a man. The death of their prophet occasioned at first great consternation among his disciples; but Boccold, by the same gifts and pretensions which had gained Matthias credit, soon revived their spirits and hopes to such a

degree, that he succeeded the deceased prophet in the same absolute direction of all their affairs. As he did not possess that enterprising courage which distinguished his predecessor, he satisfied himself with carrying on a defensive war; and without attempting to annoy the enemy by sallies, he waited for the succours he expected from the Low Countries, the arrival of which was often foretold and promised by their prophets. But though less daring in action than Matthias, he was a wilder enthusiast, and of more unbounded ambition. Soon after the death of his predecessor, having, by obscure visions and prophecies, prepared the multitude for some extraordinary event, he marched through the streets and proclaimed with a loud voice, "That the kingdom of Sion was at hand; that whatever was highest on earth should be brought low, and whatever was lowest should be exalted." In order to fulfil this, he commanded the churches, as the most lofty buildings in the city, to be levelled with the ground; he degraded the senators chosen by Matthias, and depriving Knipperdoling of the consulship, the highest office of the commonwealth, appointed him to execute the lowest and most infamous, that of common hangman, to which strange transition the other agreed, not only without murmuring, but with the utmost joy; and such was the despotic rigour of Boccold's administration, that he was called almost every day to perform some duty or other of his wretched function. In place of the deposed senators, he named twelve judges, according to the number of tribes in Israel, to preside in all affairs; retaining to himself the same authority which Moses anciently possessed as legislator of that people.

Not satisfied, however, with power or titles which were not supreme, a prophet, whom he had gained and tutored, having called the multitude together, declared it to be the will of God, that John Boccold should be king of Sion, and sit on the throne of David. John, kneeling down, accepted of the call, which he solemnly protested had been revealed likewise to himself, and was immediately acknowledged as monarch by the deluded multitude. From that moment he assumed all the state and pomp of royalty. He wore a crown of gold, and was clad in the richest and most sumptuous garments. A Bible was carried on his one hand, a naked sword on the other. A great body of guards accompanied him when he appeared in public. He coined money stamped with his own image, and appointed the great officers of his household and kingdom, among whom Knipperdoling was nominated governor of the city, as a reward for his former submission.

Having now attained the height of power, Boccold began to discover passions which he had hitherto restrained, or indulged only in secret. As the excesses of enthusiasm have been observed in every age to lead to sensual gratifications, the same constitution that is susceptible of the former being remarkably prone to the latter, he instructed the prophets and teachers to harangue the people for several days concerning the lawfulness and even necessity of taking more wives than one, which they asserted to be one of the privileges granted by God to the saints. When their ears were once accustomed to this licentious doctrine, and their passions inflamed with the prospect of such unbounded indulgence, he himself set them an example of using what he called their Christian liberty, by marrying at once three wives, among whom the widow of Matthias, a woman of singular beauty, was

one. As he was allured by beauty, or the love of variety, he gradually added to the number of his wives until they amounted to fourteen, though the widow of Matthias was the only one dignified with the title of queen, or who shared with him the splendour and ornaments of royalty. After the example of their prophet, the multitude gave themselves up to the most licentious and uncontrolled gratification of their desires. No man remained satisfied with a single wife. Not to use their Christian liberty was deemed a crime. Persons were appointed to search the houses for young women grown up to maturity, whom they instantly compelled to marry. Together with polygamy, freedom of divorce, its inseparable attendant, was introduced, and became a new source of corruption. Every excess was committed, of which the passions of men are capable, when restrained neither by the authority of laws nor the sense of decency; and by a monstrous and almost incredible conjunction, voluptuousness was engrafted on religion, and dissolute riot accompanied the austerities of fanatical devotion.

Meanwhile the German princes were highly offended at the insult offered to their dignity by Boccold's presumptuous usurpation of royal honours; and the profligate manners of his followers, which were a reproach to the Christian name, filled men of all professions with horror. Luther, who had testified against this fanatical spirit on its first appearance, now deeply lamented its progress, and having exposed the delusion with great strength of argument, as well as acrimony of style, called loudly on all the states of Germany to put a stop to a phrensy no less pernicious to society than fatal to religion. The emperor, occupied with other cares and projects, had not leisure to attend to such a distant object; but the princes of the empire, assembled by the king of the Romans, voted a supply of men and money to the bishop of Munster, who, being unable to keep a sufficient army on foot, had converted the siege of the town into a blockade. The forces raised in consequence of this resolution were put under the command of an officer of experience, who approaching the town toward the end of spring, in the year 1535, pressed it more closely than formerly; but found the fortifications so strong, and so diligently guarded, that he durst not attempt an assault. It was now above fifteen months since the Anabaptists had established their dominion in Munster: they had during that time undergone prodigious fatigue in working on the fortifications, and performing military duty. Notwithstanding the prudent attention of their king to provide for their subsistence, and his frugal as well as regular economy in their public meals, they began to feel the approach of famine. Several small bodies of their brethren, who were advancing to their assistance from the Low Countries, had been intercepted and cut to pieces; and, while all Germany was ready to combine against them, they had no prospect of succour. But such was the ascendency which Boccold had acquired over the multitude, and so powerful the fascination of enthusiasm, that their hopes were as sanguine as ever, and they hearkened with implicit credulity to the visions and predictions of their prophets, who assured them that the Almighty would speedily interpose, in order to deliver the city. The faith, however, of some few, shaken by the violence and length of their sufferings, began to fail; but being suspected of an inclination to

surrender to the enemy, they were punished with immediate death, as guilty of impiety in distrusting the power of God.

By this time the besieged endured the utmost rigour of famine; but they chose rather to suffer hardships, the recital of which is shocking to humanity, than to listen to the terms of capitulation offered them by the bishop. At last, a deserter, whom they had taken into their service, being either less intoxicated with the fumes of enthusiasm, or unable any longer to bear such distress, made his escape to the enemy. He informed their general of a weak part in the fortifications which he had observed, and assuring him that the besieged, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, kept watch there with little care, he offered to lead a party thither in the night. The proposal was accepted, and a chosen body of troops appointed for the service; who, scaling the walls unperceived, seized one of the gates, and admitted the rest of the army. The Anabaptists, though surprised, defended themselves in the market place with valour, heightened by despair; but being overpowered by numbers, and surrounded on every hand, most of them were slain, and the remainder taken prisoners. Among the last were the king and Knipperdoling. The king, loaded with chains, was carried from city to city as a spectacle to gratify the curiosity of the people, and was exposed to all their insults. His spirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this sad reverse of his condition; and he adhered with unshaken firmness to the distinguishing tenets of his sect. After this, he was brought back to Munster, the scene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death with tortures, which he bore with astonishing fortitude. This extraordinary man, who had been able to acquire such amazing dominion over the minds of his followers, and to excite commotions so dangerous to society, was only twenty-six years of age.

Together with its monarch, the kingdom of the Anabaptists came to an end. Their principles on certain points of doctrine having taken deep root in the Low Countries, the party still subsists there, though somewhat divided and scattered. Numbers of them united under a celebrated leader by the name of Mennon Simonis, and are hence denominated Mennonites. By a singular revolution they have become not only pacific in their habits, but hold it unlawful to wage war, and even refuse to accept of civil offices. At present, neither the Mennonites nor any others who have sprung from the Anabaptists appear to retain any of those licentious and extravagant views which prevailed at Munster. Though they still entertained sentiments which distinguish them from other religious societies, they are generally respected for their morality and rectitude of conduct. Nor is it just to charge all the insurrections of those times, whether at Munster or other places, where the Anabaptists had societies, to that class of people. The first insurgents groaned under severe oppression, and took up arms in defence of their civil rights. The Anabaptists appear rather to have seized the occasion than to have been the prime movers. That a large proportion were Anabaptists seems indisputable; at the same time it appears from history that great numbers of them were Roman Catholics, and many others without any settled religious principles.

The name Anabaptist was given to signify, that persons baptized in infancy ought to be baptized *anew*. But those who believe in immersion as the only evangelical mode of baptism do not admit that it is

applicable to them; because the persons whom they baptize they consider as having never been baptized before, though they may have received the application of water, either by sprinkling or pouring. Hence the great body of those who agree in this view of baptism are now called, not Anabaptists, but Baptists, of whom a more full account will be given in the concluding part of this work.

The Antinomians arose about the same period. Their founder was John Agricola, a native of Eisleben, originally also a disciple of Luther. The supporters of the popish doctrines deducing a considerable portion of the arguments on which they rested their defence from the doctrines of the old law, this over-zealous reformer was encouraged by the success of his master to attack the very foundation of their arguments, and to deny that any part of the Old Testament was intended as a rule of faith or of practice to the disciples of Christ. Thus he not only rejected the moral authority of even the ten commandments; but he and his followers, conceiving some of the expressions in the writings of the apostles in too literal a sense, produced a system which appears in many respects scarcely consistent with the moral attributes of the Deity.

The principal doctrines which at present bear this appellation are said to be as follow:—1st. That the law ought not to be proposed to the people as a rule of manners, nor used in the Church as a means of instruction; and that the Gospel alone is to be inculcated and explained, both in the churches and in the schools of learning. 2d. That the justification of sinners is an immanent and eternal act of God, not only preceding all acts of sin, but the existence of the sinner himself.*—3d. That justification by faith is no more than a manifestation to us of what was done before we had a being. 4th. That men ought not to doubt of their faith, or question whether they believe in Christ.—5th. That God sees no sin in believers, and they are not bound to confess sin, mourn for it, or pray that it may be forgiven. 6th. That God is not angry with the elect, nor does he punish them for their sins. 7th. That by God's laying our iniquities upon Christ, he became as completely sinful as we, and we as completely righteous as Christ.—8th. That believers need not fear either their own sins or the sins of others, since neither can do them any injury. 9th. That the new covenant is not made properly with us, but with Christ for us; and that this covenant is all of it a promise, having no conditions for us to perform; for faith, repentance, and obedience are not conditions on our part, but Christ's; and that he repented, believed, and obeyed for us. 10th. That sanctification is not a proper evidence of justification.†

It is not extraordinary that, while all the different doctrines of the Church were destined to undergo so severe an examination, some of the opinions of Arius and the other opponents of the doctrine of the trinity should be revived. The first of the reformers who distinguished himself on this side of the question was John Campanus, who, before the Confession of Augsburg was presented, began to publish his opinions. About the same period, Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician,

* This is the opinion of most who are styled Antinomians, though some suppose, with Dr. Crisp, that the elect were justified at the time of Christ's death.

† Mosheim's Eccles. Hist., vol. iv, p. 33. Clark's Lives, p. 142. Ursinus's Body of Divinity, p. 620. Spiritual Mag., vol. ii, p. 171. Crisp's Sermons, vol. i, pp. 29, 136, 143, 282, 298, 330; vol. ii, pp. 144, 155.

appeared on the same side, and with much vehemence opposed the orthodox belief. Servetus was born at Villa Nueva, in the kingdom of Arragon, and after a variety of adventures settled at Vienne, in Dauphiny, under the patronage of the mild and liberal prelate of that see, and there applied himself successfully to the practice of his profession The enthusiasm of reformation, however, invaded his tranquillity in this situation, and he was engaged by some means or other to enter into a controversy with Calvin, in which there is reason to believe that the latter indulged in hostile and vindictive feelings against him. (*Cal. ad Farel. Epist.*) In 1553 Servetus printed his most famous work, entitled Christianismi Restituto. The book was not published in France, but printed secretly without the author's name, and conveyed out of the kingdom. But some of his Protestant enemies, who ought to have been better employed, succeeded in exciting the inquisition against him; and he was thrown into prison by the authority of the tribunal. Here, however, he was suffered clandestinely to escape, and only burned in effigy. In attempting to pass into Italy over the lake of Geneva, he was recognised by Calvin, who requested one of the syndics to arrest and imprison him.* Servetus was arrested, put into prison, and afterward brought before the council as a heretic. Forty heretical errors were proved against him, but he refused to renounce them. One of the charges was that of blasphemy. The result of his trial was, that he was condemned to be burned alive. On the 27th of October, 1553, he was committed to the fire; but as the wind blew the flames from him, two hours elapsed before he was freed from his sufferings. (See *Lempriere's Universal Biography*, article Servetus.)

Concerning the part which Calvin took in this cruel and most unfortunate affair, Dr. Hawies, in his History of the Church, when speaking of the sufferings of Gruet, Bolsac, Castalio, Ochinus, and particularly of Servetus, has the following paragraph:—"Far from justifying these severities, I esteem this as the foulest blot in Calvin's otherwise fair escutcheon; nor do I think the spirit of the times any exculpation for violating the plainest dictates of the word of God and common sense, 'that liberty of conscience and private judgment are every man's birthright;' and where nothing immoral or tending by some overt act to disturb the peace of societies appears, there all punishment for matters of opinion must be utterly unchristian and unjustifiable." (*Hawies's History of the Church*, American edition, vol. 2, p. 191.)

The opinions of Servetus seem to have approached nearer to Sabellianism than to those of either Arius or the modern Socinians. He held that Christ might properly be called the GOD, since the eternal Spirit of the Godhead was united to the man Christ Jesus. He held also that another portion of the same Spirit was diffused through all nature, and directed the course of things, and actuated the minds of men agreeably to the counsels and designs of the Father. He also rejected the use of infant baptism.

The origin of Socinianism appears to have been some years precedent to the appearance of those persons from whom the sect has derived its name. At a very early period of the Reformation there were among the Anabaptists, and other sects of reformers, several persons who rejected or who doubted of the doctrine of the trinity as pro-

* Cal. ad Farel. Epist. Also Waterman's Life of Calvin.

fessed at that period. The opinions which were cherished by these persons were equally obnoxious to the Catholics, the Lutherans, and Calvinists; and opposition from a foreign enemy is generally productive of union in the party which is opposed. To avoid the evils which they might experience in Germany or Italy, numbers of them retired into Poland, which, either from its remoteness, or from the laxity of the government, seemed to promise a more secure retreat. When arrived at the land of freedom, they found themselves involved in the utmost perplexity of doctrines. Some had embraced the Arian system; some the doctrines of Paul of Samosata; and some of them opinions which till then probably never had an existence. About the same period, a society was formed in the neighbourhood of Venice, which consisted of about forty men of letters, who held regular assemblies, in which they discussed all the points of religion, and particularly those relating to the trinity, with the utmost freedom. The society however being discovered, the members were dispersed different ways, and several of them suffered by the hand of the executioner. (*Formey*, cent. xvi, art. 16.)

One of the most eminent of this society, Lælius Socinus or Sozzini, escaped into Poland in 1551, and by his influence the jarring opinions of the Unitarian sectaries began to assume the appearance of a regular system. His visits to Poland were indeed but short; but what he left undone was perfected by his disciples. Under the protection of J. Sienienius, palatine of Podolia, who built purposely for their use the city of Racow in the district of Sendomir, the Unitarians of Poland almost assumed the consequence of an established religion; and, in the year 1574, they published a summary of their principles, under the title of the Catechism or Confession of the Unitarians. (*Mosh.* cent. xvi.)

The abilities of Faustus Socinus, who professed to deduce his religious system from the papers of his uncle Lælius, imparted fresh vigour to the society. He new-modelled the articles of their faith. The ancient catechism, which was no more than a rude and incoherent sketch, was altered and improved by Socinus and the other Unitarian doctors, and was published under the title of the Catechism of Racow. In this station they enjoyed an undisturbed series of prosperity for several years, till, in the beginning of the succeeding century, some Socinian students at Racow were so imprudent as in a paroxysm of enthusiasm to break in pieces a crucifix with stones. Such an act of violence excited the attention of the senate of Poland, who caused their academy to be levelled to the ground, their church to be shut up, and their printing presses to be destroyed; and from that period the cause of Socinianism had sensibly declined in that part of Europe where it first assumed an aspect of prosperity. From Poland, the Socinian doctrines made their way into Transylvania about 1563, and were chiefly indebted for their success to the address and industry of George Blandratus, physician to Sigismund, the reigning prince. The Socinian faith was embraced by the prince, and by many of the principal nobility; and though the Batori, who were afterward chosen dukes of Transylvania, were by no means well affected to the Unitarian cause, yet the sect had acquired so deep a root, that it has never been entirely eradicated from that province. (*Mosh.* cent. xvi.)

The followers of Socinus asserted,—1st. That all our knowledge of divinity must be derived from the Scriptures, but that our natural reason is the proper interpreter of them. 2dly. They allowed considerable latitude in the accommodation of Scripture to human reason, asserting that great allowances must be made for the strong figurative language and oriental idioms with which these writings abound. 3dly. They denied the plenary inspiration of the sacred writers, and insinuated that mistakes had crept into their writings. 4thly. Having proceeded thus far, they endeavoured to strip revealed religion of every circumstance not clearly intelligible by human reason. With respect therefore to the grand point on which they differed from other Christians, they altogether denied the Divinity of Christ, or equality with the Father, but admitted him to have been an extraordinary person miraculously produced, and commissioned as a Divine teacher, in whom the prophecies relating to the Messiah were completely though not literally fulfilled. They admitted also the whole history of the ascension and glorification of Christ in its literal acceptation.—5thly. They held the phrase Holy Spirit, or Holy Ghost, to be merely a figurative mode of expression to denote the power or energy of God. (*Mosh.* cent. xvi.)

Though these are the general outlines of the doctrines professed by the followers of Socinus, yet this sect was subdivided into several parties, who differed materially from each other with respect to certain articles of faith. The Budneians are said to have denied the miraculous conception of Jesus Christ. The Farvonians on the contrary asserted that he had been engendered or produced out of nothing before the creation of the world. And the Stancarians allowed the mediatorial character of Jesus Christ, which the others seem to have denied. (*Mosh.* cent. xvi.)

Some sects were distinguished in this age merely by carrying their abhorrence of popish errors farther than their great leaders, Luther and Calvin. Such were the followers of Zuinglius, of whom respectful mention has been already made.

The Brownists in England differed from the established Church chiefly in respect to Church government, which they asserted ought to be democratical. The Illuminati in France and Spain seem only to have been distinguished by their monkish devotion, and belief that the whole of religion consisted in prayer and contemplation.* The Familists, or family of love, in Holland, considered the dispensation by Christ as imperfect, and expected a fuller revelation to be made to themselves. The Amsdorfians and Osiandrians contended that salvation was wrought by faith alone, and not by good works; while the Molinists and Synergists were of opinion that the will of man co-operated with the grace of God in effecting his eternal happiness.

* The French Illuminati of the 18th century were a secret society of infidels, united against religion, and against civil government; and entirely different from those of that name in the 16th century.

CHAPTER VII.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Multiplication of books—Controversial theology—Luther—Calvin—Melancthon—Theodore Beza—Erasmus—Sir Thomas Moore—George Buchanan—Castalio—Reuchlin—Ludovicus Vives—Budeus—Lipsius—Polydore Virgil—Scaliger—Reformation in philosophy—Copernicus and Tycho Brahe—The Stephens.

THE invention of printing produced altogether a new era in literature; and such was the rapid multiplication of books after that period, that merely to specify the authors in the departments of theology and sacred criticism would, for each century, require a separate volume. It is necessary therefore to confine our views within a very limited compass, and to content ourselves with a brief character of only the most eminent authors.

From the complexion of the times, and from the important controversies which were agitated during this period, it will be evident that controversial theology engaged the attention of by far the greater number, and the most eminent of the authors of this century. The works both of Luther and Calvin are voluminous, and replete with learning, and strong and profound argument. But the most elegant scholar, and perhaps the most amiable character among the reformers, was Philip Melancthon. He was an early convert to the doctrines of Luther, and continued his steady friend to the conclusion of his life. The character of this excellent person was tinctured with a degree of timidity which would have utterly incapacitated him for a leader in these tumultuous scenes; but his extensive learning, his candid and impartial spirit, united to his correct judgment, and the classical elegance of his style, qualified him for the part of an excellent auxiliary. Theodore Beza is well known as a translator and commentator upon the Holy Scriptures. For his learning and abilities he was placed at the head of the university of Geneva on its first institution.

Though not publicly connected with the reformers, or openly professing their doctrines, no man in this age contributed more indirectly to the removal of error than the celebrated Erasmus; since there was scarcely an opinion or practice of the Romish Church assailed by Luther which had not previously been animadverted on and ridiculed by this acute and satirical author. (*Robertson's Charles V.*, v. ii, p. 157.) Erasmus was the illegitimate son of a literary person of the name of Gerard, by Margaret, daughter to a physician at Gouda, whom her relations would not permit to marry the man by whom she had been seduced. He lost both father and mother at about fourteen; was, in the early part of his life, a singing boy at the cathedral of Utrecht, and was afterward forced by his guardians to become a regular canon in the monastery of Stein, near Ghent. He was ordained a priest in 1492, at about the age of twenty-six, and was invited by the bishop of Cambray to accompany him to Rome. With the permission of his superiors, Erasmus quitted his monastery, went to Paris to complete his studies, and after several journeys into Flanders, England, and Italy, settled at length at Basle, where he continued till that city embraced Zuinglianism in 1529. He afterward lived for some time in Friburgh, whence he returned to Basle, where he died in 1536. (*Du Pin.*)

Literature is not only obliged to Erasmus for his own admirable compositions, but for the revival of many of the most valuable of the ancient classics and fathers of the Church. Few sciences escaped his attention; he wrote occasionally on divinity, philosophy, morals, rhetoric, and grammar, and translated the New Testament into Latin, besides several of the Greek fathers. His free style of writing involved him in several controversies; and the Lutherans and the Catholics were equally objects of his animadversion. His Dialogues are the best known of all his writings, and will be admired as a work of genius as long as there remains any taste for the wit and spirit of Athens, or for the language and eloquence of ancient Rome. He lived and died a timid reformer and member of the Church of Rome.

Next in order to Erasmus, his contemporary and friend, Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor of England, may properly be placed among the patrons and improvers of polite literature. More strongly attached than his friend Erasmus to the Romish faith, and not exempt from the charge of bigoted cruelty, this excellent scholar fell a victim to the sanguinary resentment of Henry VIII., and suffered death upon the scaffold, the 17th of June, 1535.

Inferior to none that has been mentioned either in taste or learning, it would be culpable to omit a tribute of applause to the elegant and classical George Buchanan. As an historian, his works will not only be resorted to by all who are desirous of useful information, but also by those who wish to form a style upon the chaste model of Roman elegance. As a poet, he is perhaps the first among the modern imitators of the Latin classics. As the friend of civil and religious liberty, he is entitled to a still nobler distinction; nor will the apologists for a weak and wicked princess be able to fix a slander upon his reputation in the eyes of impartial inquirers.

Castalio is also deserving of a respectable place among the scholars of this day. He translated the Bible into elegant Latin, also into French, and displayed his various and extensive knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew by several other publications. His Colloquia Sacra, in elegant Latin, was published in four volumes duodecimo.—He was some time regent of the college at Geneva, until he was driven from it and banished on account of his religious opinions. Being poor, he was oppressed in his circumstances, having a wife and eight children. The magistrates of Basle, to which place he fled, received with kindness this ingenious exile, and gave him the Greek professorship in their university. He died at Basle in 1564, aged forty-eight years.

John Reuchlin, a German, sometimes known by the name of Capnio, who was elevated for his literary talents from a very obscure station to the rank of a nobleman,* Ludovicus Vives, of Valencia in Spain, Jo. Budeus, John Lipsius, Polydore Virgil, and the incomparable Scaliger, are also deserving of much applause, as zealous and successful promoters of useful learning.

Philosophy as well as religion underwent a reformation in this century, by the publication of the systems of Nicholas Copernicus and Tycho Brahe. These bold invaders of ancient prejudice had scarcely less to encounter than Luther, in the establishment of the truth.

The labours of the Stephenses will be remembered with gratitude by every admirer of ancient literature.

* He may perhaps be considered as the reviver of Hebrew learning.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

State of Europe with respect to religion—Several of the popes—Labours of the Jesuits—Disputes between the different orders of monks—Efforts to reduce the Protestants within the pale of the Church—Conference of charity, &c.—Persecution in Austria, &c.—War in Germany—Massacre of Valteline—Vaudois—France—Revocation of the edict of Nantz—England—Gunpowder plot—Civil war—Scotland—Irish massacre—Protestant Churches in America—Revolution in England—Schemes for a union of Churches—Change of religion in German Protestants.

IN the history of the preceding century we have seen the ancient fabric of the Romish Church, which had been the work of ages, and erected from the spoils of both the civil and religious rights of men, in the course of a few years dismembered, and indeed shaken to its foundations. The first object, therefore, which attracts our attention in this century, is the rise and progress of several different and independent Churches, raised successively upon the ruins of that of Rome, under the general and comprehensive term of Protestant Churches.

Under two great classes the majority of the Protestants of Europe were comprehended. The first assumed the title of the Lutheran Church, in honour of its great founder, the tenets of which have been already noticed; the second included a number of small societies, differing in a few points of doctrine, and was termed the reformed Church. Toward the beginning of this century, however, the majority of the reformed Churches had adopted the opinions of Calvin.

At the conclusion of the last century the doctrines of Luther were embraced in several parts of Germany, in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. They had penetrated the Upper Hungary, Transylvania, and Poland, and were at least tolerated in those countries. Calvinism became the established religion of all the Swiss Protestants, as well as of the thirteen United Provinces, who had revolted from their Austrian masters, and who afterward constituted the Dutch republic. The majority of the French Protestants were of the Calvinistic persuasion; and as the Lutherans had settled in the Upper, the disciples of Calvin had established themselves in the Lower Hungary. (*Du Pin*, cent. 16.) The Church of Scotland was much inclined to Calvinism; while England and Ireland professed that *qualified* system of doctrine and discipline which still continues the established religion of those kingdoms.

The authority of the pope still extended over a considerable part of Europe, and though somewhat impaired, still retained a portion of vigour and stability. Of Clement VIII. and Leo XI., who governed the Romish Church at the commencement of this century, little occurs which is worth recording. The pontificate of the latter lasted only

twenty-six days, and he was succeeded on the 16th of May, 1605, by Camillus Borghese, who is known in the papal annals under the name of Paul V. Arrogance and ill temper were the distinguishing characteristics of this pontiff; and he seemed born either to restore the lost authority of Rome, or to annihilate the power which it still retained in the different countries of Europe. The imprudence of Paul had nearly alienated the republic of Venice from the popish communion. The dispute originated in two decrees, which the senate of Venice had enacted in the year 1605, for preventing the unnecessary erection of religious houses, and for prohibiting the subjects of the republic from alienating their property for the use of religious fraternities without the sanction of the senate. About the same period it happened that two ecclesiastics, accused of enormous crimes, were imprisoned by the orders of the senate, while it was an established maxim at Rome, that ecclesiastical persons were only amenable to the tribunal of the Church. Against the edicts prohibiting the endowments of religious houses, the pope vehemently protested by his nuncio at Venice, and at the same time demanded that the prisoners should be delivered into his hands, to be tried for their crimes by ecclesiastical judges. To these haughty demands the senate returned a negative, and the pope laid the dominions of the republic under an interdict. The Jesuits, and the other ecclesiastics who presumed to publish the bull of excommunication against the republic, were banished the state, and preparations for war were making on both sides, when an accommodation was effected by the mediation of Henry IV. of France. The pope, on this occasion, relinquished much of his pretensions. The prisoners were delivered up to the French ambassador; and, on the other hand, all the exiled ecclesiastics were permitted to return to Venice, except the Jesuits, against whom the senate enacted a severe decree. (*Du Pin*, cent. 17.)

Paul V. was succeeded by Gregory XV., a man of milder disposition; and in 1623, Urban VIII., of the Barberini family, ascended the papal throne. Urban was a man of learning, and a protector of literature. He was a judicious orator, and an elegant poet, but an inflexible enemy to civil and religious liberty. The pontificate of Urban was distinguished by the memorable revolution of Portugal, when that nation liberated themselves from the yoke of Spain, and, in the year 1640, placed John, duke of Braganza, the lawful heir, upon the throne. As soon as the new monarch of Portugal supposed himself firmly established in his authority, he despatched an embassy to the sovereign pontiff, requesting his sanction and confirmation. But, added to his own despotic notions, Urban was in some degree apprehensive of the Spanish power; he was therefore deaf to the entreaties of the suppliant monarch, nor could he ever be persuaded to acknowledge him as the lawful sovereign. The successor of Urban, Innocent X., was equally inflexible, nor could the Portuguese obtain a sanction from the pope till the conclusion of the century, when, on the accommodation with Spain, the reigning pontiff condescended to approve the authority of the Braganza family, and to confirm the bishops who had been appointed to the vacant sees, but had hitherto been withheld from their episcopal functions. Innocent X. to the most profound ignorance united the most shameless profligacy, and

was the dupe of an abandoned woman, with whom he lived in the most infamous commerce, and who, to complete the scandal, was the widow of his brother. (*Mosheim.*)

During the pontificate of Alexander VII., the successor of Innocent, a dispute unhappily commenced with the court of France, which is said to have originated from the ill treatment of the French ambassador and his lady by the pope's Corsican guards, who attacked his house, and committed several acts of violence, as was generally supposed, at the instigation of the nephews of Alexander. The pope was, on this occasion, compelled to yield to the spirit of Lewis XIV., notwithstanding his pretended zeal for the Church could occasionally make it bend to his interest. Alexander was compelled to send his nephew to Paris, in the character of a suppliant; the Corsican guards were branded with infamy; and a pillar was erected at Rome in memory of the monarch's triumph over the head of the Church.

The reigns of the two Clements, IX. and X., in 1668 and 1669, were too short to be distinguished by any remarkable transactions. They were succeeded by Innocent XI., a man of uncommon abilities, and apparently of great integrity. This pontiff was also engaged in a warm dispute with Lewis XIV. of France, the subject of which was the right, which is termed the *regale*, by which the French monarch, upon the death of a bishop, claims the revenues of the see till a new bishop be elected. Lewis asserted that every church in his dominions was subject to the regale, while Innocent pleaded for their exemption from what he considered an usurped claim. To determine a dispute which had already extended to considerable lengths, the king, in the year 1682, summoned the famous convocation of bishops, which met in Paris, in order to define the rights of the Gallican Church. In this assembly it was determined, "That the power of the pope was merely spiritual, and did not at all extend to temporalities; that a general council was superior to the pope; that the power of the pope was also limited by the canons; and that his decisions are not infallible without the consent of the Church." (*Formey*, vol. ii, p. 161.) Before this dispute was completely adjusted, a fresh cause of debate arose between the contending sovereigns, concerning the right of asylum, which was claimed by ambassadors while they resided at Rome. This right of asylum proved frequently a sanctuary for rapine and injustice, and extended much farther than the immediate residence of the ambassador, comprehending a considerable extent of ground, which was termed a quarter. This shameful abuse the resolute pontiff was determined to remedy, but without violating the real privileges or actual residence of the ambassadors. To the new regulations, however, the marquis de Lavardin refused, in the name of Lewis, to submit, while the other princes of Europe were easily prevailed on to relinquish so pernicious and so useless a privilege. In this state matters continued till the death of Innocent. His immediate successors, Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII., maintained the same pretensions. Time, however, which generally meliorates the perverse dispositions of men, produced at length a suspension of the contest. On the one hand, the right of asylum was suppressed with the consent of the king; and on the other, the *regale* was admitted with some modifications, and the propositions respecting the rights of the Gallican Church were softened

and explained in private letters addressed to the pontiff. Innocent XII., who succeeded to the papal chair in 1691, was a man of uncommon merit, and, like his predecessor of the same name, strenuously bent his mind to the reform of every abuse in his power. The pontiff whose reign concluded this century was Clement XI. His learning and liberality rendered him useful to the Church, which he desired to govern with justice and moderation.

Whatever was laudable in the zeal of the Romish Church during the course of this century, must be confined to the labours of the Jesuits in China, Japan, and other Indian nations. If the account of their conversions be not magnified, they had at one period obtained a considerable footing in those countries. In the year 1692, the emperor of China published a remarkable edict, by which he declared that the Christian religion was in no respect detrimental to the interests of the monarch, as its enemies pretended, and permitted to his subjects an uncontrolled license to embrace the Gospel. In a few years afterward, the same emperor ordered a magnificent church to be built for the Jesuits within the precincts of the imperial palace.

This flattering prospect was soon overcast; and it is to be feared that the change must principally be attributed to the ill conduct of the missionaries themselves. It is not in the nature of man to bear with moderation the severe trial of prosperity. Instead of acting as became the humble preachers of a religion, the basis of which is temperance and self-denial, the Jesuits imitated the pomp and luxury of nobles, or even of monarchs themselves; and accustomed at home to take an active part in the politics of the nations where they were stationed, their imprudent interference with a government uncommonly despotic probably contributed to that diminution of influence which they soon experienced. The downfall of the Christian religion in Japan was attended with still more fatal consequences; a severe persecution was excited in the year 1615 against the missionaries and professors of that religion. The Jesuits and their disciples, by the fortitude with which they suffered the most excruciating torments, expiated in some degree the errors which they had committed in the course of their ministry. The persecution is generally ascribed to the villany and avarice of the Dutch, who persuaded the emperor of Japan that the design of the Jesuits was to overturn his government; and to this cause are attributed the peculiar privileges which are allowed to the states of Holland, who are the only Christian power now permitted to trade in that country.

The conduct of the Jesuits in these missions has not escaped censure in other respects. It was asserted by the Dominicans and other adversaries of the enterprising order, that they extended their ideas of toleration to a culpable extreme, and permitted the unnatural union of the absurdities of paganism with the religion of the Gospel. A long contest was supported upon this subject by the two contending orders; and successive popes, as their interest or caprice dictated, approved or condemned the lenity which the Jesuits had shown to the Chinese superstitions.

This was not the only controversy which existed between the Dominicans and the order of the Jesuits. A tedious dispute on the indeterminable questions of grace and free will was carried on for some years with sufficient acrimony on both sides. The Dominicans, indeed,

during this century, waged the war of words with considerable vehemence, and with different adversaries. The nonsensical debate with the Franciscans concerning the immaculate conception was revived principally in Spain. The controversies with the Jansenists and Molinist heretics are reserved for another chapter.

While the Catholics were anxiously employed in the propagation of their faith among pagan nations, they were not inattentive to the great object of recalling within the pale of the Church those who in the preceding century had separated from it. To this end every means, lawful and unlawful, was employed. Amicable conferences were held at different periods, but all with the same success. Two were held at Ratisbon, in 1601, one at Dourlach, in 1612, and one at Neubourg, in 1615. But the most famous was that which was called the Conference of Charity, and which was held at Thorn, in Polish Prussia, in 1645, by order of Uladislaus, king of Poland. This conference was intended to effect a complete union between the Romish, Lutheran, and reformed Churches; but so many insuperable impediments were found that the eminent persons who assisted at the conference departed completely dissatisfied with the vain attempt. (*Formey*, *Mosheim*, &c.)

Unhappily for the peace of Europe, the misguided zeal of the Catholic party condescended to employ other means, as inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity as charity and persuasion were agreeable to it.—The bigotry of the house of Austria was considered as a proper instrument for the execution of these unjustifiable designs, and Germany was once more destined to be the seat of a religious war. Violent persecutions were excited in the Austrian dominions, whence all those of the reformed religion who had the good fortune to escape the sword or the flames were completely expelled. The Bohemian Protestants acted with more spirit, but with equally ill success. The kingdom of Bohemia had been possessed peaceably by the lineal descendants of Ferdinand, the brother and successor of Charles V., till the latter years of the Emperor Matthias, who governed that kingdom in conjunction with Hungary. It has been already stated that, by the treaty of Passau, liberty of conscience was extended to all the Protestants of Germany without exception, but at that period the term was generally supposed to apply to those who adhered to the confession of Augsburg. In the beginning of this century, therefore, the Catholics began to insist that those of the Calvinistic persuasions were not included in the treaty; they caressed the old Protestants, and in particular the house of Saxony, between whom and the palatinate some seeds of jealousy were supposed to exist. The Calvinistic princes and states, on the other hand, who saw more clearly than the Lutherans the deep designs of the Church of Rome, and apprehended rightly that they were only the first of the Protestants who were destined to the slaughter, formed among themselves a league which they termed the Evangelical Union, and which was immediately followed by a Catholic league, at the head of which was the duke of Bavaria, the professed rival of the elector palatine.

In this state of things the impatience of the Bohemians, who felt in some instances their religious liberties invaded, accelerated a crisis, which by prudent counsels might at least have been deferred. Previous to the death of the Emperor Matthias, some popular tumults had broken

out in that kingdom; and immediately upon this decease, in 1618, they declared his nephew Ferdinand (who also succeeded him in the empire) unworthy of the crown, and proceeded to elect Frederick, the elector palatine, king of Bohemia. Supported only by a divided and inconstant people, and by faithless allies, this young prince, allured by the splendour of a crown, too hastily acceded to the rash proposal. The first events of the war afforded a favourable prospect; but he was soon deserted by the prince of Transylvania, who had with apparent earnestness embarked in his cause; and the dastardly and worthless James I. of England was too timid and too selfish to afford assistance to his unfortunate son-in-law. In the fatal battle of Prague, Frederick not only lost his new acquisitions, but even his hereditary dominions. Ferdinand recovered Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. The duke of Bavaria succeeded to the palatinate, and the electoral dignity; and the elector of Saxony, who had condescended in this war to become an instrument of the popish faction, received for his reward Lusatia, as a fief of the kingdom of Bohemia. (*Puffendorf's Introduction.*) The unfortunate prince was reduced to the state of a fugitive and a suppliant at foreign courts; the Protestants of Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary,* were plundered of their property, and banishment was the smallest of personal evils to which the wretched sufferers were exposed.

The edict of restitution, issued by the emperor, which enjoined the Protestants throughout the empire to restore implicitly to the Church all the property of which it had been deprived since the treaty of Passau, justly alarmed the reformed princes and states; and a league was formed in 1629, at the head of which appeared the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. This accomplished general soon restored the affairs of the Protestants; and completely defeated the imperial army in the memorable battle of Leipsic. In the year 1632 Gustavus lost his life in the battle of Lutzen, though his army was victorius.—He had however laid such a foundation of power and unanimity previous to his death, that the affairs of the Protestants suffered less from this irreparable loss than might have been expected. The war was carried on with various success, for a series of years, and at length, in 1648, was concluded by the peace of Westphalia, which established the Protestant religion in those states of Germany where it is now professed, and defined the power of the emperor and other members of the Germanic body. (*Puffendorf, Mosheim*, &c.)

During this unhappy period Germany was not the only country which experienced the miseries of religious contests. In the small province of Valteline, in the country of the Grisons, the Reformation had made considerable progress; and no expedient presented itself to the Romish clergy so likely to reduce this canton under the spiritual dominion of the pope, as that of inviting the Spaniards, who were then in possession of the duchy of Milan, to assume the temporal authority. In the attainment of this object a most dreadful massacre of the Protestants was perpetrated; upward of five hundred persons suffered in this small territory, and all the stores of cruelty were exhausted in the invention of tortures. The mouths of some were filled with gunpowder, which was immediately exploded; infants were murdered at their mothers'

* In 1671 a partial persecution was again excited in Hungary, and the remaining Protestants were quite extirpated.

breasts; and so complete was the slaughter, that the Protestant religion was for ever extirpated. (*Formey.*)

The unfortunate Vaudois had been the victims of persecution during every religious war from the thirteenth century. In 1655 they were compelled by the duke of Savoy to emigrate, in the midst of a severe winter, from their native country, and their lands were assigned to the Irish soldiers that had been banished by Cromwell. Before the unarmed multitude, however, had time to retreat, the inhuman tyrant let loose upon them the "dogs of war," and numbers were butchered in every form of cruelty. The capricious monarch in three years revoked his edict, and permitted the remnant to return. (*Formey.*)

It is well known that in the year 1610, the celebrated Henry IV. of France, who with innumerable blemishes was certainly possessed of a great mind, fell a victim to the fanaticism of a ruffian named Ravaillac, who stabbed him in his coach, as he passed along the streets amidst the acclamations of his people. During the feeble minority of his son, Lewis XIII., the Catholic party gained the ascendency; and during the corrupt administrations of Richelieu and Mazarin, the Hugonots were uniformly oppressed. They were successively deprived of all the strong places which they held; the reduction of Rochelle by famine in 1628, in the seige of which above two thirds of the citizens perished, after languishing without bread for thirteen weeks, proved the termination of their power. In a word, the *sacred* and *irrevocable* edict of Nantz was at length revoked by the impolitic perfidy of Lewis XIV.; the Protestant Churches were destroyed throughout the kingdom; the soldiery committed the most scandalous excesses; and after the loss of innumerable lives, fifty thousand of the most valuable and industrious citizens of France were forced into exile. (*Formey*, &c.)

In England the efforts of the Catholic party were less successful, though not less strenuous. They had to contend with a wise and well-compacted establishment, and with a high-spirited and powerful people. As therefore open force and persecution could not be employed, artifice and conspiracy were the only engines which could be wielded for the extirpation of Protestantism. Elizabeth was succeeded, in 1602, by James I., the son of the unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots, who, for her attachment to popery and arbitrary power, and her licentious conduct, was expelled the kingdom by her exasperated subjects, and was afterward beheaded in England. Born of a popish mother, but educated by rigid Calvinists, the hopes of all parties were elevated on the accession of James to the throne of England; but the papists and Calvinists were equally disappointed, and James appeared a strenuous supporter of the English hierarchy. In this desperate state of things the only project that presented itself to the bigots of the Catholic party was the removal of a prince and a nobility who appeared so unfavourably disposed to the re-establishment of their tenets. From the period of his coronation, indeed, it is said that designs had been formed for deposing James, and altering the succession in such a manner that the Romish religion might become once more predominant: but by the unanimity of the people these designs were disconcerted. (See *Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. 9, 8vo. ed.; *Puffendorf*, &c.) Depressed but not disarmed, the papists, in the year 1605, determined by one bold stroke to attempt the recovery of their lost authority; and this was no less

than the destruction of the king, prince of Wales, and the whole parliament, by springing a mine under the house where they were assembled. The vaults which were under the houses of parliament were hired by some of the leaders of the popish party; an immense quantity of gunpowder was cautiously deposited, and a person of the name of Guy Fawkes cheerfully devoted himself as the instrument of destruction. The tenderness or friendship of some of the party to an individual disconcerted the scheme. An anonymous letter discovered the whole proceedings to the Lord Mounteagle; the vaults were searched, the powder was found, with the devoted bigot, who waited with a lantern and candle, to set fire to the train which in a few hours was to consign himself, along with the enemies of his faith, to the judgment of eternity.

The troubles which succeeded in the reign of Charles I., when religious disputes were unaccountably blended with civil contentions, sufficiently revenged the Catholics upon the Church of England.—When the papal authority was abolished in England and other countries of Europe, the abuses of the Roman hierarchy led many well-disposed persons to condemn every establishment which retained the remotest resemblance to that form of ecclesiastical government. The Brownists, a considerable sect, openly avowed these sentiments in the preceding century; and at the beginning of this the principles of Calvinism, and their ideas of Church government, had been propagated with great rapidity in England as well as in Scotland. The unhappy disputes which took place between Charles and his parliament concerning the right of raising money on the people, proved the signal for the sectaries to exclaim loudly for a change in the government of the Church. The trifling attention of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, (see *Macaulay's Hist. of England,*) to petty forms and unmeaning ceremonies, together with his intolerance, lent a semblance of probability to the popular clamour which was excited concerning the king's intention of introducing popery; and his marriage with a popish princess, Henrietta of France, increased the suspicion. When therefore the parliament proved victorious over the monarch, even those who had been previously well affected to the Church blended in the same condemnation both Charles and his religion, and patiently submitted to the annihilation of the English hierarchy. The corrupt views of the usurper Cromwell, who assumed the government under the title of Protector, led him to discountenance every power but that of the military, which might endeavour to establish itself in the state. The tenets of the independent party were warmly embraced by Cromwell; and the ecclesiastical state of England was soon divided among a number of discordant Churches, who vied with each other in their extravagance and intolerance. The restoration of Charles II. re-established the form of Church government which had been overthrown at the death of his father; but a liberal toleration was still permitted to all dissenters who chose peaceably to submit to the civil government.

The Church in Scotland underwent a similar revolution. Indeed that kingdom was first excited to arms by the inclination of the monarch to impose upon it episcopal authority. During the commonwealth, the Presbyterian form was established in Scotland; and on the return of Charles II., the kingdom was completely subjected to the episcopal form of government.

The Catholics were not tame spectators of these transactions; and as Ireland was the only part of the British dominions which seemed to promise any degree of success to their machinations, a number of Jesuit missionaries were despatched thither as soon as the contest between Charles and his parliament rendered the crisis favourable to their designs. The artful ministers of persecution were not unsuccessful in reviving the ancient prejudices of the Irish. A dreadful rebellion and massacre was excited throughout the kingdom. In a few months upward of 200,000 were sacrificed. The province of Ulster, which was principally inhabited by Protestants, was entirely depopulated by the loss of 140,000 of its inhabitants. The tortures employed on the occasion would surpass all credibility were they not attested by the most authentic testimonies. New-born infants were committed to the flames, and some even unborn were torn from their mothers and burned: many expired upon tenter hooks in lingering torments; and other inventions of cruelty, too shocking to be named, were publicly exhibited for the sport of the rabble. (See *Sir John Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.*) The army of Cromwell reduced the whole kingdom within the space of one year, (1648,) and gave to the papal authority a blow which in that island it has never been able to recover.

Among the circumstances favourable to the Protestant religion which resulted from the troubles in England was the colonization of several large districts of North America. As the different sides were predominant, such of the oppressed party as were peaceably disposed emigrated at different times to this distant continent, and planted a number of Protestant Churches, which have almost uniformly to the present time persevered in their opposition to popery.

The death of Charles II. once more revived the hopes of the Catholic party in the British dominions; James II., an inflexible bigot, left no stratagem unpractised for the introduction of popery. On this occasion the utility and excellence of the English hierarchy was felt and admitted by all. A fallacious proclamation was issued by James, under the pretence of extending toleration; but its true object was to place all the offices of trust in the hands of papists. The Protestant dissenters were universally imposed upon by this specious pretence; but the temperate sagacity of the bishops justly apprehended the intended consequences; they strenuously contended and petitioned against the proclamation; they alarmed the fears of the Protestants throughout the kingdom. The bigoted James was expelled from the throne in the year 1688, and his son-in-law, William, prince of Orange, was elected by the free voice of the people, and both the civil and ecclesiastical constitution was placed upon a better and more liberal foundation.—(See *Acherly's Britannic Constitution.*)

Agreeably to the general petition of the Scottish nation, the Presbyterian form of Church government was established in that country by William III., and the same was afterward confirmed by the act which effected the union of the two countries in 1706.

Some faint hopes were entertained in the beginning of this century, while the famous Cyrillus Lucar was at the head of the Greek Church, of a union between that and the reformed Churches of Europe. But this eminent patriarch being seized and strangled by the machinations of the Jesuits, these hopes were presently dissipated. (*Formey*, cent.

xvii, art. 7.) Several well-meant efforts were also made to unite under one form of worship all the Protestant churches. The most remarkable of the conferences which were held on this subject was that at Leipsic in 1631. Several of the Protestant princes and most eminent Protestant divines assisted at this conference, but without any success.

A few changes took place in the religion of certain states of Germany toward the commencement of this century, which it may not be improper to notice. In the landgraviate of Hesse, the Lutherans, and the Reformed, or Calvinists, had hitherto mingled in one communion; some differences, however, arising between the divines, the Landgrave Maurice publicly professed the reformed religion; and in 1605 it was introduced into the university of Warburg, and became the prevailing religion of the state. In 1614 also, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburgh, renounced the Lutheran and embraced the reformed religion. The tenets of Calvinism were, however, not admitted by the elector in their full extent; those in particular which related to predestination and Divine grace he utterly rejected. (*Formey*, *Mosheim*, &c.)

CHAPTER II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, AND CEREMONIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Few alterations in the established doctrines of the Romish Church—New societies and orders—Congregation and Seminary for propagating the Faith—Visitation of the Blessed Virgin—Virgins of Love—Fathers of the Oratory—Priests of Missions—Abbey of La Trappe—Doctrines of Protestants—Lutherans—Calvinists—Church of England.

AT a period when the Romish Church was involved in contests which destroyed its claim to universality, and almost endangered its very existence, there was scarcely leisure to attempt either improvement or alteration in the established doctrines or ceremonies of the Church.—Fanaticism is, however, an active principle, and where it cannot exert itself in great undertakings, it will frequently apply with solicitude to lesser objects. Where it cannot institute a religion, it will found a convent; if it dares not extend its sacrilegious hand to touch the essentials of an established form of worship, it will condescend to the reformation of the monkish habit, or add a new penance to the tedious ritual of the monastery.

Several new societies and orders were instituted in this century; but the most conspicuous was that which was formed by Gregory XV., in 1622, and termed "The Congregation for the Propagation of Faith." It consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary Its possessions were greatly augmented by Urban VIII., and by the liberality of innumerable donors. Under the patronage of this society, an incredible number of missionaries have been appointed to all parts of the world; books of various descriptions are published at its expense, and seminaries are supported for the education of missionaries,

as well as for the instruction of pagan youths, who are sent to study at Rome.

To this famous establishment another was added, in 1627, by Urban VIII., under the denomination of "The College for the Propagation of Faith;" and this seminary is entirely appropriated to the education of missionaries to be sent among distant nations. The munificence of a Spanish nobleman, John Baptist Viles, furnished this institution with an ample support, by bequeathing to it his whole possessions, and his house, a noble and beautiful structure, for the immediate use of the college. It is under the government of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. A similar seminary was instituted at Paris in 1663. (*Mosheim.*)

Another association of a benevolent character was the society which was instituted in 1610, by St. Francis of Sales, under the uncouth name of "The Visitation of the Blessed Virgin." The peculiar office of this congregation is the relief and support of the sick poor. Louisa the Fat, a lady of distinction, formed a society of "Virgins of Love," or "Daughters of Charity," for the same purpose. (*Formey.*)

The misfortune of all charitable institutions is, that the selfish conduct of those who are entrusted with the management seldom permits them to answer the intentions of the founders. But however the societies which we have just enumerated may deserve commendation, the increase of monkery, that is, of *indolence*, of *pretended celibacy*, and all the vices which they bring along with them, can never excite approbation. The Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus originated in 1613, with Cardinal Berule;* and in 1632 "The Priests of Missions" were formed into a regular order, with a professed view both of superintending the seminaries for missionaries, and also occasionally instructing the peasantry in the Christian religion.

But the most singular and most famous order is that of the reformed Bernardins, whose institution may be attributed to Bouthelier de Rand, afterward abbot of La Trappe. This extraordinary person was eminent almost from his infancy for his uncommon attainments; and at the age of twelve or thirteen he published an edition of Anacreon, with learned annotations. The early part of his life, it is said, was tinctured with licentiousness; and his conversion is attributed to the following accident:—Among other profligate connections, he had one with a young lady of uncommon beauty, whom he passionately loved. After six weeks' absence in the country, he returned one evening, and entering by a back stair, proceeded directly to the lady's apartment, without having the patience to inquire concerning her health or situation. On entering the chamber he found it illuminated with tapers and hung with black. On his approaching the bed, he beheld his mistress in her shroud, dead of the small pox,—all her beauty extinguished by the ravages of that fatal distemper. From that moment he retired to the gloomy solitude of La Trappe, and spent the last forty years of his life in the most austere piety. The monks of La Trappe are among the most rigid of the Romish orders. (*Mosheim.*)

Few alterations took place either in the creed or ceremonies of the established Protestant Churches in this century. At different assem-

* These monks do not relinquish their possessions on entering into the order, but are excluded from taking any ecclesiastical benefices. (*Mosheim.*)

blies and synods their doctrines were accurately ascertained and defined It may, therefore, not be improper in this place to exhibit a short sketch of these different systems, in addition to what was stated concerning them in the history of the preceding century.

The Protestant Churches in general agreed in rejecting the Romish doctrines relating to the pope's supremacy, the traditions of the Church, transubstantiation, purgatory, penance, auricular confession, image worship, invocation of saints, masses for the dead, monastic vows, and in admitting no more sacraments in the Church than two.

The leading doctrines of the Lutheran Church are as follow:—

I. That the Holy Scriptures are the only source whence we are to draw our religious sentiments, whether they relate to faith or practice.

II. That justification is the effect of faith, exclusive of good works, and that faith ought to produce good works, purely in obedience to God, and not in order to our justification.

III. That no man is able to make satisfaction for his sins.

The Lutheran Church is strictly episcopal in two kingdoms of Europe, Denmark and Sweden, only; in other parts the supreme rulers of the Church are termed superintendents.

The distinguishing tenets of the *Calvinists* are comprehended in five articles:—

I. That God has chosen a certain number in Christ to everlasting glory, before the foundation of the world, according to his immutable purpose, and of his free grace and love, without the least foresight of faith, good works, or any conditions performed by the creature: and that the rest of mankind he was pleased to pass by, and ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sins, to the praise of his vindictive justice.

II. That Jesus Christ, by his death and sufferings, made an atonement only for the sins of the elect.

III. That mankind are totally depraved in consequence of the fall; and by virtue of Adam's being their public head, the guilt of his sin was imputed, and a corrupt nature conveyed to all his posterity; from which proceed all actual transgressions; and that by sin we are made subject to death, and all miseries, temporal, spiritual, and eternal.

IV. That all whom God has predestinated to life he is pleased, in his appointed time, effectually to call, by his word and Spirit, out of that state of sin and death in which they are by nature to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ.

V. That those whom God has effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit shall never finally fall from a state of grace.*

In the Westminster Confession of Faith, which is generally adopted by the Presbyterians, the doctrines of eternal decrees, unconditional election, and particular redemption, are expressed in the following words:—

I. God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass: yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is vio-

* Mosh. Eccl. Hist., vol. iii, p. 352; vol. iv, p. 70; Calvin's Institutions, p. 127; Charnock's Works, pp. 1353, 1354; Twisse's Works, p. 220; Buck's Theol. Dict. article Calvinism.

lence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.

II. Although God knows whatsoever may, or can come to pass upon all supposed conditions; yet hath he not decreed any thing because he foresaw it as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such conditions.

III. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.

IV. These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

V. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereunto; and all to the praise of his glorious grace.

VI. As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, foreordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called by faith in Christ, by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation. *Neither are any other redeemed by Christ*, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.

VII. The rest of mankind, God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.

VIII. The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care; that men attending the will of God revealed in his word, and yielding obedience thereunto, may, from the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God; and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel. (See *the Westminster Confession of Faith*, chap. 3.)

The established Calvinists adopt the Presbyterian form of government; but many societies, such as Independents, Anabaptists, &c., who generally profess the Calvinistic doctrines, have a form and discipline peculiar to themselves.

The national Church of England, in its form of government, is episcopal, having the order of bishop, priest, and deacon. The members of this Church are called Episcopalians, and the following articles of religion contain their doctrines, as established both in Britain and America:—

I. There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions: of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the

Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided; whereof is one Christ, very God and very man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.

III. As Christ died for us, and was buried; so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell.

IV. Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

V. The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son; very and eternal God.

VI. The Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, or may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority there was never any doubt in the Church.

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Joshue, Judges, Ruth, the first book of Samuel, the second book of Samuel, the first book of Kings, the second book of Kings, the first book of Chronicles, the second book of Chronicles, the first book of Esdras, the second book of Esdras, the book of Hester, the book of Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, or Preacher, Cantica, or Songs of Solomon, four Prophets the greater, twelve Prophets the less.

And the other books (as *Hierome* saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine. Such are these following:—

The third book of Esdras, the fourth book of Esdras, the book of Tobias, the book of Judith, the rest of the book of Hester, the book of Wisdom, Jesus the son of Sirach, Baruch the Prophet, the Song of the Three Children, the Story of Susannah, of Bell and the Dragon, the Prayer of Manasses, the first book of Maccabees, the second book of Maccabees.

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them canonical.

VII. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore, they are not to be heard, which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the laws given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not

bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necesity to be received in any commonwealth; yet, notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

VIII. The *Nicene* Creed, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles'* Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

IX. Original sin standeth not in the following of *Adam*, (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk,) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of *Adam*, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil; so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *Phronema sarkos*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

X. The condition of man after the fall of *Adam* is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God: wherefore, we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

XI. We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith; and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

XII. Albeit, that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgments; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith; insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XIII. Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

XIV. Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that is commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

XV. Christ in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void, both in his

flesh and in his spirit. He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as *St. John* saith) was not in him. But all we the rest (although baptized and born again in Christ) yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

XVI. Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God (we may) arise again, and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

XVII. Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed, by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they, which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they, through grace, obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works: and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of predestination, and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love toward God: so, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Farthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture: and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

XVIII. They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

XIX. The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of *Hierusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, have erred

so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

XX. The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith: and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.

XXI. Of the authority of general councils.

XXII. The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping, and adoration, as well of images as of reliques, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.

XXIII. It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

XXIV. It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people.

XXV. Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens to Christian men's profession; but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will toward us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called sacraments, that is to say, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction, are not to be counted for sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown, partly of the corrupt following of the apostles, partly are states of life allowed by the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of sacraments with baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith.

XXVI. Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments; yet, forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the word of God, and in receiving the sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such, as by faith, and rightly, do receive

the sacraments ministered unto them, which be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally being found guilty, by just judgment, be deposed.

XXVII. Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a sign of regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church: the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

XXVIII. The supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather it is sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death; insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ; and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper is faith.

The sacrament of the Lord's supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

XXIX. The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. *Augustine* saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ; but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX. The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people. for both the parts of the Lord's sacrament by Christ's ordinance and commandment ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

XXXI. The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of masses, in which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

XXXII. Bishops, priests, and deacons, are not commanded by God's law. either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage; therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

XXXIII. That person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated,

ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as a heathen and publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a judge that hath authority thereunto.

XXXIV. It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

XXXV. The second book of homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined, under this article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former book of homilies, which were set forth in the time of *Edward* the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people.

1. Of the right use of the Church.—2. Against peril of idolatry.—3. Of repairing and keeping clean of churches.—4. Of good works: first of fasting.—5. Against gluttony and drunkenness.—6. Against excess of apparel.—7. Of prayer.—8. Of the place and time of prayer.—9. That common prayers and sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.—10. Of the reverent estimation of God's word.—11. Of alms doing.—12. Of the nativity of Christ.—13. Of the passion of Christ.—14. Of the resurrection of Christ.—15. Of the worthy receiving of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.—16. Of the gifts of the Holy Ghost.—17. For the rogation days.—18. Of the state of matrimony.—19. Of repentance.—20. Against idleness.—21. Against rebellion.

XXXVI. The book of consecration of bishops, and ordering of priests and deacons, as set forth by the general convention of this Church, in 1772, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering; neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly; and, therefore, whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to said form, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

XXXVII. The power of the civil magistrate extendeth to all men, as well clergy as laity, in all things temporal; but hath no authority in things purely spiritual. And we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel, to pay respectful obedience to the civil authority, regularly and legitimately constituted.

XXXVIII. The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought of such things as he possesseth liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

XXXIX. As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and *James*, his apostle: so we judge that the Christian religion doth not prohibit but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophets' teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.*

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Jansenists—Quietists—Cartesians or Cocceians—Sublapsarians and Supralapsarians—Arminians—Pietists—Jacob Behmen—Puritans—Independents—Seekers—Ranters—Fifth Monarchy Men—Quakers—Sabbatarians—Hattemists—Muggletonians, &c.

THE sect which attracted the most general attention during the course of this century was that of the Jansenists, the founder of which was Cornelius Jansen, originally professor of divinity in the university of Louvain, and afterward bishop of Ypres, in Flanders. This eminent and learned person became early attached to the writings of St. Augustine, and had imbibed all that father's opinions concerning the nature of human liberty and Divine grace. The chief labour of his life was exhausted on the digesting of these opinions into a regular treatise, which, in honour of his master, he entitled Augustinus. He left the work complete at his death, in 1638, and submitted it, by his last will, to the holy see. The publication might possibly have passed with little notice, or, at the most, like many other speculations, might have enjoyed only a temporary celebrity, had not the imprudence of the Jesuits, who were alarmed by an imaginary attack upon their infallibility, selected it as an object on which they might display their unbounded influence. The famous Cardinal Richelieu was not favourably disposed to the memory of its author, who in a former work had condemned the politics of France; and uniting therefore with the Jesuits, he procured the condemnation of the work of Jansen by successive bulls. Persecution generally produces opposition, and perhaps the unpopularity of the Jesuits might tend considerably to increase the disciples of Jansen. His doctrines were embraced by a considerable party both in France and the Netherlands, and had the honour to rank among their defenders James Boonen, archbishop of Malines, Libertus Fromond, Anthony Arnauld, Blaise Pascal, Peter Nicholas, Pasquier du Quesnel, and many others of scarcely inferior reputation. The utmost vigilance of the Church could not prevent the spirit of Jansenism from penetrating the convents themselves; but none was so distinguished as the female convent of Port Royal, in the neighbourhood of Paris. These nuns observed the strict rules of the Cistercians; the vale in which the convent was situated soon became the retreat of the Jansenist penitents, and a number of little huts were presently erected within its precincts. After various vicissitudes of per-

* The thirty-nine articles as inserted above are received by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and do not materially differ from those established in England.

secution, in 1709, the nuns refusing to subscribe the declaration of Alexander VII., the weak and intolerant Lewis XIV. ordered the whole building to be utterly demolished.

The principal tenets of the Jansenists are as follow:—1st. That there are Divine precepts which good men, notwithstanding their desire to observe them, are nevertheless absolutely unable to obey; nor has God given them that measure of grace which is essentially necessary to render them capable of such obedience. 2d. That no person in this corrupt state of nature can resist the influence of Divine grace when it operates upon the mind. 3d. That in order to render human actions meritorious it is not requisite that they be exempt from *necessity*, but that they be free from *constraint*. 4th. That the Semi-Pelagians err greatly in maintaining that the human will is endowed with the power of either receiving or resisting the aids and influences of preventing grace. 5th. That whoever affirms that Jesus Christ made expiation, by his sufferings and death, for the sins of all mankind, isa Semi-Pelagian. (*Mosh. Eccles. Hist.* vol. iv, pp. 373, 379.)

The severity with which the Quietists were treated was still more unpardonable in the Church of Rome. This sect was indebted for its origin, or at least its revival,* to Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, who, in 1675, published a treatise under the title of the Spiritual Guide, in which he asserted that the perfect state of a Christian consists in the repose of the soul, which is only to be obtained in a passive state; so that he has no will or desire that is properly his own; that he resigns himself entirely to God and his influence, to produce in him whatever he pleases. By this the Christian arrives at a pure love of God, exempt from all private interests; he thinks of neither rewards nor punishments; he troubles himself neither about his salvation nor damnation; on the contrary, he beholds all objects with a perfect indifference; and in this state he cannot sin, he stands in no need of any exterior Divine worship, and whatever he does is in itself indifferent.

True policy would have left this innocent branch of enthusiasm to have been quietly embraced by the very few who could sufficiently wean themselves from all the natural propensities to conform to so rigid a principle; but no consideration of this kind, nor even the friendship of Innocent XI., could save the unfortunate priest from persecution.—He was apprehended in 1685; his doctrine was condemned in sixty-eight propositions; he was sentenced to a public penance, and to perpetual confinement in the prison of the inquisition, where he died in 1696, full of years and of sorrow. The persecution was extended to all the disciples of Molinos. The elegant and pious Madame Guyon was persecuted and driven from city to city, and more than once committed to prison: in the benevolent Fenelon she found an advocate, but not even his credit could support the cause.†

The philosophy of Des Cartes, as explained and inculcated by John Cocceius, a celebrated divine of Leyden, produced in this century a controversy and a sect. Cocceius represented the whole history of the

* In most of their tenets the Quietists exactly agreed with some of the ancient sectaries.

† See the life of Fenelon, prefixed to a splendid edition in quarto of Hawksworth's Telemachus, published by Kearsley.

Old Testament as a mirror, which held forth an accurate view of the transactions and events that were to happen in the Church under the dispensation of the New Testament, and to the end of the world. He maintained that by far the greater part of the ancient prophecies foretold Christ's ministry and mediation, and the rise, progress, and revolutions of the Church, not only under the figure of persons and transactions, but in a literal manner, and by the very sense of the words used in these predictions; and laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation, that the words and phrases of Scripture are to be understood in every sense of which they are susceptible; or, in other words, that they signify in effect every thing that they can possibly signify.

The refinements of Calvinism gained an ascendency in most of the reformed Churches during this age of speculation; but the love of disputation would not permit these minute inquiries to be perfectly in unison with each other. Hence arose the distinction between the Sublapsarians and the Supralapsarians: the former asserted that "God had only *permitted* the first man to fall into transgression, without absolutely *predetermining* his fall;" while the latter maintained that "God had decreed from all eternity the transgression of Adam, in such a manner that our first parents could not possibly avoid this fatal event."

The bold and unexpected attack of Arminius produced between the jarring parties that union which probably might otherwise have been far distant. This ardent champion for the free will of man, who had been the disciple of Beza, and was latterly professor of divinity at Leyden, attacked without reserve the favourite doctrines of the Calvinists concerning predestination and election, which were again defended with some warmth by Francis Gomar, one of his colleagues.* The death of Arminius did not bring the controversy to a conclusion; on the contrary, after many attempts, by the moderate party among the clergy and the magistrates, to restore tranquillity, the only expedient that seemed likely to terminate the dispute was the assembling of a general synod, which met at Dort in 1618.† At this assembly a number of eminent divines attended from different parts of Germany,

* In 1588 Arminius was ordained a minister at Amsterdam, and so great was his popularity, and so powerful his eloquence, that he was everywhere followed by admiring auditors, and the enemies of his doctrine and of his success were silenced by the solidity of his arguments, by the perseverance of his mind, and the integrity of his heart. In theological controversy he preserved his high reputation, and never misapplied his reasoning powers or his learning in indecent invectives. As professor of divinity at Leyden, to which office he was called in 1603, he distinguished himself by three valuable orations, on the object of theology—on the Author and end of it—and on the certainty of it; and he afterward wrote an explanation of the Prophet Jonah. In his public and private life Arminius has been admired for his moderation; and though many gross insinuations have been thrown against him, yet his memory has been fully vindicated by the ablest pens; and he seemed entitled to the motto which he assumed,—"A good conscience is a paradise." A life of perpetual labour, and vexation of mind, at last brought on a sickness of which he died, October 19, 1619. His writings were all on controversial and theological subjects, and were published in one volume, 4to., Frankfort, 1631.

Among the Arminian writers we may name Episcopius, Uitenbogart, Grotius, Curcelleus, Limborch, Le Clerc, Wetstein, Goodwin, Whitby, Wesley, Fletcher, Tomline, &c. (See *Lempriere's Universal Biography.*)

† The proceedings of this synod, whose intolerance has disgraced the Protestant name, are detailed in Mr. Watson's Biblical and Theological Dictionary, article Synods; to which the reader is particularly referred for information.

Switzerland, England, and Scotland. The Arminians were declared corrupters of true religion, schismatics, &c. The Supralapsarian doctors were desirous of imposing their own tenets on the synod, but the moderation of the British divines prevented their establishment. As usual in those times of controversy, a sharp persecution followed the decision. The stadtholder, Prince Maurice, immediately imprisoned three of the magistrates, who were the principal supporters of the Arminian party; John Olden Barnevelt, a person highly respectable both from his age and the services he had rendered to his country, Hugo Grotius, and Rumbold Hogerbeets. Barnevelt lost his head on a scaffold, and the other two were condemned to perpetual imprison ment; from which however Grotius afterward escaped, and took refuge in France. The Arminians were expelled from all their employments. Some years afterward, the brother and successor of Maurice, Frederick Henry, allowed them a partial toleration; and Episcopius was even permitted to open a seminary at Amsterdam, which from time to time has produced excellent scholars. They have however been since exposed to occasional persecutions, but are still numerous and powerful in Holland. Their principal doctrines are comprehended in five articles:—1st. That the Deity has not fixed the future state of mankind, by an absolute unconditional decree; but determined from all eternity to bestow salvation on those who he foresaw would persevere to the end in their faith in Jesus Christ; and to inflict everlasting punishments on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist to the end his Divine assistance. 2d. That Jesus Christ, by his sufferings and death, made an atonement for the sins of all mankind in general, and of every individual in particular: that, however, none but those who believe in him can be partakers of this Divine benefit. 3d. That true faith cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties and powers, nor from the force and operation of free will; since man, in consequence of his natural corruption, is incapable either of thinking or doing any good thing; and therefore it is necessary, in order to his salvation, that he be regenerated and renewed by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God through Jesus Christ. 4th. That this Divine grace, or energy of the Holy Ghost, begins and perfects every thing that can be called good in man, and consequently all good works are to be attributed to God alone; that, nevertheless, this grace is offered to all, and does not force them to act against their inclinations, but may be resisted and rendered ineffectual by the perverse wills of impenitent sinners.* 5th. That those who are united to Christ by faith may fall from their faith, and forfeit finally their state of grace.

The learned Spencer was the father of Pietism. He formed societies at Frankfort, for the promotion of what he esteemed vital religion: his principles consisted chiefly in enforcing a rigid and austere practice of piety and virtue.

One of the most singular characters which appeared in this century was Jacob Boehm or Behmen, who indulged in a variety of speculations on the most abstruse and intricate subjects. He mingled chemical philosophy with the mysteries of religion. His first work was

* On the subject of these articles of the Arminian creed, see Mosheim's Eccl. Hist., cent. xvii; the Works of Arminius translated into English, by Mr. Nichols; also Watson's Biblical and Theological Dictionary, article Arminians.

entitled Aurora, or the rising of the sun; which being censured by the magistrates, he remained silent about seven years, and then resuming his pen, in the course of about five years published nearly twenty volumes. Among other abstruse doctrines, Behmen taught that the Divine grace operates by the same rules, and follows the same methods, that the Divine providence observes in the natural world; and that the minds of men are purged from their vices and corruptions in the same manner as metals are purified from their dross.

The name of Puritans was given, at a very early period in England, to those persons, both of clergy and laity, who disapproved of certain rites and ceremonies in the Church, such as the use of the surplice and other garments, which their aversion to popery induced them to consider evidently in a serious light. Well affected, however, to the principal doctrines of the Church, they were content to remain within its pale, till a considerable body of these disaffected members were drawn off in 1586, by the preaching of Robert Brown, who attacked the hierarchy itself; on which account these sectaries separated from the rest, and were denominated Brownists, as was remarked in the history of the preceding century.

With the doctrines of the Church founded by Calvin at Geneva, a considerable respect for its discipline was also imported; and soon after the separation of the Brownists, a large body of the Puritans openly testified their approbation of the form and conduct of the Presbyterian Church.

But the ardour of innovation when once excited is not easily confined; the Puritans, therefore, soon divided into a variety of sects.—To a considerable number even the Presbyterian form of government did not appear sufficiently democratical; they discovered that the Church at Corinth had an entire judicature within itself, 1 Cor. v, 12; and upon this ground they determined that every particular congregation of Christians had a complete power of regulating all its own concerns, independent of bishops, synods, or presbyteries; and agreeably to these principles, they assumed the name of Independents.—This sect dates its origin from 1616.

The Seekers derive their name from their maintaining that the true Church, ministry, Scripture, and ordinances were lost, for which they were seeking. They taught that the Scriptures were uncertain; that present miracles were necessary to faith; that our ministry is without authority; and our worship and ordinances unnecessary or vain.—(*Calamy's Abridg. of Baxter's History*, vol. i, p. 110.) The Ranters, who arose about the same period, were nearly similar in all their opinions.

The Fifth Monarchy Men were another branch from the same stock, and were so denominated from maintaining that there will be a fifth universal monarchy under the personal reign of King Jesus upon earth. In consequence of this tenet, they aimed at the subversion of all human government. (*Mosheim.*)

The society of Quakers was instituted about the year 1650, by George Fox, of Nottingham. If the intemperate zeal of this itinerant preacher, which led him frequently to intrude himself into other religious societies, and to declaim against their abominations, seemed to invite some opposition, it must be confessed, on the other hand, that the spirit of the times did not suffer him to be disappointed. He was

ill treated by all parties; and even Cromwell, the great patron of sectaries, laboured for the extinction of the Quakers. After the restoration, the two celebrated converts, William Penn and Robert Barclay, gave to the Quaker principles the form of a regular system. The society acquired the name of Quakers from the agitation and trembling with which they spoke in public; but the appellation of Friends, or Friends of Truth, is that by which they desire to be distinguished.—The principal points maintained by the Quakers are:—1st. That God has given to all men sufficient light, which will work out their salvation unless resisted; that this light is not less universal than the seed of sin, and saves those who have not the outward means of salvation; and that this light is a Divine principle, in which God, as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, dwells; which the Scriptures call "Christ within, the hope of glory." 2d. That the Scriptures are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the primary rule of faith and manners; nevertheless, because they give a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule subordinate to the Spirit, from whom they derive their excellence. 3d. That immediate revelation is not ceased, a measure of the Spirit being given to every one. 4th. That as by the light or gift of God all spiritual knowledge is received, those who have this gift ought to preach, though without human commission or literature; and as they have freely received this sacred gift, so ought they freely to give it: and that any person of a sober life, without distinction of sex, is allowed to preach when moved by the Spirit. 5th. That all true and acceptable worship to God is offered by the inward and immediate moving of his Spirit. 6th. That water baptism and the Lord's Supper were only commanded for a time.

The moral doctrines of the Quakers are chiefly comprehended in the following precepts:—1. That it is not lawful to give to men such flattering titles as, your grace, your lordship, your honour, &c., or to use those flattering words commonly called compliments, or even to make use of the plural *you* instead of the singular *thee*, which was originally done out of flattery. 2. That it is not lawful for Christians to kneel or prostrate themselves to any man, or to bow the body, or to uncover the head to men. 3. That it is not lawful for a Christian to use such superfluities in apparel as are of no use except for ornament and vanity. 4. That it is not lawful to use games, sports, or plays among Christians, under the notion of recreations, which do not agree with Christian gravity and sobriety; for laughing, sporting, gaming, mocking, jesting, vain talking, &c., are not Christian liberty nor harmless mirth. 5. That it is not lawful for Christians to swear at all under the Gospel, not only vainly, and in their common discourse, which was also forbidden under the law, but not even in judgment before the magistrate. 6. That it is not lawful for Christians to resist evil, or to war, or fight in any case whatever.

The Sabbatarians are a branch of the Anabaptists, who only differ in consecrating the Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday, as well as Sunday, They are called Israelites on the continent. The Muggletonians, Hattemites, Uckewallists, Labbadists, Verschorists, &c., who derive their name from their respective founders, were mere ephemeral productions, and differed but little from those sects already described.

CHAPTER IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Golden age of European literature—Bellarmine—Bossuet—Baronius—Richelieu—Sirmond—Mariana—Tillemont—Father Paul—Pascal—Fenelon—Claude—Drelincourt—Cappel—Bochart—The Buxtorfs—Episcopius—Grotius—Laud—The memorable John Hales—Usher—Hall—Taylor—Stillingfleet—Cudworth—Wilkins—More—Whitcock—Smith—Patrick—Tillotson—Pocock—Cumberland—Barrow—South—Burnet—Castell—Pearson—Beveridge—Calamy—Baxter—Poole—Bacon—Galileo—Des Cartes—Gassendi—Newton—Boyle—Shakspeare—Milton, &c.

THAT natural progress to maturity or perfection, and from perfection to decay, which is instanced in almost every object of the natural world, has by many been supposed to exist with respect to the literary world; and to science and learning the terms infancy and decline have been commonly applied. Should these speculations be any more than a visionary theory, founded upon a fanciful and erroneous analogy, the seventeenth century must, on the fairest estimate, be distinguished as the golden age of European literature. For the reasons, however, which were stated in the last chapter of the preceding century, many names which are highly deserving of the most respectful mention must be wholly omitted; and with respect to those which are noticed, the limits of this work will admit of only cursory remarks.

During these declining periods of the Romish Church, there were not wanting able defenders of her doctrine and authority, the most illustrious of whom was Robert Bellarmine, who, from an obscure Italian Jesuit, was raised to the dignity of cardinal, and the celebrated Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. The exposition of the Roman Catholic faith by Bossuet, is the most subtle and ingenious apology that perhaps was ever published in favour of a system of error and usurpation. It was not, however, relished by the rigid adherents of popery; it was condemned by the university of Louvain as "scandalous and pernicious," and was disavowed by the Sorbonne; though I believe it is now, in these modern times, very generally acknowledged as orthodox by the Catholic Church. Bossuet was the author of several other works, and is among the most admired of the French preachers.

Cardinal Baronius was also indebted for his advancement to his literary abilities. His great work is termed Ecclesiastical Annals. After the death of Clement VIII. he had thirty votes for the pontificate, but was excepted against by the king of Spain, on account of a treatise which he had composed concerning the Sicilian monarchy. The celebrated Cardinal de Richelieu must also be numbered among the defenders of the Romish hierarchy; though an insinuation has escaped Du Pin, that the controversial writings which pass under his name are not really his. (*Du Pin*, cent. 17.) The Jesuits, Sirmond and Mariana, were distinguished in the same cause. The infamous work of the latter, De Rege, &c., is said to have prompted Ravaillac to the assassination of Henry IV. It was burned at Paris by order of parliament. Tillemont, though extremely partial to the Church of Rome, deserves a high place among ecclesiastical historians.

The authors of the Romish communion did not all, however, devote themselves implicitly to the support of the Romish doctrines. The name of Father Paul of Venice will be illustrious as long as any zeal for truth and liberty continues to exist. This truly uncommon character took upon him very early in life the habit of the Servites, nor could the most splendid offers of court favour and emolument allure him from his convent and his studies. His liberality of sentiment exposed him to a severe persecution, and he was at length wounded and left for dead by five ruffians, who retired to the palace of the pope's nuncio, at Venice, whence they escaped to Ferrara. He, however, recovered of his wounds, and lived to complete his incomparable history of the council of Trent, which has been already noticed. A posthumous work on the government of Venice, attributed to him, has been lately published in London, by a foreign nobleman, eminent for his love of literature. If, however, the work be really his, there is much reason to suspect it of great interpolation, as it evidently contains sentiments altogether unworthy of this excellent person.

The celebrated Pascal was also no less remarkable for his liberality than for his piety. His Provincial Letters were the first effective blow which was ever aimed against the credit and authority of the Jesuits.*

It would be highly culpable not to mention with the greatest respect the name of Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, whose writings have contributed perhaps as much to the promotion of real virtue as those of any other author of this century. His admiration and pity for the unfortunate Madame Guyon involved him in a series of persecutions, as a favourer of the doctrines of Quietism; and his book concerning the Maxims of the Saints and the internal life was condemned at Rome on the 12th of March, 1699.†

The study of ancient literature was greatly facilitated by the splendid and valuable editions of the fathers by the Benedictine monks; and still more by the useful labours of the society of Port Royal. The principal of these authors were Robert and Anthony Arnaud, Anthony and Isaac Le Maitre, Claud Launcelot, Claud de St. Martha, and Tillemont. Most of these eminent persons had been men of the world, and had shone in the different departments of the state or the law, and retired to Port Royal in the evening of life, for the purpose of cultivating literature and virtue.

The divines of the reformed Church were not inferior. The eloquence of Claude and Drelincourt was surpassed by no preachers of this century; and the profound and extensive erudition of Bochart, Cappel, the Buxtorfs, and others, exerted in the noblest and most useful branch of literature, the illustration of Scripture, will be always admired.

Among the favourers of Arminianism, Episcopius and Grotius were highly eminent for their extensive erudition. The commentaries of Grotius on the Holy Scripture, and his work in defence of the Christian religion, are invaluable. His treatise of War and Peace is less liberal than might have been expected from so enlightened a mind;

* The comedies of Moliere (says Voltaire) have not more wit than the first Provincial Letters.

† Life of Fenelon, prefixed to Kearsley's edition of Hawksworth's Telemachus.

but it was probably a sacrifice either to gratitude or interest, and therefore, in a great measure, accommodated to the prejudices of Lewis XIV.

The mere catalogue of English writers who excelled in the department of theology, during the seventeenth century, would exceed the limits of this chapter. From the reign of Henry VIII. to that of William III. every branch of literature, and the study of the Greek language in particular, was cultivated in England with unremitting assiduity. The unfortunate and mistaken Laud was possessed of one quality which almost atones for his many errors; he was a warm and active patron of learning and genius: such, indeed, was his respect for talents, that even John Hales, whose principles were, in many respects, diametrically opposite to his own, was not exempted from his patronage.

The names of Usher and of Hall are familiar to most readers. The former was primate of Ireland during the dreadful rebellion in that country, and was obliged to save his life by flight. He is generally esteemed as a man of equal integrity and candour; and his fame for erudition was such that after his retirement from the Church, the university of Leyden made him an honorary professor, and Cardinal Richelieu sent him his picture, with liberal offers and free toleration, if he would make France the place of his residence. Besides his Annals, and other treatises, he made a collection of the epistles of the primitive fathers. Bishop Hall was a man of learning, moderation, and piety; his character was so high among the members of the reformed Churches, that he was appointed, in 1618, to preach a Latin sermon before the synod of Dort, and was presented by the states with a gold medal.

But the most elegant scholar, and the most useful writer of this period was Dr. Jeremy Taylor. He was the son of a barber at Cambridge, and was introduced to public notice by Archbishop Laud. During the depression of the royal party, he was reduced to great indigence and distress; but, at the restoration, was rewarded with the bishopric of Downe and Connor. His writings consist, for the most part, of practical treatises of piety; and while they interest and entertain the learned by the keenness of remark, the general knowledge of the human heart, and the classical allusions with which they abound, they are still more extensively useful in affording comfort and instruction to the plain and unlettered Christian. The style is easy and harmonious, and every sentence contains some striking sentiment or observation. The late Dr. Johnson frequently made a present of his "Holy Living and Dying," even to young persons; and whoever will compare the sermons which he has written with Bishop Taylor's will scarcely fail to perceive that Dr. Johnson has made him his model, at least in that department of literature.

These eminent divines were succeeded by a series of men in the Church of extensive erudition. The works of Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester, abound in deep research, and evince the most perfect knowledge of ancient literature; yet he is even exceeded by Cudworth, whose Intellectual System contains all the wisdom of the ancient metaphysics.

Wilkins, bishop of Chester, was a man of singular genius. No writer

ever indulged himself in bolder projects, and none has adventured in them with equal ingenuity. Whether he forms a scheme for a Philosophical Language, or writes a treatise on the Art of Flying, he is always plausible, always ingenious, always persuasive. The work which is at present of most general utility is his Ecclesiastes, or Gift of Preaching, which contains useful instructions to young preachers.

Dr. Henry More, Dr. Benjamin Whichcot, and the celebrated John Smith of Cambridge, were among the English Platonists, and were excelled by few in learning, sense, and virtue.

From the same school proceeded Patrick and Tillotson; the former of whom was a good commentator on the Scriptures, the latter is too well known to need commendation in this place.

The Polyglot was published at this period by Dr. Bryan Walton. But the first oriental scholar of Europe was confessedly Dr. Edward Pocock. Such indeed was the zeal with which every branch of learning which could reflect light upon the sacred Scriptures was cultivated in England, during this century, that Bishop Cumberland (author of the excellent treatise on the Laws of Nature) at the age of eighty-three applied himself to the study of the Coptic, and made himself master of that intricate language.

The sermons of Dr. Barrow exhibit a view of almost every topic of faith and practice, and are models of a plain and chaste style. The witty and sarcastical South has left some volumes of valuable discourses.

Dr. Burnet, bishop of Sarum, is better known by his historical than by his theological writings. His defence of the articles of the Church of England, however, and his Pastoral Care are works of merit.

Dr. Castell was the author of a valuable work, entitled Lexicon Heptaglotton, in the compilation of which he was assiduously engaged for seventeen years.

Pearson and Beveridge were both able divines, and Hammond and Whitby excellent expositors of the New Testament. Among the nonconformist ministers also several appeared of great eminence. Both Calamy and Baxter were complimented with the offer of bishoprics on the restoration; the latter indeed was no less distinguished by his piety and moderation, than by his learning and talents. The Critical Synopsis of Poole, a work of incredible labour, entitles him justly to a most respectable place among the Biblical commentators.

The philosophy of nature was cultivated in this century with unexampled success. Bacon, Galileo, Des Cartes, and Gassendi, were the precursors of the incomparable Newton.* The name of Boyle must also be mentioned with respect.

To complete the triumph of English literature, it is only necessary to mention that the names of Shakspeare, Milton, and Butler, occur in the annals of the seventeenth century.

* In natural philosophy, Newton stands without a rival. In religion he was a sincere and exemplary Christian. He wrote a commentary on the prophecies of Danie. and St. John. His philosophical writings have been of immense value to the literary world.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Toleration—Succession of popes—Character of Ganganelli—Pius VI.—Suppression of the Jesuits—In Portugal—In Spain—In France—Revolution in America—Revolution in France—Infidelity—Revival of religion.

DURING the course of the eighteenth century, the spirit of toleration prevailed to a considerable extent, and the flames of persecution were measurably extinguished. The great ones of the earth were too much engaged in temporal affairs to devote their time to the concerns of religion, and in many instances people were permitted to enjoy the liberty of thinking and acting for themselves. This age had, nevertheless, its persecutions, and has also been distinguished by some events of importance to the Christian Church.

In the year 1700 Clement XI. succeeded to the papal throne, and is chiefly remarkable for having published the famous bull, which from its initial letters is entitled *Unigenitus*. It was issued in opposition to the Jansenists, and defines and settles the articles of the Romish faith. He was succeeded by Innocent XIII. Benedict XIII., who succeeded Innocent, was a man of eminent piety and virtue. For the purpose of reforming the errors of the Church, he assembled the famous council which met in the palace of the Lateran in 1725, the acts and decrees of which were made public, but have proved utterly ineffectual to the ends which were proposed from them.

This pontiff was succeeded by Clement XII. and Benedict XIV., the latter of whom was a man of learning as well as piety. When he was cardinal, he published a treatise on the Canonization of Saints, with some other works. Clement XIII., who succeeded to the pontificate on the 6th of July, 1758, was a man of a very different character. He was a bigot to every petty ceremony; and indeed the celebrated Ganganelli seems to have perfectly characterized his two predecessors in a few words, when he said Benedict had written, and Clement had prayed much. The haughtiness of the Venetian character displayed itself in Clement, in the dispute in which he involved himself on account of the Jesuits with all the branches of the house of Bourbon, who threatened to withdraw their dominions from the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome. He left the papal dignity in a critical situation, from which all the prudence and moderation of his successor could scarcely emancipate it.

Laurenzo Ganganelli, the son of a physician at St. Archangelo, and the only regular in the sacred college at the time of his election, (being of the order of minor conventuals,) was chosen on the 19th of May,

1769, and assumed the title of Clement XIV. After completing his studies, Ganganelli had obtained the regency of his college, and was afterward promoted to the office of consultor to the holy office. This employment, which included that of pope's minister in all inquisitorial concerns, introduced him to considerable notice; and in a contest between the cardinals, Torrigiani and Carlo Rezzonico to fill a vacancy in the cardinalate for their respective friends, the pusillanimous pope terminated the struggle by advancing to the cardinal's hat father Ganganelli, in preference to either of the candidates already recommended. These progressive steps of his advancement were, as he professed himself, unexpected and unsought for; yet Ganganelli has been charged with having always extended his views, and with having adopted a regular system of conduct for obtaining the papacy, from the time that he became one of that body from which are selected the sovereigns of Rome.

By his artifices, Ganganelli obtained the friendship and confidence of Don Emanuel de Rada, the Spanish minister at the court of Rome. He obtained also the intimacy of the Portuguese and French ministers; and, in contradiction to the practice of the cardinals, who, on account of the pretensions of the papacy to the duchies of Parma and Placenza, always avoid addressing the duke of Parma on any occasion which must oblige them to consider him as the lawful possessor of those territories, Ganganelli seized every occasion of congratulation or condolence to write to the duke. An occurrence which took place in the management of the corn soon afforded Ganganelli an opportunity of acquiring great popularity among every rank. By the devices of Torrigiani, the secretary of state, an artificial famine was raised in Rome and the adjacent country: great numbers perished miserably, and many of those who survived flocked to Rome, in order, by processions and supplications, to avert their calamities and obtain some redress. In this extremity, commissioners were despatched to procure corn at four times the price at which it had been exported: much of the concealed grain appeared by degrees, but so much injured, that it produced very alarming diseases among the people; a great mortality ensued, and a plague was apprehended. Inadequate as this relief was, it must be paid for, and there was no money in the treasury. It was determined to have recourse to five millions of money, which Sixtus V. had deposited in the castle of St. Angelo, with the express proviso that it must only be employed in cases of extreme urgency, and not without the consent of the consistory of cardinals. Ganganelli boldly opposed the squandering of that treasure, which was left for the benefit of the state, and must be refunded by a tax upon the people, who were already nearly exhausted. He noticed the atrocity by which so dreadful a calamity had been produced, and insisted upon an investigation of the business, the restitution of the money which had been so scandalously acquired, and the punishment of the criminals. If this was the dictate of public spirit, Ganganelli was disappointed: the money was applied to pay for the wickedness of the monopolizers; but the cardinal became the darling of the people, who anxiously desired his succession to the papal throne.

The resistance of Ganganelli on this occasion to the views of the consistory has by his enemies been ascribed to his desire of appearing

in opposition to the pope, and by this means indirectly obtaining the patronage of the forcing courts,* to whom the indecision of the reigning pontiff concerning the suppression of the Jesuits had been very offensive.

On the decease of Clement XIII. the interest of these courts was united in favour of Ganganelli, who however deferred for some time to gratify the general expectation of the abolition of the Jesuits. His popularity was preserved by his diminishing several taxes which were very oppressive to the poor, and the Clementine museum was enriched by his liberality and taste. Whether the humility professed by the pontiff may be depended upon or not, thus much is certain, that no man, after the attainment of dignity, conducted more agreeably to such a profession. He was modest and unaffected. When he first removed to the Vatican, he found his chamber hung with crimson damask, which he immediately ordered to be removed, and observed that bare walls were sufficient for a plain monk. He was temperate in the extreme, and performed every office about his own person as long as he was able, because he conceived he had no right to incommode even his attendants. Whatever savings accrued from the frugal regulations which he adopted in his domestic economy he put to the best of uses, by distributing them to the necessitous poor, in the relieving of whom he indulged himself as a favourite amusement. By his wisdom and address he reconciled offended monarchs, and made several regulations in the monastic orders much to the advantage of religion and virtue.

Ganganelli, who died 22d Sept., 1774, was succeeded on the 15th of February, 1775, by Pius VI., who was generally esteemed as a pontiff of elegant manners, and of a respectable private character. His abilities, though not splendid, were useful. He was strongly attached to the Romish faith, and took a peculiar pleasure in performing the various offices and ceremonies of religion. Some dissensions arose between this pontiff and the king of the two Sicilies, with respect to the rights of patronage, which had not apparently been accurately defined in that kingdom: the dispute, however, was at last adjusted.

The overthrow of the Jesuits was completed in this century. The first effectual step toward their suppression was taken by the court of Portugal; but their misfortunes indubitably originated in their own wicked policy and misconduct.

The active genius of this order, which penetrated the remotest countries of Asia, at a very early period of the preceding century, directed their attention to the extensive continent of America, as a proper object of their missions. Conducted by their usual spirit of enterprise, they formed a considerable settlement in the province of Paraguay, and made a rapid progress in instructing the Indians in arts, religion, and the more simple manufactures, and accustoming them to the blessings of security and order. A few Jesuits presided over many thousand Indians: they soon, however, altered their views, and directed them

* The courts of Spain, Portugal, and Naples have been thus termed from their always taking an active part in the election of a pope. There is another party on this occasion denominated the Roman party, to which has sometimes been added a third, called *il partito de Zelanti*, the zealous party, which is sometimes termed *il partito Volante*, the flying party.

altogether to the increase of the opulence and power of their order.—Immense quantities of gold were annually transmitted to Europe; and in the design of securing to themselves an independent empire in these regions, they industriously cut off all communication with both the Spaniards and Portuguese in the adjacent provinces, and inspired the Indians with the most determined detestation to those nations. Such was the state of affairs when, in the year 1750, a treaty was concluded between the courts of Lisbon and Madrid, which ascertained the limits of their respective dominions in South America. Such a treaty was death to the projects of the Jesuits, and the consequence was a violent contest between the united forces of the two European powers, and the Indians of Paraguay incited by the Jesuits. The crafty and vindictive marquis of Pombal, who had raised himself from performing the duties of a common soldier, in the character of a cadet, to be absolute minister of the kingdom of Portugal, could not easily forgive this refractory conduct; and perhaps he might apprehend the downfal of his own authority, unless some decisive check were given to the growing influence of this dangerous society. Whether there was a foundation or not for the report of the conspiracy against the life of the king, or whether the discontented Jesuits were really concerned with the unfortunate nobleman who suffered on that account, is difficult to determine. It was sufficient that it afforded a specious pretence for this expert but unprincipled statesman to rid himself of enemies whom he could not regard in any other than a formidable light. In the beginning of the year 1759, therefore, the Jesuits of all descriptions were banished the kingdom of Portugal, on the plea that certain of their order were concerned in the attempt upon the life of the king in September, 1758, and their effects were confiscated. The hostilities which commenced, not long after, between Portugal and Spain, served a little to protract the existence of the Jesuits in the latter kingdom: the jealousy however which their conduct had excited in the court of Madrid lay dormant only for a while, and, when a fit opportunity presented, no nation of Europe was more clamorous for their abolition.

The disgrace of the Jesuits in France proceeded from different and more remote causes. Among the opposers of Jansenism, none distinguished themselves equally with the Jesuits. By their influence the bull Unigenitus, which condemned so strongly the principles of the Jansenists, was generally supposed to have been obtained. The bull was opposed by the parliament and archbishop of Paris, by fifteen other prelates, and by many of the most respectable among the inferior clergy, as an infringement on the rights of the Gallican Church: the unprincipled Lewis XIV. was however entirely under the government of the Jesuits, and enforced the acceptance of the bull throughout the whole kingdom.

To the year 1750, the bull, though generally disliked, occasioned no public disturbance. At that period, the refusal of the sacrament to the Jansenists served to rekindle the dormant flame. This unlawful usurpation was warmly opposed by the different parliaments, which ended in the banishment of the members by Lewis XV., the reigning sovereign. After various intrigues, in consequence of which the parliament of Paris was twice banished, and twice recalled, some other events occurred which accelerated the downfal of the Jesuits.

As the constitution of the society did not prevent the order from engaging deeply in temporal concerns, no opportunity of enriching their treasury was permitted to escape them. They engaged largely in trade, particularly with the island of Martinico; but certain losses falling heavily upon them, the Jesuit who was the ostensible person in the transactions, *affected* to become a bankrupt, and to shift the payment of the debts he had incurred from the collective body. As a monk, it was evident he could possess no distinct property, and he had been always considered in the light of an agent for the society. The affair was therefore litigated before the parliament of Paris, who were not over favourably disposed to these *holy* fathers. In the course of the proceedings, it was necessary to produce the institute or rules of their order, when it was found to contain dangerous maxims, subversive equally of morals and of government; and other political motives concurring at the same time, the order was abolished in France by a royal edict, in the year 1762, and their colleges and possessions alienated and sold.

The bigotry of Clement XIII. long withstood the solicitations of these united Catholic powers; but the sagacious Ganganelli, whose views were more extensive, and whose religious sentiments were more moderate, made a proper sacrifice of the society to political wisdom and the spirit of the times, and on the 21st of July, 1773, signed a brief for their final suppression. The ten houses and colleges possessed by the order in Rome were seized upon at the same instant.—The brief of suppression was read in each society, the general was conveyed to the English college, and confined to a small gallery at the top of the building, where his examination commenced, and with that of several others of the fraternity was completed at the castle of St. Angelo, in which place the general was afterward confined.

Another event which occurred will not be without its influence upon the religious as well as the political world. I speak of the American revolution, which terminated in the separation of the United States from the British government, the formation of our federal republic, and the establishment of a most extensive plan of religious toleration.—The constitution of the United States provides for no national establishment of religion, gives no one denomination of Christians a preference over others, but secures the rights of conscience more fully and indiscriminately to all than any other government upon earth.—And when we consider the advantages of this republic, in reference to soil, climate, and extent of territory, taking into view at the same time the mildness, and, we trust, permanency of the government, we cannot but indulge the hope that Heaven has designed it as an asylum for civil and religious freedom; where millions of true worshippers shall live in the exercise of vital holiness, worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences.

The American revolution was followed by a most bloody one in France, the effects of which were far from being favourable to civil or religious liberty. Of the state of religion in France subsequent to the revolution, little can be said. The Romish Church was re-established, infidelity had many advocates, and Protestants made but feeble efforts.

The influence of French infidelity was manifest in England and other parts of Europe, and even in America. The superstition, intole-

rance, and profligacy of the Romish Church, were considered as forming a proper foundation on which to build arguments against Christianity; and as the licentious are always ready to seize upon any pretext for evading the restraints of religion, the new philosophy, as it was sometimes called, was embraced by multitudes. Its effects, however, were gradually developed, and many of its deluded votaries learned, too late, that they were to look for the precepts and examples of true religion, not in the errors and profligacy of a fallen, corrupted Church, guilty of the blackest enormities under the name of Christianity, but in the Holy Scriptures, and in the lives of those who have faithfully kept them.

This century has been distinguished likewise by an extensive revival of religion, which commenced under the labours of Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, and Mr. George Whitefield, and spread through different parts of Great Britain, in the United States, also in the West Indies, and some other places. Notwithstanding the efforts of modern infidelity, the great licentiousness of the times, and the supineness that had spread among the professors of religion, the Gospel was made effectual, and the mighty power of redeeming grace was displayed in turning many thousands from darkness to the light of life. As is usual in times of reformation, this work was attended with opposition and considerable persecution; but the fruits of it are still visible, and its effects are likely to be of long continuance. In considering the sects which have appeared in the eighteenth century, we shall have occasion to speak more fully on this subject.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Moravians—Methodists—Hutchinsonians—Sandemanians—Dunkers—Swedenborgians—Modern Socinians or Unitarians—Universalists—Shakers.

As no important alterations in the established Churches appear to have taken place in the course of this century, we shall here give some account of the principal denominations which have arisen within this period, and speak of their distinguishing principles.

The first denomination we shall notice is that of the Moravians, established by Nicholas Lewis, count of Zinzendorf. This nobleman settled, in 1721, at Bartholdorf, in Upper Lusatia, and soon afterward commenced teaching some Moravian families, of whom he made proselytes, and engaged them to leave their places of residence and settle in his neighbourhood. They built a house in the forest which was adjoining to the village of Bartholdorf, where in 1722 they had their first meeting. The society increased so rapidly, that in a few years they were possessed of an orphan house and other public buildings; and they gave their habitation the name of Herenhuth, from which they have been sometimes called Herenhutters. The society themselves, however, date their existence from a much earlier period; and assert that they are descended from the Moravian and Bohemian brethren, who existed as a distinct sect many years prior to the Reforma-

tion. They are a sober, inoffensive, and pious people; are considerably numerous in some parts of Germany and America, but have not increased much in other places, excepting those in which they have missions. This people, like many others, have been misrepresented, and things laid to their charge of which they never were guilty. It is admitted that some of their converts, having previously imbibed extravagant notions, propagated them with great zeal in a phraseology very reprehensible; and that Count Zinzendorf himself sometimes adopted the very improper language of those fanatics whom he wished to reclaim from their errors to the soberness of truth. Much of the extravagance which has been attributed to the count, ought not to be charged to him, but to those persons who, writing his extemporaneous discourses in short hand, printed and published them without his knowledge or consent. This eminent benefactor to the United Brethren died in 1760, and it is with reason that they honour his memory, as having been the instrument by which God restored and built up their Church. But they do not regard him as their head, nor take his writings as the standard of their doctrines, which they profess to derive from the word of God. Their Church government is of the episcopal form; but they allow no pre-eminence to their bishops, their Church having, from its first establishment, been governed by synods, consisting of deputies from all the congregations, and by other bodies which are called conferences.

The principal doctrines which distinguish the Moravians are contained in the following articles of faith:—1. That creation and sanctification ought not to be ascribed to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but belong principally to the Saviour: and, to avoid idolatry, people ought to be abstracted from the Father and Holy Ghost, and be first directed singly to Jesus, who is the appointed channel of the Deity. 2. That Christ has not conquered as God, but as man, with precisely the same power as we have to that purpose. 3. That the law ought not to be preached under the Gospel dispensation. 4. That the children of God have not to combat with their own sins, but with the kingdom of corruption in the world.

The Moravians assert that faith consists in a joyful persuasion of our interest in Christ, and our title to his purchased salvation. They deny the Calvinistical doctrines of particular redemption and final perseverance. They have established among themselves a discipline which closely unites them together, preserves great regularity, keeps them entirely dependant on their superiors, confines them to certain exercises of devotion, and to the observance of different rules. The Church at Herenhuth is so divided, that first the husbands, then the wives, then the widows, then the maids, then the young men, then the boys, then the girls, and lastly the little children, are in so many distinct classes; each of which is daily visited, the married men by a married man, the wives by a wife, and so of the rest. Each class has its director, chosen by its members, and frequent meetings are held in each class, and general ones by the whole society. The members of each class are subdivided into still smaller bodies, and proper assistance is given to each of these subdivisions; but more particular care is taken of such as are believed to be spiritually dead. The elders superintend all these classes. A great part of their worship consists

in singing; and their songs are always a connected repetition of the things which have been preached immediately before. At all hours, whether day or night, some persons of both sexes are appointed by rotation to pray for the society. Among other means for preserving among them the spirit and power of godliness, they celebrate love-feasts.

In questions of importance, or of which the consequences cannot be foreseen, they do not trust the judgment of a majority of votes, nor even to the unanimous agreement of all who may be present; but in such cases recourse is had to the *lot*. For adopting this mode of deciding ecclesiastical affairs, they allege as reasons the practices of the ancient Jews and apostles; the insufficiency of human understanding, amid the best and purest intentions, to decide for itself in what concerns the administration of Christ's kingdom; and their firm reliance on the promises that the Lord will approve himself the head and ruler of his Church. The *lot* is never used but after mature deliberation and fervent prayer; nor is any thing submitted to its decision which does not, after being thoroughly weighed, appear to the assembly eligible in itself.

In missionary labours the Moravians have done, in proportion to their numbers, more than any other denomination, especially in reference to foreign missions. When any among them are disposed to serve God among the heathen, they communicate their wishes and views to the committee appointed by the synods of the brethren to superintend the missions. If, on particular inquiry into their circumstances and connections, no objection is found, they are considered as candidates. As to mental qualifications, much erudition is not required. To be well versed in the sacred Scriptures, and to have an experienced knowledge of the truths they contain, are qualifications which are judged indispensably necessary. In our account of missions, in the concluding part of this work, we shall have occasion to speak again concerning the labours of this people, so distinguished in evangelizing the heathen.*

The Methodists had their origin in the University of Oxford, in England, and were, at the time of their first establishment, all members of that institution. As the rise of this denomination has been attended with an extraordinary revival of religion both in Great Britain and the United States, we shall give a more extended and particular account of it.

During many years after the dawn of the Reformation, religion and religious principles had spread with rapidity and with great success. Every part of Europe had felt the force of truth, and the Gospel, taking the wings of the morning, was beginning to spread into different parts of the world.

But these days of Zion's prosperity were followed by a decline of genuine piety. In Great Britain, though the forms of religion were strenuously supported, the power of it was little known, and both the clergy and laity were shamefully ignorant of Christian experience.

* According to the account given by some of the Moravians, this sect had its origin from the Greek Church in the ninth century; but, being persecuted, some of them joined the Waldenses, and many others were compelled to unite with the Church of Rome.

The rising prosperity of the nation, with increasing wealth and commerce, tended to increase the corruption of the kingdom; and morals, though rigidly inculcated, were but little regarded. Between contests for power, thirst for riches, and love of pleasure, the nation gradually sunk into corruption, and the established Church presented but a feeble barrier against the abounding wickedness of the day.

It was in this state of departure from vital godliness, that a few young men at Oxford, in 1729, feeling the deplorable ignorance and depravity around them, and conscious that something ought to be done to revive a sense of religion in principle and practice, formed themselves into a society. John Wesley, fellow of Lincoln College, and his brother Charles Wesley, then a student, were the first and most distinguished leaders in this revival of evangelical truth. With these a number of other students associated, having similar views.

They all entered into solemn engagements with each other, to lead a stricter life of holiness and self-denial than they had ever yet done, and to separate themselves from every thing unbecoming their character as Christians or ministers. They assembled frequently for the purpose of reading the Scriptures, and for prayer: their meetings became very interesting, and several others joined them. The account of this society, as given in Moore's Life of Mr. Wesley, is as follows: —"In Nov. 1729, four young gentlemen of Oxford, Mr. John Wesley, fellow of Lincoln College; Mr. Charles Wesley, student of Christ's Church; Mr. Morgan, commoner of Christ's Church; and Mr. Kirkham of Merton College, began to spend some evenings in a week together, in reading chiefly the Greek Testament. The next year, two or three of Mr. John Wesley's pupils desired the liberty of meeting with them; and afterward one of Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. It was in 1732 that Mr. Ingham of Queen's College, and Mr. Broughton of Exeter, were added to their number. To these, in April, was joined Mr. Clayton of Brazen-Nose, with two or three of his pupils. About the same time, Mr. James Hervey was permitted to meet with them, and afterward Mr. Whitefield." They kept stated times of fasting; received the holy sacrament every Sabbath; visited the prisons and the sick; they sought out and relieved the distressed; and instructed and admonished the ignorant. By these and other peculiarities, attended by uncommon sobriety of deportment, they became very notorious in the university, and acquired the name of Methodists.

As they all set out professing strict adherence to the Church of England, they strongly enforced the doctrines of her articles and homilies; and as this was very different from the preaching that then prevailed, they attracted numerous crowds of hearers. Their lively manner of address, as well as the matter of their discourses, exceedingly struck the audiences with their novelty, and produced very salutary effects. Their preaching became still more popular after their return from Georgia, whither their zeal for the Gospel had carried them. Laying aside the universal habit of reading sermons from a book, without zeal or animation, and speaking extemporaneously to the congregations, attracted almost universal attention in all places in which they laboured.

Dr. Hawies, when speaking of these times, says, "that by the labours of these indefatigable men, a flood of Gospel light broke upon

the nation." According to the same author, the churches soon became unable to contain the crowds which flocked to hear their discourses, and being in many places excluded from the churches, they preached in the fields. This circumstance had a tendency to swell still more the congregations, which were now immense; sometimes indeed riotous and insulting, but in general solemn and attentive, and many were added to the Church of such as should be saved.

For a considerable time Mr. John Wesley, his brother Charles, and Mr. Whitefield, though labouring independently of each other, were united in spirit and in fellowship; but as Mr. Whitefield adopted the Calvinistical doctrines of predestination, election, and reprobation, which Mr. J. Wesley and his brother rejected, a separation took place, which, however, did not retard their labours nor the progress of the work. They all agreed in *the total depravity of human nature, in justification by faith alone, and the necessity of a Divine change of heart, by the power of the Holy Spirit.*

Unable to supply the numerous congregations collected by their labours with regularly ordained ministers, they associated with themselves lay preachers, so called; that is to say, unordained preachers, who had not gone through a course of study in divinity preparatory for the office, according to the custom of the English Church. They employed those whom they found best qualified, and their societies increased by thousands, in different parts of the kingdom.

This immense body of Methodists, from the difference of doctrine each maintained concerning predestination, free will, &c., necessarily divided into two separate communions, the *Calvinistic* and *Arminian:* but the latter, who are also called Wesleyan Methodists, became much the more numerous. Both of them possessed attachment to the Episcopal Church, but necessitated, from the situation in which they were placed, to preserve the congregations which they had collected, both Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield appointed local and itinerant preachers to confirm and edify them, and to increase their numbers; they themselves continuing to labour as itinerant evangelists, visiting in rotation the Churches which they had formed, and continually forming others. "They repeatedly travelled over a space," says Dr. Hawies, "more than the circumference of the globe; wherever they moved, they were as a flame of fire, and left a train of evangelical light behind them. They were in preaching unwearied, two, three, and sometimes four times a day; and this often in places many miles distant from each other; and notice having been previously given of their coming, thousands awaited and welcomed them, heard them with reverence, and received them as angels of God." (See *Hawies' Church History*, vol. 2d, pp. 401, 402.)

At the time when the Methodists arose, all the various denominations of dissenters from the established Church in England had suffered a great decline from experimental godliness; and some much more than others, particularly the English Presbyterians. But the revival which now took place extended its influence among them, as well as in the established Church, and their stated pastors were roused to greater zeal and activity in the performance of their duties. Thus the dissenters of all denominations evidently profited by the flame that was kindled through the labours of ministers bred in the Church. From their itine-

rant and faithful helpers, decaying congregations revived, and invited pastors to settle over them; and a multitude of congregations and Churches were formed where there had been none before.

Besides the two distinct bodies of Methodists which arose under the superintendence of Mr. John Wesley and Mr. George Whitefield, a third society was established under the patronage of Lady Huntingdon. Her mind had been turned to religious subjects during a severe illness, and on her recovery she became confirmed that the great revival now in progress was the work of God. She, therefore, sent a kind message to the Messrs. Wesleys, who were at that time preaching in the neighbourhood, that she was one with them in heart, cordially wishing them success in their labours, and assuring them of her determined purpose to give herself to the service of the great Redeemer. During the whole of her subsequent life, she devoted her time and substance in promoting the cause of religion—building chapels, supporting and encouraging a number of itinerant labourers, and providing for the education of others.

The followers of both Mr. Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon received the same Calvinistical articles, and conducted their ecclesiastical economy upon nearly the same plan. They both had considerable success, and established large and respectable societies in different parts of Great Britain.

In America also the labours of Mr. Whitefield were great, and attended with the same effects as in Europe. Immense congregations followed him, many were awakened, and much good was done. Seven times Mr. Whitefield is said to have visited the American continent in the performance of his ministerial functions. He founded an orphan house in Georgia, by means of charitable collections which he made in different places for that purpose, and his time and talents were spent in promoting by all possible means the prosperity of Christ's kingdom. But instead of forming permanent societies in America, he left his adherents to unite with the different Churches already established in various parts of the country; and many of them became members of the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist denominations.

Mr. John Wesley, having a remarkable talent for Church government, formed his societies upon a plan, and under rules of discipline well calculated to secure their prosperity, preserve their union, and render them permanent. The first societies were formed in England in 1739, and in the United States in 1766. "Such a society," says the Methodist Discipline, "is no other than a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation."

The societies having become numerous by the additions of thousands, Mr. Wesley, assisted by his brother Charles and others belonging to his connection, pursued the itinerant plan in supplying them with preaching. His time was spent in one continued journey, visiting regularly every society in the kingdom, and preaching once, twice, or three times, and in many instances oftener, in a day. It is computed that during the long course of his ministry, he preached above forty thousand sermons. Scotland and Ireland shared his labours, and in Ireland his

preaching produced astonishing effects; but his time was employed chiefly in England. As he did not desire that the Methodists in England should separate, during his life, entirely from the established Church, he recommended that they should attend its services, when not supplied by their own preachers; and this they did for many years. After Mr. Wesley's death, their connection with the Church, though not formally dissolved, was gradually weakened, and they were finally considered as forming a distinct denomination. During Mr. Wesley's lifetime, he exercised the authority of a general superintendent over the Methodist connection in England, Scotland, and Ireland. He appointed the times for the sitting of the conference, proposed preachers for admission, and appointed the preachers to their stations. After his decease, these prerogatives were placed chiefly in a stationing committee appointed for the purpose, in conformity with a plan which he himself had before suggested; and this useful connection still continued its operations, enlarging its influence at home, sending missionaries abroad, and in various ways contributing greatly toward the extension of evangelical religion.

The first conference of preachers in connection with Mr. Wesley was held in London in June, 1744. It consisted of six clergymen and a few lay preachers. Its meetings were held annually, and large additions were continually made to the connection, both of preachers and members. The conference which was held in Bristol in 1790, being in number the forty-seventh, was the last that Mr. Wesley attended. At that time there were under his superintendence, in various parts of the British dominions, one hundred and nineteen circuits, three hundred and fourteen preachers; and almost eighty thousand communicants. At the same date there were in the United States ninety-seven circuits and stations, about two hundred preachers, and more than forty thousand communicants; making an aggregate amount of two hundred and sixteen circuits and stations, above five hundred preachers, and one hundred and twenty-two thousand communicants; besides numerous and constant hearers.

The first Methodist societies in the United States were formed in 1766, one in New-York, and one in Frederick county, Maryland.—Societies having been afterward formed in other places, some preachers were obtained from England, and others were raised up in America; all of whom laboured with success. Revivals of religion became frequent, the work spread extensively, and the infant Church increased with great rapidity.

At the close of the American revolution, which separated the United States from Great Britain, the preachers belonging to the American connection applied to Mr. Wesley for advice and assistance, in reference to the plan they ought to adopt in becoming an independent Church. This was but a few years prior to Mr. Wesley's death; and he evidently foresaw that the societies under his care both in Europe and America would in time be entirely independent of the English hierarchy, both for ordination and ordinances. Under this conviction he acted; and the course he pursued, as well as his views in relation to it, will appear from his own words, contained in the following communication directed to his brethren in the United States:—

"By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces

of North America are totally disjoined from the mother country, and erected into independent states. The English government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the states of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the congress, partly by the provincial assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation, some thousands of the inhabitants of these states desire my advice; and in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

"Lord King's account of the primitive Church convinced me, many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned, from time to time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling preachers; but I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined, as little as possible, to violate the established order of the national Church to which I belonged.

"But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, neither any parish ministers. So that for some hundred miles together, there is none either to baptize or administer the Lord's Supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end; and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order, and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest.

"I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents over our brethren in North America, as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper. And I have prepared a liturgy, little differing from that of the Church of England, (I think the best constituted national Church in the world,) which I advise all travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day, in all the congregations, reading the litany on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the supper of the Lord on every Lord's day.

"If any one will point out a more rational and Scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

"It has, indeed, been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object,—1. I desired the bishop of London to ordain only one, but could not prevail: 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay: 3. If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us? 4. As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the state and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free."

Thus it will be seen, that two persons were appointed as superintendents or bishops, and two as elders, with power to administer the

sacraments. The General Conference which met in December, 1784, in Baltimore, unanimously confirmed what Mr. Wesley had done.—Mr. Asbury was received and ordained as joint superintendent with Dr. Coke; the travelling preachers who were deemed eligible were also ordained; and in this manner was constituted the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.*

In doctrine the Wesleyan Methodists, both in Europe and America, are one. The following are the articles of religion, as published in the "Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

1. There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body or parts, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead, there are three persons of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

2. The Son, who is the word of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed virgin; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together in one person,

* This organization of the Methodist Church in an episcopal form has been made a subject of considerable animadversion. While the Romish Church denounces the episcopacy of the Church of England as spurious, some of the English and American Episcopalians seem to entertain similar views of episcopacy among the Methodists. On this subject, the following statements will show that the Methodists have adopted certain principles, in conformity with which they will be found to have uniformly proceeded:—

1. They deny that the validity of the Christian ministry depends upon a succession, from the apostles, of an order of bishops. If such a principle were admitted, the validity of ordination in the Church of England would depend upon a succession through a line of popes, many of whom were among the most profligate and wicked of mankind; and among whom, according to most Protestant commentators, we are to look for the "man of sin," *antichrist*, the "apostacy of the latter times," and many other abominations foretold in the Scriptures. If there be any virtue or honour to be derived from such a succession, provided it existed, it is an honour which the Methodists have no wish to share. They freely relinquish it to any, and all, who may wish to monopolize its advantages or pretensions. While the Methodists admit the validity of ordination in the Church of England, believing it to be Scriptural; they contend that it derives no part of its value from any such source as uninterrupted succession, which Mr. Wesley has openly declared, "*he knew to be a fable;*" but that the validity of it depends entirely upon the evangelical organization of that Church.

2. While the Methodists believe in the episcopal form, as being consistent with apostolical usage, they contend that no form of Church government has been unalterably fixed by the Scriptures; but that the Church of Christ has a discretionary power to establish and exercise such form, from time to time, consistent with certain principles laid down in the word of God, as the state of society may render expedient.

3. It is believed that a body of elders or presbyters possess the power of ordination, and the right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so far as relates to the Church committed to their care; and can, if they deem it expedient, delegate for life that power or any portion of it, to any one of their number, by the imposition of their hands and prayer; reserving to themselves the right of government, and of making such modifications as the affairs of the Church may require.

4. They contend that the ordination of Dr. Coke, to the office of superintendent, by Mr. Wesley and the presbyters with him, was a lawful and judicious exercise of the power and authority possessed by such a body of presbyters, under such circumstances; and has received not only the sanction of the Methodist General Conference, but the approbation and abundant blessing of Almighty God.

Those who may wish to investigate this subject will find it thoroughly and ably discussed in "A Defence of our Fathers, and the Original Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church," &c., by Rev. Dr. Emory, now bishop of said Church; also, in a work on "Methodist Episcopacy," by Rev. Dr. Bangs.

never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.

3. Christ did truly rise again from the dead, and took again his body, with all the things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth until he return to judge all men at the last day.

4. The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

5. The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scriptures, we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Here follow the names of the canonical books of the Scriptures.

6. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard who feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, doth not bind Christians, nor ought the civil precepts thereof of necessity be received in any commonwealth; yet, notwithstanding, no Christian whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

7. Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk) but it is the corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually.

8. The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith, and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.

9. We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort.

10. Although good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgments: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and spring out of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree is discerned by its fruit.

11. Voluntary works, beside over and above God's commandments, which are called works of supererogation, cannot be taught without

arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that is commanded you, say, we are unprofitable servants.

12. Not every sin willingly committed after justification is the sin against the Holy Ghost and unpardonable. Wherefore, the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after justification. after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God rise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned who say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

13. The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

14. The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardon, worshipping, and adoration, as well of images as of relics, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but repugnant to the word of God.

15. It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church, to have public prayer in the church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understood by the people.

16. Sacraments ordained of Christ are not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession: but rather they are certain signs of grace and God's good will toward us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel; that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called sacraments; that is to say, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction, are not to be counted for sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have partly grown out of the *corrupt* following of the apostles: and partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not the like nature of baptism and the Lord's Supper, because they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about; but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves condemnation, as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xi, 29.

17. Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christians are distinguished from others that are not baptized: but it is also a sign of regeneration, or the new birth. The baptism of young children is to be retained in the Church.

18. The supper of the Lord is not only a sign that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another, but rather is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch, that, to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is

a partaking of the body of Christ; and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of bread and wine in the supper of our Lord cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after a heavenly and Scriptural manner. And the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper is faith.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

19. The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people; for both the parts of the Lord's Supper, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be administered to all Christians alike.

20. The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual: and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of masses, in the which it is commonly said, that the priest doth offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, is a blasphemous fable, and dangerous deceit.

21. The ministers of Christ are not commanded by God's law either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage; therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christians, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve best to godliness.

22. It is not necessary that rites and ceremonies should in all places be the same, or exactly alike, for they have been always different, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word.—Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the rites and ceremonies of the Church to which he belongs, which are not repugnant to the word of God, and are ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, that others may fear to do the like, as one that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and woundeth the consciences of weak brethren.

Every particular Church may ordain, change, and abolish rites and ceremonies, so that all things may be done to edification.

23. The president, the congress, the general assemblies, the governors, and the councils of state, *as the delegates of the people*, are the rulers of the United States of America, according to the division of power made to them by the constitution of the United States, and by the constitutions of their respective states. And the said states are a sovereign and independent nation, and ought not to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.*

24. The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as some do falsely

* As far as it respects civil affairs, we believe it the duty of Christians, and especially all Christian ministers, to be subject to the supreme authority of the country where they may reside, and to use all laudable means to enjoin obedience to the *powers that be;* and therefore it is expected that all our preachers and people, who may be under the British, or any other government, will behave themselves as peaceable and orderly subjects

boast. Notwithstanding every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor according to his ability.

25. As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ and James his apostle; so we judge that the Christian religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.*

In closing this sketch of the rise of the Methodists, it will be proper to give some account of the two most conspicuous leaders in this great revival of evangelical religion.

Mr. John Wesley, according to Dr. Hawies, was of inferior size, his visage marked with intelligence; singularly neat and plain in his dress; upright, graceful, and remarkably active. His understanding, naturally excellent and acute, was highly stored with the attainments of literature. He conversed fluently in Latin, was highly skilled in Greek and Hebrew, and was familiar with several modern languages. In general learning his acquirements were very extensive, and as a logician he stood pre-eminent. He possessed a fund of anecdote and history, that rendered his company exceedingly interesting and instructive. His manner of address in public was chaste and solemn, attended with a divine simplicity and venerableness, which commanded attention and never forsook him in his latest years. His health was remarkably preserved amidst a scene of labour and perpetual exertions of body and mind, to which few would have been equal.—Never did a man possess greater personal influence over the people connected with him. Nor was it easy to direct so vast a machine, where, amidst so many hundred wheels in motion, some moved eccentrically, hardly yielding to the impulse of the main spring. It is unnecessary to speak of his piety and pious examples. Too many eyes were upon him to admit of his halting; nor could his influence have been maintained a moment longer than the fullest conviction impressed the people that he was an eminent servant of God, distinguished for his holy walk, as well as for his vast abilities, indefatigable labour, and singular usefulness.

His enemies reviled him, and would, if possible, rob him of the meed of well deserved honour, by imputing to him objects below the prize he had in view. Never was a more disinterested character. But he was a man, and he must indeed have been more than a man, if with the consciousness of his own devotedness, the Divine blessing on his labours, and the high admiration in which he was held, he had been entirely above errors. He must have been insensible to the emotions of a generous nature, says Mr. Watson, if he had not felt an honest satisfaction that he had lived down calumnies; and that, where mobs formerly awaited him, he met with the kind and cheering attentions of the most respectable persons of all religious persuasions, in every part of the country.

* For a full and detailed account of the rise of the Wesleyan Methodists, the reader may consult Moore's Life of Wesley, Watson's Life of Wesley, Crowthe's Portraiture of Methodism, that part of Mr. Wesley's Works which contains his Journal, Asbury's Journal, and the life of Dr. Coke. For a *partial* account see *Southey's* Life of Wesley.

On attaining his eighty-fifth year he made the following reflections:—

"I this day enter on my eighty-fifth year. And what cause have I to praise God, as for a thousand spiritual blessings, so for bodily blessings also! How little have I suffered yet by 'the rush of numerous years!' It is true, I am not so agile as I was in times past: I do not walk so fast as I did. My sight is a little decayed. My left eye is grown dim, and hardly serves me to read. I have daily some pain in the ball of my right eye, as also in my right temple, (occasioned by a blow received some time since,) and in my right shoulder and arm, which I impute partly to a sprain, and partly to the rheumatism. I find likewise some decay in my memory, with regard to names and things lately past: but not at all with regard to what I have read or heard, twenty, forty, or sixty years ago. Neither do I find any decay in my hearing, smell, taste, or appetite, (though I want but a third part of the food I once did,) nor do I feel any such thing as weariness, either in travelling or preaching. And I am not conscious of any decay in writing sermons, which I do as readily, and I believe as correctly, as ever.

"To what cause can I impute this, that I am as I am? First, doubtless, to the power of God, fitting me for the work to which I am called, as long as he pleases to continue me therein: and next, subordinately to this, to the prayers of his children. May we not impute it, as inferior means: 1. To my constant exercise and change of air? 2. To my never having lost a night's sleep, sick or well, at land or sea, since I was born? 3. To my having sleep at command, so that whenever I feel myself almost worn out, I call it, and it comes, day or night? 4. To my having constantly, for above sixty years, risen at four in the morning? 5. To my constant preaching at five in the morning, for above fifty years? 6. To my having had so little pain in my life, and so little sorrow or anxious care? Even now, though I find pain daily in my eye, temple, or arm, yet it is never violent, and seldom lasts many minutes at a time.

"Whether or not this is sent to give me warning that I am shortly to quit this tabernacle, I do not know; but be it one way or the other, I have only to say,—

'My remnant of days
I spend to his praise
Who died the whole world to redeem:
Be they many or few,
My days are his due,
And they all are devoted to him!'"

Mr. Wesley's liberality to the poor knew no bounds but an empty pocket. He gave away, not merely a certain part of his income, but all that he had: his own wants provided for, he devoted all the rest to the necessities of others. He entered upon this good work at a very early period. We are told that when he had thirty pounds for his year's expenses, he lived on twenty-eight, and gave away forty shillings. The next year receiving sixty pounds, he still lived on twenty-eight, and gave away two and thirty. The third year he received ninety pounds, and gave away sixty-two. The fourth year he received one hundred and twenty pounds. Still he lived on twenty-eight, and gave to the poor ninety-two. In this ratio he proceeded during the rest of his life; and in the course of fifty years, it has been supposed,

he gave away between twenty and thirty thousand pounds, gathered chiefly from the constant and extensive sale of his numerous writings.

The following remarks concerning his general character appeared after his death in Woodfall's Diary:—

"His indefatigable zeal in the discharge of his duty has been long witnessed by the world; but, as mankind are not always inclined to put a generous construction on the exertions of singular talents, his motives were imputed to the love of popularity, ambition, and lucre It now appears that he was actuated by a disinterested regard to the immortal interests of mankind. He laboured, and studied, and preached, and wrote, to propagate what he believed to be the Gospel of Christ. The intervals of these engagements were employed in governing and regulating the concerns of his numerous societies; assisting the necessities, solving the difficulties, and soothing the afflictions of his hearers. He observed so rigid a temperance, and allowed himself so little repose, that he seemed to be above the infirmities of nature, and to act independently of the earthly tenement he occupied. The recital of the occurrences of every day of his life would be the greatest encomium.

"Had he loved wealth, he might have accumulated it without bounds. Had he been fond of power, his influence would have been worth courting by any party. I do not say he was without ambition; he had that which Christianity need not blush at, and which virtue is proud to confess. I do not mean that which is gratified by splendour and large possessions; but that which commands the hearts and affections, the homage and gratitude of thousands. For him they felt sentiments of veneration only inferior to those which they paid to Heaven: to him they looked as their father, their benefactor, their guide to glory and immortality; for him they fell prostrate before God, with prayers and tears, to spare his doom, and prolong his stay. Such a recompense as this is sufficient to pay the toils of the longest life. Short of this, greatness is contemptible impotence. Before this lofty prelates bow, and princes hide their diminished heads.

"His zeal was not a transient blaze, but a steady and constant flame. The ardour of his spirit was neither damped by difficulty nor subdued by age. This was ascribed by himself to the power of Divine grace; by the world, to *enthusiasm*. Be it what it will, it is what philosophers must envy, and infidels respect; it is that which gives energy to the soul, and without which there can be no greatness or heroism.

"Why should we condemn that in religion which we applaud in every other profession and pursuit? He had a vigour and elevation of mind, which nothing but the belief of the Divine favour and presence could inspire. This threw a lustre around his infirmities, changed his bed of sickness into a triumphal car, and made his exit resemble an apotheosis rather than a dissolution."*

In connection with Mr. Wesley, besides his brother, Charles Wesley, were Mr. Fletcher and Dr. Coke, together with Mr. Asbury, Mr. Nelson, and others, whose piety, labours, sufferings, and usefulness, can never be fully appreciated by the Church militant.

Mr. George Whitefield was serious and religiously inclined from his

* See Hawies' Church History, Bourn's Life of Wesley, and Watson's Life of Wesley.

early youth, and carried with him a deep sense of piety to the university of Oxford. Bishop Benson was so pleased with his early zeal in practical religion that he ordained him at the age of twenty-one. His person was manly, and his voice remarkably musical. His manner was often highly graceful and eloquent. Perhaps no one ever possessed a greater command of the human passions, or better knew the way to the consciences of his hearers. His literary attainments, says Dr. Hawies, were moderate, though not defective in the learned languages; but he possessed a thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures, and a peculiar art of introducing and illustrating any subject which he selected. His labours in both hemispheres were immense. His courage was undaunted, his zeal seemed unquenchable, and he fell a martyr to the work in which he was so zealously engaged. The violence of his exertions often shook his constitution, and he frequently extended his exercises beyond the bounds of prudence. The crowds which attended his preaching were astonishing, and he was instrumental in the conversion of thousands.

They who were with him knew how faithfully he attended to his duties, and how unblameably he had his conversation in the world.—Indeed, he was so taken up with his unwearied labours in the ministry, in preaching, religious exercises, and advicé to those who were daily applying to him, that he had scarcely time for rest. After passing through evil and good report during more than thirty years of incessant labour, he ended his days in America. Notwithstanding the difference of opinion between him and Mr. Wesley, in reference to certain doctrines, the most sincere friendship and Christian fellowship subsisted between them, and it was Mr. Whitefield's request, that Mr. Wesley should preach his funeral sermon in England.

Though not strictly the founder of a sect, since he was a declared enemy to all separation from the English Church, the name of John Hutchinson has excited too much attention to be entirely omitted in this history. He was born in 1674, and in the early part of his life was stewârd to the duke of Somerset. He was undoubtedly a man of uncommon abilities, and of extensive knowledge. He applied himself, among other pursuits, assiduously to the study of nature, and is said to have collected in the course of his travels that selection of fossils which was bequeathed by Dr. Woodward to the university of Cambridge.

In 1724 he published the first part of his Moses's Principia, in which he ridiculed Dr. Woodward's Theory of the Earth, and attacked the doctrine of gravitation, and other parts of the Principia of Newton. About three years afterward he published a second volume, explaining the nature of the Scripture philosophy, and the system of Moses. The Hebrew language and the Holy Scriptures he esteemed as the source of all knowledge, human and divine; and wrote treatises fancifully illustrative of that language. But he was no admirer of classical literature. After Origen and other commentators, he asserted that the Scriptures were not to be understood in a literal, but in an allegorical sense; that even the historical parts, and particularly those relating to the Jewish ceremonies, and Levitical law, were to be considered in this light. And he asserted, that, according to this mode of interpretation, the Hebrew Scriptures would be found to testify amply concerning the nature and person of Christ.

The followers of Mr. Hutchinson have never been formed into a distinct Church or society; but his doctrines have been embraced by considerable numbers both of the clergy and laity in England, who, on that account, are distinguished by the appellation of Hutchinsonians.

The Sandemanians, or Glassites, as they are termed in Scotland, derive their name from two popular preachers in North Britain, Mr. John Glass, and Mr. Robert Sandeman. Their doctrine and discipline are said to be: 1. That justifying faith is no more than a simple belief of the truth, or the Divine testimony passively received. 2. That this Divine testimony carries in itself sufficient ground of hope and occasion of joy to every one who believes it, without any thing wrought in us, or done by us, to give it a particular direction to ourselves. 3. They constantly communicate together in the Lord's supper every Sabbath; for they consider the Christian Sabbath as designed for the celebration of Divine ordinances, which are summarily comprised, Acts ii, 42–44. In the interval between the morning and afternoon services, they have their love-feasts; of which every member partakes by dining at the houses of such of their brethren as live sufficiently near, and whose habitations are convenient for that purpose. Their principal design in these feasts is, to cultivate mutual knowledge and friendship; to testify that they are all brethren of one family, and that the poor may be aided by the wealthy. At these love-feasts, and on the admission of a new member, they use the kiss of charity, or the saluting each other with a holy kiss, which they believe to be a duty enjoined in Rom. xvi, 16, and in 1 Cor. xvi, 20. They also practise washing each other's feet, for which they allege John xiii, 14, 15. They hold to a community of goods, so far, that every one among them is to consider his property liable to the calls of the poor and of the Church. With excommunicated persons they hold it unlawful to eat or drink.

Mr. Sandeman came to New-England, and established a society at Boston, and a few other places. He died at Danbury in 1771.

Some singular sects have arisen in America within the course of this century. Of this class are the Dunkers, who formed themselves into a kind of commonweath, mostly in a small town called Ephrata, in Pennsylvania, where they live by their industry in a quiet and peaceable manner.

Their habits and mode of life are somewhat remarkable. The men wear their beards, dress generally in long garments, with a girdle round their waist, and a cap somewhat like the Dominican friars.—The men and women have separate habitations, and distinct governments. For this purpose they have two large buildings; one of which is occupied by the brethren, the other by the sisters of the society: and in each of them there is a banqueting room, and an apartment for public worship. The brethren and sisters do not meet together even at their devotions. They live chiefly on vegetable food, the rules of their society not allowing them the use of flesh, except upon particular occasions, when they hold what is called a love-feast, at which time they use some flesh. No member of the society is allowed a bed, but in case of sickness. They have in their rooms benches on which to rest themselves, and blocks of wood for pillows. The Dunkers allow of no intercourse between the brethren and sisters, not even by marriage. They seem to have obtained their name from their manner of

baptizing their new converts, which is by immersion. The principal tenet of the Dunkers appears to be this: that future happiness is only to be obtained by penance and outward mortification in this life; and that, as Jesus Christ by his meritorious sufferings became the Redeemer of mankind in general, so each individual of the human race, by a life of abstinence and restraint, may work out his own salvation. Nay, they go so far as to admit of works of supererogation; and declare that a man may do much more than he is in justice or equity obliged to do, and that his superabundant works may therefore be applied to the salvation of others. They deny the eternity of future punishments, and believe that the souls of the just are employed to preach the Gospel to those who have had no revelation in this life. They suppose the Jewish Sabbath, sabbatical year, and year of jubilee, are typical of certain periods after the general judgment, in which the souls of those who are so far humbled as to acknowledge God and Christ, are received to felicity; while those who continue obstinate are reserved in torments until the grand period typified by the jubilee arrives, in which all shall be made eventually happy. They also deny the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity; and as they believe in the final salvation of all men, it is proper to consider them as Universalists. They disclaim violence, even in self-defence, and suffer themselves to be defrauded or wronged rather than go to law; on which account they have been sometimes called the harmless Dunkers.

The Swedenborgians owe their origin as a sect to one of the most extraordinary men of modern times, the Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg. He was the son of Jasper Swedenborg, bishop of west Gotha. He appears to have had a complete education, his learning being extensive in almost every branch. At an early period of life he became remarkable for his abilities at the court of Sweden. His first and favourite pursuit was natural science, on which he published several valuable treatises. He was intimate with Charles XII., king of Sweden, who appointed him to the office of assessor to the metallic college; in 1719 he was ennobled by Queen Ulrica Eleanora, and named Baron Swedenborg.

In 1743 he professed to have been favoured with a particular revelation, and a sight of the invisible world. From that period he devoted himself to theological studies, and composed a large number of books upon those subjects in good Latin, (but without any ornaments of style,) which he wrote with facility, and it is said that he seldom blotted or corrected a line. He lived and died in the Lutheran communion, but always spake favourably of the Church of England, and exercised liberal principles toward others.

The theology he professed was abstruse and mystical. He carried his respect for the person and Divinity of Christ to the highest degree of veneration, considering him as God manifested in the flesh. With respect to the sacred trinity, he admitted three distinct essences, principles, or characters, existing in it, and constituting the Divine Being. The virtue and efficacy of the atonement, by the passion and death of the man Christ Jesus, is considered by Baron Swedenborg as not consisting in the change of disposition in God toward man from wrath to love and mercy, because that ever must be unchangeably the same; but in changing the state of man, by removing from him the powers of

hell and darkness, wherewith he was infested in consequence of transgression; and by bringing near to him the Divine and heavenly powers of goodness and truth, in the person and Spirit of Jesus Christ, the manifested God and Saviour, whereby the infirmities and corruptions of human nature might be wrought upon, and every penitent believer might enjoy Divine favour. He asserted that the Holy Scriptures contained an internal and spiritual sense, to which the outward and literal sense serves as a basis or receptacle. Hence many of his illustrations are founded upon this figurative sense.

He was a strong asserter of the free agency of man; the practical morals which he recommended were of a pure kind, and we have reason to believe he practised them himself.

But the most extraordinary circumstance respecting this singular character, is the correspondence which he asserted he maintained with the world of spirits. Several parts of his writings are replete with narratives of scenes which he professes to have witnessed in the invisible regions. These he describes by expressions borrowed from the things of this world, which he asserts are only to be understood in a figurative sense, and as corresponding in some degree with those which he describes. These narratives have generally been ascribed to a partial derangement of his mental powers, but his followers believe them to be genuine revelations.

The societies of Swedenborg are numerous in Sweden and Germany, and have some establishments in England and America. Though they form independent societies in the United States, and have made attempts to do it in Europe, the admirers of the baron disapprove of separating from the Lutheran Church; because he was an enemy to any such separation, and was, as they assert, desirous only of establishing an invisible Church, or dominion of faith and virtue in the hearts of men, which they contend is the true interpretation of all that he has said concerning the New Jerusalem, or new Church of Christ.

Not only did the baron insist that he himself had a familiar correspondence with the invisible world, but it is contended by his followers, both from his writings and from the Scriptures, that every man is in continual association with angels and spirits, and that without such association he could not think, or exert any living faculty. It is insisted, farther, that man, according to his life in this world, takes up his eternal abode either with angels of light or with spirits of darkness; with the former, if his life shall have been righteous before God, or with the latter, if through folly and wickedness he shall be found to have rejected the counsels of the Most High.

The tenets of the Socinians made some progress during this century, especially among the dissenters in England. Under the name of Unitarians, (a name now generally preferred to that of Socinians,) considerable numbers united in maintaining the unity of the Deity, the inferiority of Christ to the Father, and his entire humanity, as having been a merely human being, though possessing in a high degree the Spirit and power of God.

The Unitarians believe the Scriptures to be faithful records of past transactions, but some of them are said to deny that the authors of the different books were divinely inspired. They agree with all Christians that Jesus of Nazareth was a divinely commissioned teacher of truth

and righteousness ; and that, having been crucified by his enemies, he was raised from the dead on the third day. They regard it as a duty to believe whatever he is commissioned to teach. They believe in the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and the unjust ; and a subsequent state of retribution according to the deeds done in the body ; but they reject the doctrine of eternal punishment. They believe Jesus Christ to have been a man, for the same reasons for which they believe the proper humanity of Moses and the prophets. And, according to their system of doctrine, not only the Divinity of Christ, but the distinct personal existence of the Holy Ghost, the doctrines of original sin and of the atonement fall to the ground. According to Dr. Priestley, the pardon of sin is dispensed solely on account of men's personal virtues, such as a penitent upright heart, and a reformed exemplary life ; and without regard to the sufferings or merit of any being whatever. The Unitarians also reject the doctrine of an extraordinary Divine influence upon the mind for moral and religious purposes ; but they admit the beneficial efficacy of Divine truth in regulating the affections and governing the life of every true Christian. Dr. Priestley says, that, while he was yet an Arian, he became persuaded that the doctrine of the atonement was erroneous, and that there has been no supernatural influence, except for the purpose of miracles.

Some of the Unitarians deny the agency of the devil, and the doctrine of an intermediate state between death and the general resurrection. But they urge the importance of morality as necessary for the happiness and well being of mankind in this life, and in that which is to come. They teach that Christianity requires the renunciation of every vice, and the practice of every virtue. Love is with them the fulfilment of the law, and the habitual practice of virtue from a principle of love to God, is, according to some of their best authors, the sum of true religion. They reject every thing in human creeds that has the character of mystery, or that surpasses the limits of our comprehension, as being irrational and not warranted by the Scriptures.

The doctrine which was supported by Origen and some of the fathers concerning the final salvation of all men, in opposition to the prevailing belief in the eternity of future punishments, has also been revived with much zeal, and with some success, both in England and the United States. Those who advocate this doctrine suppose that, as Christ died for all, so, before he shall have delivered up his mediatorial kingdom to the Father, he will bring all to participate in the benefits of his death. They teach that the wicked will receive a punishment in proportion to their crimes : that punishment itself is a kind of mediatorial work, founded upon mercy, designed to humble the impenitent under a sense of their guilt, and reconcile them to God. They suppose that the words eternal, everlasting, &c., as they are in some places applied to things which have ended, cannot be intended to mean endless when applied to future misery. It is contended by them, that this doctrine is most consonant with the perfections of the Deity, most worthy of the character of Christ, and that the Scriptures cannot in any other way be so easily reconciled.

The Shakers, who originated in England about the year 1774, are a people of great singularity. Anna Lee, whom they styled the elect lady, was a conspicuous leader of this party. She was received and

acknowledged among them as their first mother, or spiritual parent, in the female line, and the second heir in the covenant of life according to the present display of the Gospel. In 1774 she and a number of her followers sailed from Liverpool for New-York; and, being joined by others after their arrival, they settled near Albany, where they have spread their opinions and increased to a considerable number.

The leading practical tenet is the abolition of marriage, and the entire separation of the sexes. They believe in human depravity, in the effusions of the Spirit, and assert that the day of judgment is past. They consider their testimony as a new dispensation, which they call Christ's second appearance. In their worship they practise a regular dance, to a hymn sung by the elders. They practise a community of goods, and hold that nothing short of this union in all things, both spiritual and temporal, can constitute a true Church. On account of great exertions in dancing, their nerves sometimes become affected, and they have fits of shuddering or shaking, and hence have been called Shakers, and also Shaking Quakers.

CHAPTER III.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE gigantic efforts of literary genius which so highly distinguished the seventeenth century were not without their influence in this, and science continued to spread her rays rapidly and extensively over lands which had been long covered with the darkness and superstition of popery. From the constant advances of literature, the facility of multiplying books, and from other causes, the number of authors was greatly augmented. Our view of them must necessarily be brief and imperfect.

Among English writers, no one of his day wrote with greater beauty or with more taste than Joseph Addison. His works, which are chiefly of the miscellaneous kind, will ever be read with interest, and his character as a Christian reflects much honour on the cause of true religion His sentiments were excellent, his style highly finished, his talents as a poet were much admired, and deservedly celebrated.

Sir Richard Steele possessed a versatility of talents, extensive information, a deep acquaintance with polite literature, and was an author of no ordinary rank. Several of his miscellaneous productions were highly applauded, his celebrity as a writer was very considerable, and probably would have been more so, if he had not been connected with so fine a writer as Addison.

James Saurin was an eloquent French theologian, and an eminent writer. Besides his voluminous and celebrated sermons, he published discourses, historical, critical, and moral, upon the most memorable events of the Old and New Testaments, and several smaller works.—Massillon was also an able and eloquent French divine, and a writer of eminence. As a powerful master of eloquence, his name has become almost proverbial. His works were published in fourteen duodecimo

volumes. Jonathan Edwards, president of Princeton College, in New-Jersey, was a talented writer and eminent scholar. Richard Bentley, president of Trinity College, Oxford, devoted his time and talents to the advancement of science, and was esteemed for his eminent acquirements.

Dr. Berkley, bishop of Cloyne, wrote several valuable works, among which are his Theory of Vision, Principles of Human Knowledge, Dialogues in Opposition to Skeptics and Atheists, Sermons, and the Minute Philosopher. As a scholar and philosopher he possessed a high reputation. Pope and Swift may be considered among the first writers of the age in which they lived. The first was an excellent poet, and wrote on various subjects with great success. His writings on religious subjects are the least valuable of his works. His productions in poetry and prose were published in nine octavo volumes. Dean Swift was a poet of some talent, and a very extensive writer. His works have been published in fourteen volumes quarto, and twenty-five octavo, besides editions in other forms. He displayed much wit, and a taste for satire; but as a Christian, or a Christian minister, little can be said in his favour.

Oliver Goldsmith possessed great natural powers, well cultivated by a good education; and his writings as a poet, but more particularly as an essayist, entitle him to a respectable rank among the learned of his time. Hume, as an English historian, possessed considerable celebrity; but his principles on morality and religion have a most licentious tendency. A valuable History of Charles V., a History of Scotland, also a History of America, and a Dissertation concerning India, were productions of Dr. Robertson, president of the University of Edinburgh. The works of Dr. Prideaux prove him extensively skilled in oriental literature and Biblical criticism. Gray and Sterne were reputable authors, and highly esteemed by their contemporaries. Gray possessed the reputation of a scholar, and was well versed in history, antiquities, criticism, morals, and politics.

One of the best writers of this age was Dr. Johnson. Though compelled to struggle with poverty, which obliged him to leave the university before he had completed his studies, and without receiving a degree, his gigantic efforts, and ultimate success as a writer, procured him the highest honours both from the university and the public. Among his works are a most valuable Dictionary of the English Language, and his Lives of the Poets. Buffon, a French philosopher, was celebrated as a naturalist, and his works are very voluminous. Gibbon wrote a full History of the Decline of the Roman Empire; a production of merit, but tarnished by his sarcasms upon Christianity, and by a kind of indecency which pervades the whole work. (See *Lempriere's Universal Biography*, art. *Gibbon.*) Though principally devoted to political life, Burke was highly esteemed on account of his literary attainments, and for his elocution. Wesley has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter. His learning was extensive, and his writings voluminous. As a polemical writer, Fletcher of Madeley possessed extraordinary talents, and his works have been of immense service to the Christian world. His piety was almost without a parallel; exhibiting, in a surprising manner, the power and efficacy of Divine grace. Drs. Beattie and Blair wrote elegantly

on subjects literary and religious. Their works have been, and doubtless will continue to be extensively useful. Among the works of the former are, The Poem of the Minstrel, An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth in Opposition to Sophistry and Skepticism, Elements of Moral Science, and Evidences of the Christian Religion. Among those of the latter are Sermons on Various Subjects, and Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres.

To the foregoing names many others might be added, such as Young, Prior, Parnell, Rowe, Boileau, Bourdaloue, Fontenelle, Arburthnot, Congreve, S. Clarke, Franklin, Rittenhouse, Ramsay, and Rush; all of whom have been more or less distinguished for their attainments and useful productions.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Decline of the papal power—Revival of religion—State of the national Churches in Europe—Difficulties arising from a union of Churches with the civil power—New revolution in France—State of dissenting Churches in Europe—Condition of Churches in the United States—Religious liberty—Flourishing state of religion—Prevailing doctrines—Churches in Asia.

WE have seen in the preceding century a considerable decline of the papal power, large communities of Protestants effectually emancipated from its domination, an increase of learning and liberal principles, and, in spite of infidelity, an extraordinary revival of evangelical religion. This revival, which was the fruit of itinerant labours, was attended with renovating effects among various religious societies, and the fruit of it is still visible both in Europe and America.

Most of the national Churches in Europe have continued under forms of government so nearly the same as in the last century, that it is unnecessary to mention them in detail. Some of these Churches have been much revived, and are exerting a powerful influence in the cause of truth. Some are making but moderate efforts, and others are apparently in a state of inactivity.*

The union of these Churches with the civil power, though considered by some as being essential to their prosperity, is perhaps their greatest evil. It has indeed a tendency to give them popularity and pecuniary support; but it seems invariably hostile to their spiritual interests.—The measure appears to have been adopted for the benefit of the government, rather than for that of the Church. It is well known that the influence of religion, even if it be a religion of mere forms and ceremonies, is often effectual in awing the ignorant into submission to the civil authority, be that authority of what kind it may. And when rulers have perceived that ecclesiastical influence is an important auxiliary to civil power, they have deemed it good policy to establish and preserve a connection so advantageous. But experience has

* The affairs of the see of Rome, since the commencement of the present century, though of some importance in a political view, are not deemed of sufficient interest to the Church of Christ to require a detail in this chapter. Pius VI., whom I have already noticed as the successor of Clement XIV., after a reign of twenty-four years, distinguished by varied scenes of prosperity and severe adversity, died August 29th, 1799; and was succeeded on the 14th of March, 1800, by Pius VII. The years of this pontiff, like those of his predecessor, were embittered by the oppressive measures of the French government, and his troubles were not a little augmented by the severe treatment he received from Napoleon. His death, which happened August 20th, 1823, was followed, September 27th, of the same year, by the elevation to the pontifical chair of Leo. XII. Leo died February 10, 1829, and was succeeded, March 31st of the same year, by Pius VIII., who died on the 30th of November, 1831. The successor of Pius VIII. is the present pontiff, who has taken the name of Gregory XVI., and who was elected Feb. 1st, 1832.

amply shown that though the state may derive advantage from such connections, the interests of religion are far from being promoted.

It is impossible for a civil government, in forming such a union, to give all denominations of Christians equal advantages; it must give some one of them the preference over all the rest. And the one thus preferred, while sustained by the arm of national power and patronage, is liable to lose sight of its dependence upon the great Head of the Church; and, relapsing into formality and the spirit of the world, to become indifferent, if not averse to the essentials of evangelical religion. It is to be feared that this is the present situation of some of the European Churches.

In France, however, by another extraordinary revolution, the national establishment of the Romish Church has been overthrown, and all Christian denominations are allowed equal privileges. This new state of things, so favourable to religious liberty and the Protestant cause, seems likely to be attended with much good. But the deep-rooted infidelity on one hand, and blind superstition on the other, which so much abound in that kingdom, will be strong barriers against the spread of genuine piety.

The rights of conscience are better understood in most of the European kingdoms than they formerly were, and religious toleration is extended to all classes of Christians.* The numerous dissenting Churches are still required to do their full proportion toward supporting the national Church; but they are permitted to build themselves houses for public worship, at their own expense, and worship according to their faith. Formerly, those who refused to subscribe to the established creed were considered as being abandoned to heresy and misery; but it is a pleasing reflection, that this opinion is giving place to more enlightened views. The darkness of ignorance and superstition has in some measure passed away, and the true light is extending its rays among the nations. The Protestant dissenters constitute a large and respectable proportion of the Christian community in Europe, and are distinguished for their zeal in the cause of religion. Unencumbered by state patronage, and relying for aid upon a superior power, some of them have been more active and successful in the great work of spreading the Gospel than the established Churches; and there is evidently more vital and practical religion among them than is manifested among the others.

In the United States the Churches are in prosperity, and the state of religion is encouraging. Here we have no national Church, nor is it intended that there shall be. The framers of our constitution seem to have believed that a union of Church and state was never originally intended by the Author of Christianity. Though they had examples of it before them, in almost all the governments of the eastern world, they could perceive no one of them attended with consequences of such a nature as to warrant them in attempting a similar plan. They aimed at the permanent establishment, not of a national Church, but of civil and religious liberty, and the security of the rights of conscience to all classes of citizens. They believed that religion would flourish best when unencumbered by legal efforts to direct its course, and that legislating upon it would have no other considerable effect

* This is not applicable to Spain and Portugal, nor, strictly so, to Italy.

than to check its progress. They, therefore, left it where they found it, independent of human power, and resting upon its own eternal foundation. The experiment, if it be one, proves, thus far, that they acted wisely. Religion is not made an auxiliary to tyranny and oppression, nor is it banished from the country. It flourishes in every state in the union, with increasing attention, and evidently with more practical success than in any of the European kingdoms. It has been alleged that the want of a national Church in the United States is the cause of so great a number of different sects. To be convinced that this is an entire mistake, it is only necessary to consider that almost every denomination of Christians in America originated in Europe, which now contains more sects than there are on this side of the Atlantic.

Under the enlightened policy that has been adopted in this country, in reference to religion, the spread of it, since the commencement of the nineteenth century, has been wonderful. Extraordinary success attends the preaching of the Gospel, and tens of thousands are annually added to the Churches. An energy and active zeal prevail to an extent almost unknown in former ages of the Christian world. Skepticism has its votaries, and licentiousness is prevalent; but, amidst these and other discouragements, Zion prospers, and the cause of truth is rapidly advancing.

The prevailing doctrines of the Church are, with few exceptions, the same that they formerly were. The different sects in Europe and America maintain their own peculiar tenets, but most of them agree in the essential doctrines of Christianity. The doctrines of the trinity, of human depravity, the new birth, and salvation by faith in Christ, are received by most, if not all denominations, except the Universalists and Unitarians. The controverted articles on predestination and particular redemption, as expressed in the Westminster Confession of Faith, still have their advocates, and are still subjects of controversy; but they appear to be less strenuously advocated than formerly, and seem in many instances to be giving place to the more popular doctrines of general redemption and free will, as maintained by the Arminians.—The doctrines of the Westminster creed are received and advocated by the Calvinistic Churches on both sides of the Atlantic; while the other doctrines are supported by the Lutherans, by most of the Episcopalians, also by the Wesleyan Methodists, and several smaller bodies of Christians.

The Churches in Asia have been long in a languishing condition, owing to the oppressive governments under which they have lived. Surrounded by Mohammedans and pagans, and persecuted by the most cruel despotism, it was impossible that they should flourish as they might be expected to do under more favourable circumstances. They have, nevertheless, held fast their profession, and stood as lights twinkling amidst the prevailing darkness. They still number several millions, scattered in different provinces, chiefly in the Turkish dominions, and constitute an important part of the general Church. Under the auspices of missionary labours, and by the blessing of the great Head of the Church, it is to be hoped that the darkness which has for ages overspread this grand division of the globe will pass away and be succeeded by a glorious dawn.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF THE CHURCH IN REFERENCE TO RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS AND MISSIONARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

Population of the world—Balance of political power—Greek and Latin Churches—Protestant Churches—Presbyterians—Episcopalians—Methodists—Associate Baptists—Other societies called Baptists—Congregationalists—Unitarians—Quakers—Universalists—Moravians—Swedenborgians—Shakers—State of missions during the dark ages—Effects of the Reformation—Missions undertaken by the papists—Early missions in North America—Missions of the Moravians—Of the Methodists—Missionaries sent by the king of Denmark—Missions of the Baptists—London Missionary Society—Edinburgh Missionary Society—American Board of Foreign Missions—Missionary societies of the Presbyterians—Of the Episcopal Missionary Society—Church Missionary Society—Other missionary societies.

LATE writers have estimated the population of the world at 737,000,000, and have divided it according to their religious views as follows:—Of Jews, 4,000,000—Christians, 228,000,000, Mohammedans, 100,000,000, and the rest pagans. The balance of *political power*, including the whole population, is in favour of Christianity. The division is made thus:—Under Christian governments, 387,788,000.* Under Mohammedans, 72,000,000. Under pagans, 277,212,000. The nations that have adopted Christianity are thus divided:—Protestant states, 193,624,000. Papal states, 134,164,000. Greek or Russian Church, 60,000,000.

The Greek Church is tolerated in Turkey, countenanced in Hungary, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia, and established by law in Russia. The Latin, or Romish Church, comprehends within its pale the principal part of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Austria, the Spanish and Portuguese states in America, their colonies in Asia and Africa, and the greater part of the population of Ireland. They have also considerable numbers in the United States. The Protestants comprehend the Lutheran, Episcopal, and Reformed Churches, besides a number of sects that are either united with them, or embrace their leading doctrines. The Lutherans are established in Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Livonia. They have congregations in several other parts. The Episcopal Church, or Church of England, is established in England and Ireland. The Reformed, or Calvinistic Church is most prevalent in Switzerland, in some countries of Germany, and in Holland; and it is the established Church of Scotland, under the name of Presbyterian. Connected with these Churches, as Protestants, are the following denominations, which are more or less numerous on both sides of the Atlantic: namely, Presbyterians, Episcopalians,† Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Unitarians, or Socinians, Quakers, Moravians, Mennonites, Swedenborgians, Universalists, and Shakers.

The Presbyterians are considerably numerous in England and Ireland, and still more so in the United States; where they have above

* The population of the British empire in the East Indies is estimated at about 120,000,000, chiefly pagans.

† The Church of England, or Episcopalians, as well as the Presbyterians, are established by law in Great Britain, as already stated; but in places where they are not thus established, their situation is similar to that of other denominations.

2,500 congregations, and nearly 240,000 communicants. They are governed by presbyteries, synods, and a general assembly, and are settled chiefly in the middle, southern, and western states.*

The Episcopalians have churches in Canada, and other provinces under the British government. In the United States they constitute a respectable portion of the Christian community, and are denominated the Protestant Episcopal Church. They number near 800 congregations, which are most numerous in New-York, Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia, though they have establishments in most of the other states.

The Methodists in England are *now* divided principally into *two* large bodies; the one founded by Mr. Wesley, the other by Mr. Whitefield. The Whitefield Methodists are confined principally to England, where they have numerous churches. Wesleyan Methodists are numerous in England, have large congregations in Scotland and Ireland, and are in the United States the most numerous denomination; their communicants amounting to near 700,000. They prevail in all parts of the union, but are proportionably more numerous in the west than in the east.†

The Associate Baptists have flourishing establishments in England, Holland, and some other parts of Europe; and are, next to the Methodists, the most numerous body of Protestants in America; numbering, according to their own accounts, above 5,800 congregations, and more than 450,000 communicants. Though considerably divided on points of speculation, they are agreed in administering the ordinance of baptism to none but adults, and exclusively by immersion, believing that to be the only Scriptural mode. In government they resemble the Congregationalists, and are Calvinistic in their doctrine. They have churches in all parts of the union, but are most numerous in some of the Atlantic states, and Kentucky.

Under the general name of Baptists are included, besides the Associate, or Calvinistic Baptists, those called *Christians*, Free-will Baptists, Seventh Day Baptists, Tunkers, Mennonites, and some others. The name of Baptists is applied to them partly on account of their origin and connection with the Associate Baptists, and partly from their adherence to immersion as the only proper mode of baptism. Some of them, such as the *Christians* and Free-willers, deny the Calvinistical doctrines of election, reprobation, particular redemption, &c., and main-

* The *Cumberland Presbyterians* in the western states have separated from the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian General Assembly, and have declared themselves an independent Church. They deny that part of the Westminster Creed which relates to election and reprobation, and preach the doctrine of general atonement. They are said to number about 300 churches, principally in Kentucky and Tennessee, and 15,000 communicants.

† Secessions from the Methodist Church in England have, in a few instances happened, and one occurred, in 1828, in the United States. Those that seceded are called *Associate*, or *Protestant* Methodists, and sometimes *Reform* Methodists. In their discipline they have taken the denomination of *Methodist Protestant Church*. They adhere to the Methodist doctrine, but reject some parts of the discipline, particularly those concerning episcopacy, and the manner of constituting the General Conference. Their conferences consist of an equal number of ministers and lay members, and their presidents are elected annually. In the plan adopted by this body of dissenters, considerable stress has been laid upon lay representation in their ecclesiastical bodies, and, in view of this, great success has been anticipated. Their present numbers are not very definitely known.

tain the universality of the atonement, and the free agency of man, as held by the Arminians. Though not numerous, these bodies of Christians have establishments in various parts of this country, and appear to be increasing. The Mennonites have considerable numbers in some parts of Europe, and about 30,000 in America.

The Congregationalists, which in Great Britain are called *Independents*, are in America confined chiefly to the New-England states, where they are very numerous, having above 1,200 congregations, and 155,000 communicants. They are now called Orthodox Congregationalists, to distinguish them from those of the same denomination who are Unitarians. The Unitarians in New-England are similar to the Socinians in Europe, being anti-trinitarians. The latter have a number of churches in Poland and Transylvania, and it is said that some of the papists are secretly attached to their system. In New-England, including a few churches in other parts of the union, the Unitarian Congregationalists number about one hundred and seventy thousand.

The Quakers are numerous in England, and are said to have four hundred and fifty congregations in America; where they have recently become almost equally divided on the Unitarian doctrine. Those of them who advocated that doctrine are denominated *Hicksites*.

The Universalists have churches in Great Britain and some other parts, but are not numerous in Europe. In the United States they reckon about 500 congregations, principally in the northern sections of the country.

The Moravians, or United Brethren, are comparatively few in number, but in missionary labours and sufferings they have, in proportion to their means, exceeded every other body of Christians. When they first sent out missionaries their numbers were not above 6,000; yet in the early part of the eighteenth century they had missionaries at different places on both sides of the Atlantic. Before the end of that century they had numerous missionary establishments, some of which were in Europe, others in Asia, Africa, and America.

The Swedenborgians are numerous and respectable in Sweden; have some establishments in England, and number about 5,000 in America. There is also in this country about 6,000 Shakers, and perhaps an equal number belonging to various smaller sects.

In this account of the numbers of different religious societies, we have had reference, in most instances, to the *communicants*. The numbers belonging to the congregations of each denomination, according to the best estimates we are able to obtain, will be found in a subsequent statistical table.

The religious bodies that appear to take the deepest interest and to be at present most active in the cause of missions, are the Church of England, or Episcopalians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Moravians. But if other religious societies have not taken so conspicuous a part as those we have mentioned, it is certain that, with very few exceptions, all have done, and are still doing, something toward spreading the Gospel in heathen countries.

During the dark ages of ignorance and spiritual despotism the cause of missions was very little regarded, and but feeble efforts were made for the spread of the Gospel among pagans or Christians. After the revival of evangelical religion in the sixteenth century, the missionary spirit revived and missions began to be established.

In the sixteenth century the papists sent missionaries into Asia, Africa, and America. The conquests of the Spaniards and Portuguese prepared the way, and with a view to spread their religion with their laws, they sent out priests to instruct the people whom they had conquered. There were, however, individuals, such as Francis Xavier, who extended their labours where no conquests had been made, and who are said to have met with great success. A congregation of cardinals was instituted in Italy, in the same century, and a similar one in France, for the purpose of preparing and sending out missionaries; and several of their ecclesiastics engaged in the work. Besides visiting America and Africa, they penetrated into several parts of Asia, and were for a season very prosperous. But such were the difficulties and misfortunes which afterward befell them, that they had but little remaining fruit of their labours. In Africa their efforts were attended with very little effect; but in Spanish America they laboured extensively, and many of the native Indians are reported to have received their instructions.*

In the early settlement of North America by the Europeans, considerable efforts were made for the conversion of the Indians, many of whom became religious. The Scriptures were translated into the Indian dialect, numbers of the natives were taught to read them, and some of them became useful in teaching others. Mr. Elliott, Mr. Brainerd, and others, used great exertions, endured great sufferings, and had great success.

In 1621 the Dutch sent missionaries to Amboyna, Formosa, Columba, Java, and Malabar, and formed numerous churches, some of which are represented as being still in a flourishing condition. In 1705 missionaries were sent from the university of Halle, in Germany, to the Malabar coast, who laboured with such success, that more than 18,000 Gentoos, according to their report, received the truths of Christianity.

The Moravians, in 1741, instituted a society in London for the furtherance of the Gospel, by aiding more effectually their missions.—In Amsterdam a similar society was formed by the same people, and afterward renewed at Zeist, near Utrecht. They also formed a society, 1787, in Pennsylvania, for the support of missions, by which their labours in America have been much extended. During the last century they had flourishing missions in the *West Indies*, in *Greenland*, in *Upper Canada*, on the *coast of Labrador*, at the *Cape of Good Hope*, *South America*, *East Indies*, and in the *Russian part of Asia*. In these several places their number of missions was about thirty, their missionaries one hundred and forty, and heathen converts estimated between 20 and 30,000.

* It was in this country, as already stated, that the Jesuits attempted to establish an independent empire, but were defeated in their purpose by the abolition of their order. It seems not generally known, that after the commencement of the present century Pope Pius VII. re-established the Jesuits, restored their privileges, and recommended them to the favour of his papal subjects both in Europe and America. In the United States the Jesuits are increased by continual emigrations, chiefly from France, Austria, and Ireland, and are directing their utmost efforts toward the advancement of the Romish Church, and the establishment of the papal power among the people.

In 1786 the Wesleyan Methodists in England began the establishment of missions in the West Indies. Dr. Coke with three others had sailed for Nova Scotia for the purpose of establishing a mission in that country; but being driven by the gales to these islands, they relinquished their first object, and turned their attention to the negro slaves. After landing at Antigua, and making arrangements for future operations in that place, Dr. Coke proceeded to Dominica, and afterward visited other parts, finding in almost every instance a very favourable reception. Besides these two islands, missions were ultimately established at St. Vincent's, St. Christopher's, Nevis, the Virgin Islands, Barbadoes, St. Bartholomew's, Grenada, Trinidad, St. Thomas's, New-Providence, and the other Bahama Islands. After seeing these missions supplied with missionaries, and in a very flourishing condition, Dr. Coke with several other missionaries sailed, in 1814, for the East Indies, for the purpose of establishing and conducting missions in that country. Before the ship arrived at its place of destination, he was called to his reward. Those who sailed with him proceeded in the work they had undertaken, and being followed by others, an extensive field had been opened to them for the spread of the Gospel and religious instruction among the inhabitants. The connection of Wesleyan Methodists in England are still making great and increasing exertions for evangelizing the heathen, in different parts of the world. They have at this time one hundred and fifty stations, one hundred and ninety-three foreign missionaries, and above 40,000 converts from heathenism to Christianity, as the fruit of their missionary labours.

The Methodists in the United States, besides gathering into their societies above 70,000 of the negroes, by means of itinerant labours similar to those of missionaries, have made considerable exertions in support of the missionary cause. Early in the present century they sent missionaries into Canada and some other places, and have since that time been increasing the number of their establishments, and the means for supporting them. They have now in different parts of the states and territories of the American republic, fifty stations, in which are about sixty missionaries. Twenty-three of these are among the Indians, of whom above 2,000 have become members of the Church. Of the stations among the Indians, the most flourishing are the Choctaw, Cherokee, and the Wyandott. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church is established at New-York, but there are numerous branches and auxiliaries in various parts of the union. The Methodists in Upper Canada have ten missionary stations, in which are 2,118 native communicants, and above 400 children in their Indian schools.

In the early part of the last century missionaries were sent by the king of Denmark to the Danish possessions in the East Indies, and a mission was established at Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel. Among the early labourers in this mission was Mr. Swartz, whose labours were attended with great effect. The missionaries in this establishment learned the language of the country, which is the Malabarian; and, besides preaching in it to the natives, they made translations of the Scriptures, and wrote other books, which they taught them to read. It has been computed that since the establishment of this mission, and some others on the coast, more than 40,000 of the In-

dians have embraced Christianity. Dr. Buchanan, who visited the stations in this part, makes the estimate at double that number.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, the Baptists in England formed a missionary society, and sent missionaries to Calcutta, Serampore, and other places in their vicinity. Many difficulties attended their first efforts, but their perseverance enabled them to surmount every obstacle, and to accomplish some very important objects for the spread of Christianity in that populous but benighted country. The seat of their operations was fixed at Serampore, twelve miles north of Calcutta. They employed their time in preaching to the natives in the languages of the country, in the diffusion of learning, and the translating and circulating the Holy Scriptures. The whole Bible has been translated and printed in five languages of India, and the New Testament in eight. One of the languages in which the whole of the Scriptures has been printed is the Chinese. Schools have been esta blished for the instruction of native children, multitudes of which have been and are now receiving instruction. A college has been founded for the purpose of qualifying native teachers, and a printing office is established, having ten presses, which are constantly employed.

Nor have the Baptist Churches in the United States been inattentive to the subject of missions. They have sent a number of missionaries to the East and West Indies, and to several of the savage tribes of North America. Many of their missions have been very prosperous.

In 1795 an extensive institution was formed in London, for the purpose of spreading the Gospel among the heathen, called the London Missionary Society. It consisted of Christians belonging to the established Church, and to various denominations of dissenters, all uniting in great harmony for the accomplishment of a most noble enterprise. This society undertook the establishment of missions in the South Sea Islands; in which they have had extraordinary success. The first attempts were made at Otaheite and Tongataboo, without much encouragement. Many unfortunate occurrences rendered the prospect for some time uncertain. At length the number of converts began to increase, and constant accessions were made to the society of native Christians, until the whole inhabitants of Otaheite, and seven or eight of the neighbouring islands, with very few exceptions, voluntarily renounced idolatry and became converts to Christianity. Several thousands in the different islands have learned to read in the Taheitan language, which the missionaries have given them in a written form. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught in their schools, and many of the natives are engaged in instructing each other. This society has sent out missionaries also to the East Indies, to Africa, and other places; and the missions under its superintendence are well sustained and in a prosperous condition.

The Edinburgh Missionary Society was instituted in 1796, consisting of members of the established Presbyterian Church, and of other denominations of Christians. This society, in conjunction with one that had been formed at Glasgow, attempted establishments in the western part of Africa, in the country of Sierra Leone; and have been in part successful. Their designs were in several instances defeated by the influence of slave dealers, and the missionaries have been compelled to confine their labours within much narrower limits than was

first intended; being employed principally in the neighbourhood of the English colony, in instructing Africans that are rescued from slave ships. Of the missionaries who first visited this country, three died by sickness, one was murdered, and the rest left the settlements. But others have been willing to take their places, and if the difficulties arising from the slave traffic were removed, the mission might be extensively useful.

The American Board of Foreign Missions was formed in 1810, by the Congregationalists in New-England, in conjunction with such others as were disposed to unite with them, and has pursued its objects with great energy and success. This society has about twenty missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, several in Asia and Europe, and above twenty among the Indians in North America, besides numerous assistants and instructers. Their schools in the Sandwich Islands alone are supplied with about 500 native instructers, and contain 45,000 scholars. The pecuniary resources of the board are extensive and increasing.

The Presbyterians in the United States are likewise actively engaged in the missionary cause. In foreign missions they unite and co-operate with the American Board, of which they constitute a part; and they have numerous home missionaries, employed by the board of the general assembly, for the purpose of supplying vacant Churches and other places that are destitute.

Within a few years past the Protestant Episcopal Church has directed her attention more effectually to this important subject. In 1827 a missionary society was instituted at Philadelphia. This society has established one mission among the Indians at Green Bay, and another in Greece; both of which are likely to be useful.

Several other societies have been established, and missions undertaken by different bodies of Christians. The Connecticut Missionary Society was formed in 1798, Dutch Reformed in 1822, the Home Missionary in 1826, and the Massachusetts Society, re-organized 1827; besides similar ones in Europe that have not been mentioned.

From this brief view of the state of the Church in reference to missions it will be seen that during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and since the commencement of the nineteenth, the attention of Protestant communities, both in the eastern and western hemispheres, has been more than ever awakened to the deplorable condition of the unevangelized part of the world. Scarcely any thing has appeared since the apostolic age that can equal the zeal, activity, and success, of some that have laboured, and others who are now labouring, in this most interesting cause. And should the interest now manifested, in some degree throughout Christendom, increase during thirty years to come as it has for the last thirty years, the result cannot be doubtful. The present state and prospects of the Christian world encourage the hope that this will be the fact; that science and true religion will be greatly extended, that the Scriptures will be circulated in the language of every nation, and that the great Head of the Church will have the heathen for his inheritance.

CHAPTER III.

PRESENT STATE OF MISSIONS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD.

Grand divisions of the world—Missions in Europe—State of Greece—Ionian republic—Home missions—Population and state of Asia—Ceylon—Hindostan—Its population—Missionary establishments by different denominations—Farther India—By whom supplied with missionaries—State of China—Missionaries sent to Liberia—Christianity in Africa—Colony at Liberia—Isle of France—Madagascar—Missions in South Africa—Egypt—Oceanica—Missions in Polynesia—In New-Holland—Indian Archipelago—America—Missions in the West Indies—Indians in the United States—Missionary stations among them—General summary—Missions—Bible societies—Tracts—Sabbath scholars.

THE world is now generally divided into five grand divisions, namely, *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, *Oceanica*, and *America*. Of these divisions *Europe* has the fewest foreign missions within its own boundaries, most of the nations belonging to it having received Christianity. The whole population has been estimated at 227,700,000, of which there are from 9 to 10,000,000 of Turks, who are principally Mohammedans.

Great exertions have been made by different bodies of Christians to circulate the Scriptures and establish schools among the Greeks. The present inhabitants of Greece have, in reference to their moral state, been divided into the three following classes:—1. *Superstitious*, the most numerous, but owing to their vices and ignorance, the most feeble 2. *Infidel*, comparatively small, but possessing intellectual strength. 3. *Philanthropic*, having intelligence and virtue, and exercising a respectable influence—ready to do all in their power to enlighten and improve their fellow citizens. (*Quarterly Register.*) Such is the general deficiency in science and morals, that those who are enlightened and benevolent are utterly unable to arrest the current of licentiousness; and without ample aid from foreign sources it will be long before this unfortunate people will be redeemed from their degraded condition.

The British Foreign Bible Society have, for several years, been distributing copies of the Scriptures among them, thousands of which are now in circulation, together with numerous tracts, and are read in the churches and in the schools.*

The seven islands which constitute the Ionian republic contain about 200,000 inhabitants, and are under the protection of Great Britain. The London and Church Missionary Societies have established missions and sent missionaries to these islands, in which are also about seventy schools, as many teachers, and above 2,000 scholars. Sabbath schools have been established at Malta, Corfu, and other places, and are thus far successful. In the other Grecian islands there are about thirty schools, in which are said to be 2,000 scholars. There are at this time in Malta, in the Ionian republic, in Tino, Syria, and Smyrna, thirteen missionaries, and the same number of assistants.—In Great Britain, Ireland, and some other parts, home missions have

* The Episcopal Missionary Society in the United States have also established a mission at Athens, which, it is hoped, will be followed by the best of consequences.

been instituted, for the purpose of supplying religious instruction to destitute places within the limits of the countries in which they have been established. These have already been found extensively useful.

The population of *Asia*, according to late estimates, is between 340 and 390,000,000. Some writers make it less, others more, but all agree that it is the most populous part of the globe. The inhabitants consist of pagans, Mohammedans, Christians, and some Jews; but the pagans are far the most numerous, and next to them the Mohammedans. It is said, however, that in Asiatic Turkey at least two thirds of the people are Greek Christians.

The island of Ceylon contains nearly a million of inhabitants, chiefly pagans. It is under the British government, and has become an interesting field for missionary labour. Of the missionaries here, the American Board have six, seven assistants, thirty-one native assistants, and about 4,000 scholars. The Methodists have eleven missionaries, sixteen assistants, nine native assistants, 4,000 scholars. The Church Missionary Society supports eight missionaries, fourteen assistants, forty-eight native assistants, and have nearly 2,000 scholars. The Baptists have one missionary, three native assistants, 600 scholars. There are in all the schools between 10 and 11,000 scholars, and perhaps 9,000 which constantly attend. About 1,000 of the natives have become communicants among the different denominations that support the missions.

The population of Hindostan is reckoned at more than 130,000,000, now principally under the British government. The missions in this immense population are conducted by the London Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society, societies of the Baptist denomination, Methodists, Scottish Missionary Society, American Board of Foreign Missions, &c. Much has been done in the establishment of schools, translating and circulating the Scriptures, and in the diffusion of useful knowledge. The missionaries engaged in the various stations in this country are about 120 in number, having with them 138 assistants, above 400 native assistants, 3,000 communicants under their care, and between 30,000 and 40,000 scholars in their schools. In one district, called Tinnevelly, great changes have been made in favour of Christianity, and the most encouraging prospects have been witnessed in numerous villages. Thousands have recently abandoned paganism, many of them have received baptism, and others are inquiring after the truth. The British Foreign Bible Society have an auxiliary at Calcutta, one at Bombay, and also at Madras. The whole country is, indeed, a field, white and ready to harvest, and nothing seems necessary to the entire establishment of true religion, but a greater number of labourers and the blessings of Heaven.

In the Farther India, a part of which has been also conquered by the British government, there is a dense population, consisting of perhaps 20,000,000, in the darkness and ignorance of paganism. Here, however, a missionary field is opened, and missions have been established by the London Missionary Society, by the American Board of Foreign Missions, and by the Baptists. There are in the different stations twelve missionaries, thirteen assistants, nine native assistants, and about 800 scholars in the schools.

China is the most populous and one of the most ancient kingdoms of which we have any knowledge. The population has been variously estimated from 150,000,000 to 170,000,000, and even as high as 330,000,000. But the lowest estimate is probably nearest the truth. A cloud of ignorance and superstition has long overspread the inhabitants of this country, and seems likely not soon to be removed.

It has already been mentioned that the papists established missions in this country and neighbouring places in the sixteenth century. Their efforts were at first successful, afterward rendered almost abortive, but recently somewhat more encouraging. According to their own accounts, they have, since the commencement of this century, added several thousands to their Church. The London Missionary Society sent a missionary to China in 1807, who has been very successful in translating the Scriptures, and in preparing other works for the instruction of the Chinese people. The labours of this persevering missionary, Rev. Dr. Morrison, will probably be of incalculable benefit to this vast empire. He has published the whole Bible in the Chinese language, a Chinese dictionary in five large volumes, a grammar, and some smaller works. In 1813 he was joined by Dr. Milne, and in 1829 by two missionaries from the United States. The most successful means of spreading Christianity in China will be found in the circulation of the Bible in the language of the country.

The London Missionary Society has sent three missionaries into Siberia, and seven, with six assistants, into the countries near the Caucasus. Others have gone to Armenia, Syria, the Holy Land, and to the shores of the Mediterranean. Some of these missions have not yet become permanent; in others schools have been established with favourable prospects, and in some there is great encouragement.

In *Africa* Christianity was early planted, but the ignorance and superstition of the inhabitants have generally presented strong barriers to its progress. Mohammedanism is diffused over the northern and some of the eastern parts, but there are some remains of Christianity in Egypt and Abyssinia. The most odious forms of paganism prevail in almost all the negro tribes. Some of them are yet in the practice of offering human sacrifices. The population of this continent is not definitely known, and it is difficult to make an accurate estimate. Some writers have supposed it to be 60,000,000, others have set it as high as 110,000,000; but of these two numbers the first is probably more correct.

A colony has been founded in Western Africa, at a place called Liberia, by the American Colonization Society, which was commenced about the year 1820. It is in a prosperous condition, having an extensive sea coast, and considerable trade. Religion has already commenced spreading among the people, and it is anticipated that a way will be opened through this colony for preaching the Gospel to the surrounding tribes. Schools have been formed which are flourishing, and in which many of the native children are receiving instruction.* The inhabitants of this colony, as well as of that at Sierra Leone, consist chiefly of negroes that have been liberated from slavery. The Ger-

* The Methodist Episcopal Church has sent three missionaries to this colony, one of whom has recently died. These have organized an annual conference, consisting of thirteen members. Some have also been sent by the Presbyterians and others

man Missionary Society has four missionaries at Liberia, and four at the Gold Coast, besides some assistants. At Sierra Leone the Church Missionary Society has six missionaries, several assistants, about ten native assistants, between seven and eight hundred communicants, and above 1,600 scholars in the schools. Other missionaries are expected to be sent to this place.*

The Isle of France contains about 80,000 inhabitants, chiefly French colonists and blacks. The London Missionary Society has established a mission and flourishing school upon this island. It has likewise found an interesting missionary field in the island of Madagascar.—Both of these islands lie in the Indian Ocean, and the latter is separated from the continent of Africa by the Mozambique channel. The population of Madagascar has been estimated at 4,000,000, partly Mohammedans and partly pagans. Here are five missionaries, six assistants, and between three and four thousand scholars attending the schools. On this populous and extensive island Christianity is encouraged, and seems likely to acquire extensive influence.

In South Africa, including the colony at the Cape, and Caffraria, several missions have been established, and are now in successful operation. Of those belonging to these stations, the Moravians have eighteen missionaries, eleven assistants, about 900 communicants, and 200 scholars:—the London Missionary Society supports twenty missionaries, twenty-three assistants, a number of communicants, and above 1,000 scholars:—the Wesleyan Methodists have sixteen missionaries, 470 communicants, and 800 scholars:—the Glasgow Missionary Society has three missionaries, the French Protestants three, and the Rhenish Missionary Society four. Though this part of Africa is inhabited by some of the lowest and most wretched of our species, numbers seem ready to make the sacrifice of leaving a civilized land and dwelling among them, with the hope of leading them out of darkness into the light and liberty of God's children.

The Church Missionary Society has three missionaries in Egypt, under whose superintendence schools are conducted at Cairo. Bibles and tracts have also been circulated to some extent in this country, but the darkness and ignorance of the people render them slow in their effects. The number of missionary stations throughout Africa is ninety-one, of missionaries and assistants 180, of communicants at the different stations 2,600, and of scholars in the schools between seven and eight thousand.

Oceanica is the name now given to designate various groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean, consisting of New Holland, New-Zealand, New-Guinea, the islands of Polynesia, those of the Indian Archipelago, and several small islands.

This division of the globe is larger than Europe, though much less populous. It contains above 3,000,000 square miles, and its population is calculated at 20,300,000, though the real number is probably much larger. Until the establishment of missions among them, the inhabitants were involved in pagan darkness and ignorance, as most of them still continue to be. Of the great success of the missions in

* The Methodists also have in this place and vicinity seven stations, one missionary with an assistant, 160 scholars, and several hundred communicants. Meetings are held at five o'clock every morning in six Wesleyan chapels.

some of the islands, we have already spoken, and it may be hoped that similar effects will yet be seen in others.

The islands of Polynesia are numerous, consisting of several groups, among which are the Caroline, eighty in number;—Friendly, having more than 100;—Navigators, seven in number;—Pelew; Marquesas; Sandwich; Society; Ravaivai; Harvey; and the Georgian, consisting of Otaheite and Eimeo. The missions to these islands are established at present in the Sandwich, Georgian, Society, Marquesas, Harvey, Friendly, and Ravaivai; and are conducted by the London Missionary Society, the American Board of Foreign Missions, and the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodists in England. The numbers belonging to these three societies are as follow:—missionaries twenty-seven, assistants thirty, native assistants thirty-eight, communicants 2,400, native teachers of schools 600, and above 50,000 scholars. The scholars belong principally to the schools under the superintendence of the missionaries from the American Board.

In New-Holland and New-Zealand the Church Missionary Society have five missionaries, nineteen assistants, six teachers, and 200 scholars. The Methodists support two or three missionaries in these places, and as many assistants; and have a large number of communicants in New South Wales.

The islands in the Indian Archipelago are Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Moluccas, and the Philippines. The London Missionary Society have a mission at Batavia, and are printing and circulating books among the inhabitants. At Sumatra the Baptists have a missionary establishment, at which they are translating the Scriptures. The Netherlands Missionary Society have missions at Java, Celebes, Amboyna, and several small islands. In eight islands they have fifty teachers, and not less than 4,000 scholars. The aggregate numbers engaged in all the missions in this division of the globe, are fifty-three missionaries, sixty-six assistants, forty-four native assistants, above 2,600 communicants, 663 native teachers, and between 50 and 60,000 scholars belonging to their schools.

The population of *America* has been estimated at 39,000,000; of which, those who speak English are the most numerous, those next in numbers are the Spanish, next to them the native Indians, then the Portuguese, then the French, and lastly the Danish Dutch, Swedish, and Russian.

In the West Indies the Gospel continues successful, and the missions established there toward the close of the last century are still flourishing. In twenty of these islands the Methodists have, missionaries fifty-nine, assistants fifty, of white communicants, about 1,000, of free blacks, 7,000, of slaves 24,085, children receiving instruction, 10,000.

The Moravians have in the West Indies 35,600 negroes under the care of their missionaries, 12,400 of whom are communicants, and 7,000 baptized children. They have in these stations fifty missionaries, and nearly as many assistants.

The Netherlands Missionary Society has two missionaries in these islands, the Scottish Society has three, and the London Society two; and besides several hundred communicants, the scholars belonging to their schools number nearly 1,000.

The Baptists have in Jamaica eleven missionaries and 10,000 com-

municants. The General Baptists have at the same place two missionaries and about 300 communicants, besides 1,000 inquirers. And the Church Missionary Society has in Jamaica, Antigua, Demerara, and Essequibo, four European teachers, fourteen native teachers, and above 300 scholars. The whole number of missionaries in the West Indies is 130, of assistants 100, of communicants between 50 and 60,000, and above 10,000 scholars.

The whole number of Indians within the limits of the United States is supposed to be about 300,000. The number of missionary stations among the Indians throughout North America is 145. These include tribes in Labrador, Upper Canada, and in New-York state; the Cherokees, Wyandots, Choctaws, Osages, Putawatomies, Machinaws, Chickasaws, and others. The missions among them are conducted by the following societies: namely, the American Board of Missions, American Baptist Board, Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Episcopal Missionary Society, Cumberland Presbyterians, and Moravians or United Brethren. The number of missionaries in all the stations is 200, of assistants 317, of communicants between 8 and 10,000, and above 3,000 in the schools.*

According to a general summary, contained in the Quarterly Register of the American Education Society, to which I am indebted for many of the foregoing statements, we are led to the following results:—

The number of missionary stations throughout the world is 550.

Number of ordained missionaries, 670.

Number of European and American assistants, 757.

Native assistants, teachers, &c., in all parts of the world. 2,000.

Converts from paganism, now communicants in the different missionary stations, above 50,000.

Learners in all the mission schools, at least 300,000.

The number of inquirers that have renounced idolatry, at least 400,000.

The Gospel has been preached at the various mission stations, in the space of ten years, to more than 4,000,000 of adult persons, in their own languages.

The number of mission colleges and academies is between thirty and forty. Of printing establishments at the mission stations, about forty-five.

The number of home missionaries employed in destitute places in Christian lands, sent out by various societies, is not far from 2,000.†

Whole number of Bible societies throughout the world, is about 4,500. Bibles, and parts of Bibles, distributed, not far from 9,000,000, in 160 languages.

Between 150 and 160,000,000 of tracts have been circulated by means of tract societies.

Number of Sabbath scholars throughout the world is between 2 and 3,000,000.

* These accounts were obtained in 1831, since which time considerable additions have been made in the number of missions, of missionaries, and of schools.

Those who may wish for more information on this subject, are referred to a late *History of Missions*, by Dr. Bangs.

† These are exclusive of the Methodist itinerant ministers.

APPENDIX.

TABULAR VIEW OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Churches.	No. of Ministers.	No. of Ch. or Cong.	Communicants.	Population.
Methodist Episcopal Church,	5,400*		686,549	3,158,300
Calvinistic Baptist Church,	4,100	5,800	450,000	2,250,000
Presbyterian Church,	2,070	2,500	223,580	2,102,220†
Orthodox Congregational Church,	1,100	1,250	155,000	1,395,000†
Protestant Episcopal Church,	648	750		525,000
Evangelical Lutheran Church,	216	800	89,487	447,435
Unitarian Denomination,	150	170		170,000‡
Quakers, or Friends,		450		220,000
Dutch Reformed,	167	197	21,115	150,000
German Reformed,	180	600	30,000	300,000
Protestant or Reformed Methodists,	250		18,000	90,000
Romish Church,	327			550,000
Free Will Baptists,	565	661	30,000	150,000
Cumberland Presbyterians,	70	110	15,000	75,000
Associate Presbyterians,	79	169	12,886	64,430
Mennonites,	200		30,000	120,000
Christians,	200	800	25,000	125,000
Universalists,	350	550		200,000
Seventh Day Baptists,	42	32	4,258	21,290
Six Principle Baptists,	9	25	1,672	8,360
United Brethren, (Moravians,)	33	24	2,000	7,000
Swedenborgians,	29	25		5,000
Tunkers, (Baptists,)	40	40	3,000	15,000
Shakers,	45	15	3,000	6,000
Jews,				15,000
Several small societies,				6,000

* The number here given includes those in the itinerant and local ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the itinerant ministry there are, according to the last Minutes, published at New-York, 2,400, and although the number in the local ministry is not definitely known, it is believed to be considerably above 3,000.

† This is taken from the Quarterly Register of the American Education Society, and is fixed upon the ratio of nine hearers to one communicant. This we think too high an estimate of the population belonging to any of the denominations that claim it. It will be seen, by examining the above table, that the population of the Methodist and Baptist denominations, and of some others, is estimated according to the ratio of *five* hearers to one communicant. By this ratio, the Presbyterian population would be 1,167,900,—that of the Congregational denomination would be 775,000;—but this would probably be reducing the numbers in those two denominations lower than they are; and a medium between the two extremes is most likely to be correct.

‡ This estimate supposes an average of 1,000 to each congregation.

MISSIONARY AND OTHER BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

SOCIETIES.	When founded.
Connecticut Missionary Society,	1798
Philadelphia Bible Society,	1808
American Board of Foreign Missions,	1810
American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions,	1814
American Tract Society at Boston,	1814
American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb,	1816
American Bible Society,	1816
American Education Society,	1816
Presbyterian Branch of the American Education Society,	1817
Massachusetts Missionary Society,	1817
Board of Missions of the General Assembly,	1818
Board of Education of the General Assembly,	1819
American Colonization Society,	1819
Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,	1819
American Jews' Society,	1820
Dutch Reformed Missionary Society	1822
Baptist General Tract Society,	1824
American Sunday School Union,	1824
Prison Discipline Society,	1825
Massachusetts Sunday School Union,	1825
American Tract Society,	1825
American Home Missionary Society,	1826
American Seamen's Friend Society,	1826
American Temperance Society,	1826
Methodist Tract Society,	1827
Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church,	1827
Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church,	1827
Bible Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,	1828
Society for Promoting the Observance of the Sabbath,	1828
African Education Society,	1830
Northern Baptist Education Society,	1830

MISSIONARY AND OTHER BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

SOCIETIES.	When founded.
Society for Propagating the Gospel,	1701
Missions of the United Brethren,	1732
Naval and Military Bible Society,	1780
Sunday School Society,	1785
Baptist Missionary Society,	1792
London Missionary Society,	1795
Religious Tract Society,	1799
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,	1799
Church Missionary Society,	1800
British and Foreign Bible Society,	1801
Sunday School Union,	1803
British and Foreign School Society,	1805
Hibernian Society,	1806
London Jews' Society,	1808
African Institution,	1808
National School Society,	1810
Prayer Book and Homily Society,	1813
Wesleyan Missionary Society,	1814
Baptist Irish Society,	1814
Baptist Home Missionary Society,	1814
Prison Discipline Society,	1815
Peace Society,	1816
Port of London Society,	1818
Continental Society,	1818
Home Missionary Society,	1819
Irish Society of London,	1821
Newfoundland School Society,	1823
Anti-Slavery Society,	1823
Christian Instruction,	1825
Spanish and French Translations,	1826
Philo Judæan Society,	1826
British Reformation Society,	1827
Sailor's Home Society,	1829

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